HISTORY OF ART

A Survey of the Major Visual Arts from the Dawn of History to the Present Day

H. W. JANSON
PROFESSOR OF FINE ARTS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
WITH DORA JANE JANSON

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PREFACE

AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The title of this book has a dual meaning: it refers both to the events that *make* the history of art, and to the scholarly discipline that deals with these events. Perhaps it is just as well that the record and its interpretation are thus designated by the same term. For the two cannot be separated, try as we may. There are no "plain facts" in the history of art—or in the history of anything else, for that matter; only degrees of plausibility. Every statement, no matter how fully documented, is subject to doubt, and remains a "fact" only so long as nobody questions it. To doubt what has been taken for granted, and to find a more plausible interpretation of the evidence, is every scholar's task. Nevertheless, there is always a large body of "facts" in any field of study; they are the sleeping dogs whose very inertness makes them landmarks on the scholarly terrain. Fortunately, only a minority of them can be aroused at the same time, otherwise we should lose our bearings; yet all are kept under surveillance to see which ones might be stirred into wakefulness and locomotion. It is these "facts" that fascinate the scholar.

I believe they will also interest the general reader. In a survey such as this, the sleeping dogs are indispensable, but I have tried to emphasize that their condition is temporary, and to give the reader a fairly close look at some of the wakeful ones. There will be revisions of detail in future printings of this book whenever necessary, as I am under no illusion that my present diagnosis is up to date in every case; the field is too vast for anyone to encompass all of it with equal competence. If the shortcomings of my account have been kept within tolerable limits, this is due to the many friends and colleagues who have permitted me to tax their kindness with inquiries, requests for favors, or discussions of doubtful points. I am particularly indebted to the following: Richard Ettinghausen, M. Ş. İpşiroğlu, Wolfgang Lotz, Richard Krautheimer, and Meyer Schapiro, who reviewed various aspects of the book; and Max Loehr, Florentine Mütherich, Ernest Nash, and Halldor Soehner, for generous help in securing photographic material. I must also record my gratitude to the American Academy in Rome, which made it possible for me, as art historian in residence during the spring of 1960, to write the chapters on ancient art under ideal conditions; and to the Academy's indefatigable librarian, Nina Langobardi. Irene Gordon, Celia Butler, and Patricia Egan have improved the book in countless ways. Patricia Egan also deserves the chief credit for the reading list. I should like, finally, to acknowledge the admirable skill and patience of Philip Grushkin, who is responsible for the design and layout of the volume; my thanks go to him and to Adrianne Onderdonk, his assistant.

H. W. J.

NOTE ON THE PICTURE CAPTIONS

Unless otherwise noted, all paintings are in tempera on panel, or oil on canvas, and all sculpture is of stone. Measurements are not given for objects that are inherently large (architecture, architectural sculpture, wall painting), or small (manuscript illuminations, drawings, prints). Height precedes width. A probable measuring error of more than one per cent is indicated by "c." Dates are based on documentary evidence, unless preceded by "c." A list of credits for the black-and-white illustrations appears at the end of the book.

INTRODUCTION

The Artist and His Public

"Why is this supposed to be art?" How often have we heard this question asked—or asked it ourselves, perhaps—in front of one of the strange, disquieting works that we are likely to find nowadays in museums or art exhibitions. There usually is an undertone of exasperation, for the question implies that *we* don't think we are looking at a work of art, but that the experts—the critics, museum curators, art historians—must suppose it to be one, why else would they put it on public display? Clearly, their standards are very different from ours; we are at a loss to understand them and we wish they'd give us a few simple, clear-cut rules to go by. Then maybe we would learn to like what we see, we would know "why it is art." But the experts do not post exact rules, and the layman is apt to fall back upon his final line of defense: "Well, I don't know anything about art but I know what I like."

It is a formidable roadblock, this stock phrase, in the path of understanding between expert and layman. Until not so very long ago, there was no great need for the two to communicate with each other; the general public had little voice in matters of art and therefore could not challenge the judgment of the expert few. Today both sides are aware of the barrier between them (the barrier itself is nothing new, although it may be greater now than at certain times in the past) and of the need to level it. That is why books like this one are being written. Let us begin, then, by examining the roadblock and the various unspoken assumptions that buttress it. The most fateful among them, it seems to me, is the belief that there are, or ought to be, exact rules by which we can tell art from what is not art, and that, on the basis of these rules, we can then grade any given work according to its merits. Deciding what is art and evaluating a work of art are separate problems; if we had an absolute method for distinguishing art from non-art, this method would not necessarily enable us to measure quality. People have long been in the habit of compounding the two problems into one; quite often when they ask, "Why is it art?" they mean, "Why is it *good* art?" Yet, all systems for rating art so far proposed fall short of being completely satisfactory; we tend to agree with their authors only if they like the same things we do. If we do not share their taste, their system seems like a strait jacket to us. This brings us to another, more basic difficulty. In order to have any rating scale at all, we must be willing to assume that there are fixed, timeless values in art, that the true worth of a given work is a stable thing, independent of time and circumstance. Perhaps such values exist; we cannot be sure that they do not. We do know, however, that opinions about works of art keep changing, not only today but throughout the known course of history. Even the greatest classics have had their ups and downs, and the history of taste—which is part of the history of art—is a continuous process of discarding established values and rediscovering neglected ones. It would seem, therefore, that absolute qualities in art elude us, that we cannot escape viewing works of art in the context of time and circumstance, whether past or present. How indeed could it be otherwise, so long as art is still being created all around us, opening our eyes almost daily to new experiences and thus forcing us to adjust our sights? Perhaps, in the distant future, men will cease to produce works of art. It is not inconceivable, after all, that mankind may some day "outgrow" its need for art. When that happens, the history of art will have come to an end, and our descendants will then be in a better position to work out an enduring scale of artistic values—if the problem still interests them. Until that time, we had better admit that it is impossible to measure the merits of works of art as a scientist measures distances.

But if we must give up any hope of a trustworthy rating scale for artistic quality, can we not at least expect to find a reliable, objective way to tell art from non-art? Unfortunately, even this rather more modest goal proves so difficult as to be almost beyond our powers. Defining art is about as troublesome as defining a human being. Plato, it is said, tried to solve the latter problem by calling man "a featherless biped," whereupon Diogenes introduced a plucked rooster as "Plato's Man." Generalizations about art are, on the whole, equally easy to disprove. Even the most elementary statements turn out to have their pitfalls. Let us test, for instance, the simple claim that a work of art must be made by man, rather than by nature. This definition at least eliminates the confusion of treating as works of art phenomena such as flowers, sea shells, or sunsets. It is a far from sufficient definition, to be sure, since man makes many things other than works of art. Still, it might serve as a starting point. Our difficulties begin as soon as we ask, "What do we mean by making?" If, in order to simplify our problem, we concentrate on the visual arts, we might say that a work of art must be a tangible thing shaped by human hands. Now let us look at the striking *Bull's Head* by Picasso (fig.1), which consists of nothing but the seat and handlebars of an old bicycle. How meaningful is our formula here? Of course the materials used by Picasso are man-made, but it would be absurd to insist that Picasso

1. PABLO PICASSO. *Bull's Head*. 1943. Handlebars and seat of a bicycle. Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris

must share the credit with the manufacturer, since the seat and handlebars in themselves are not works of art. While we feel a certain jolt when we first recognize the ingredients of this visual pun, we also sense that it was a stroke of genius to put them together in this unique way, and we cannot very well deny that it is a work of art. Yet the handiwork—the mounting of the seat on the handlebars—is ridiculously simple. What is far from simple is the leap of the imagination by which Picasso recognized a bull's head in these unlikely objects; that, we feel, only he could have done. Clearly, then, we must be careful not to confuse the making of a work of art with manual skill or craftsmanship. Some works of art may demand a great deal of technical discipline; others do not. And even the most painstaking piece of craft does not deserve to be called a work of art unless it involves a leap of the imagination. But if this is true, are we not forced to conclude that the real making of the *Bull's Head* took place in the artist's mind? No, that is not so, either. Suppose that, instead of actually putting the two pieces together and showing them to us, Picasso merely told us, "You know, today I saw a bicycle seat and handlebars that looked just like a bull's head to me." Then there would be no work of art and his remark would not even strike us as an interesting bit of conversation. Moreover, Picasso himself would not feel the satisfaction of having created something on the basis of his leap of the imagination alone. Once he had conceived his visual pun, he could never be sure that it would really work unless he put it into effect.

Thus the artist's hands, however modest the task they may have to perform, play an essential part in the creative process. Our *Bull's Head* is, of course, an ideally simple case, involving only one leap of the imagination and a single manual act in response to it—once the seat had been properly placed on the handlebars, the job was done. Ordinarily, artists do not work with ready-made parts but with materials that have little or no shape of their own; the creative process consists of a long series of leaps of the imagination and the artist's attempts to give them form by shaping the material accordingly. The hand tries to carry out the commands of the imagination and hopefully puts down a brush stroke, but the result may not be quite what had been expected, partly because all matter resists the human will, partly because the image in the artist's mind is constantly shifting and changing, so that the commands of the imagination cannot be very precise. In fact, the mental image begins to come into focus only as the artist "draws the line somewhere." That line then becomes part—the only fixed part—of the image; the rest of the image, as yet unborn, remains fluid. And each time the artist adds another line, a new leap of the imagination is needed to incorporate that line into his ever-growing mental image. If the line cannot be incorporated, he discards it and puts down a new one. In this way, by a constant flow of impulses back and forth between his mind and the partly shaped material before him, he gradually defines more and more of the image, until at last all of it has been given visible form. Needless to say, artistic creation is too subtle and intimate an experience to permit an exact step-by-step description; only the artist himself can observe it fully, but he is so absorbed by it that he has great difficulty explaining it to us. Still, our metaphor of birth comes closer to the truth than would a description of the process in terms of a transfer or projection of the image from the artist's mind, for the making of a work of art is both joyous and painful, replete with surprises, and in no sense mechanical. We have, moreover, ample testimony that the artist himself tends to look upon his creation as a living thing. Thus, Michelangelo, who has described the anguish and glory of the artist's experience more eloquently than anyone else, speaks of his "liberating the figure from the marble that imprisons it." We may translate this, I think, to mean that he started the process of carving a statue by trying to visualize a figure in the rough, rectilinear block as it came to him from the quarry. (At times he may even have done so while the marble was still part of the living rock; we know that he liked to go to the quarries and pick out his material on the spot.) It seems fair to assume that at first he did not see the figure any more clearly than one can see an unborn child inside the womb, but we may believe he could see isolated "signs of life" within the marble—a knee or an elbow pressing against the surface. In order to get a firmer grip on this dimly felt, fluid image, he was in the habit of making numerous drawings, and sometimes small models in wax or clay, before he dared to assault

2, 3. MICHELANGELO. *St. Matthew*. 1506. Marble, height 8' 11". Academy, Florence

the "marble prison" itself, for that, he knew, was the final contest between him and his material. Once he started carving, every stroke of the chisel would commit him more and more to a specific conception of the figure hidden in the block, and the marble would permit him to free the figure whole only if his guess as to its shape was correct. Sometimes he did not guess well enough—the stone refused to give up some essential part of its prisoner, and Michelangelo, defeated, left the work unfinished, as he did with his *St. Matthew* (figs. 2,3), whose every gesture seems to record the vain struggle for liberation. Looking at the side view of the block (fig. 3), we may get some inkling of Michelangelo's difficulties here. But could he not have finished the statue in *some* fashion? Surely there is enough material left for that. Well, he probably could have, but perhaps not in the way he wanted, and in that case the defeat would have been even more stinging.

Clearly, then, the making of a work of art has little in common with what we ordinarily mean by "making." It is a strange and risky business in which the maker never quite knows what he is making until he has actually made it; or, to put it another way, it is a game of find-and-seek in which the seeker is not sure what he is looking for until he has found it. (In the *Bull's Head*, it is the bold "finding" that impresses us most, in the *St. Matthew*, the strenuous "seeking.") To the non-artist, it seems hard to believe that this uncertainty, this need-to-take-a-chance, should be the essence of the artist's work. For we all tend to think of "making" in terms of the craftsman or manufacturer who knows exactly what he wants to produce

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from the very outset, picks the tools best fitted to his task and is sure of what he is doing at every step. Such "making" is a two-phase affair: first the craftsman makes a plan, then he acts on it. And because he—or his customer—has made all the important decisions in advance, he has little to worry about, rather than ends, while he carries out his plan. There is thus little risk, but also little adventure, in his handiwork, which as a consequence tends to become routine and may even be replaced by the mechanical labor of a machine. No machine, on the other hand, can replace the artist. For with him conception and execution go hand in hand and are so completely interdependent that he cannot separate the one from the other. Whereas the craftsman only attempts what he knows to be possible, the artist is always driven to attempt the impossible—or at least the improbable or unimaginable. Who, after all, would have imagined that a bicycle seat and handlebars of a bicycle, and Picasso succeeded! For us, did he not almost one day make a silk purse out of a sow's ear? No wonder the artist's way of working is so resistant to any set rules, while the craftsman's encourages standardization and regularity. We acknowledge this difference when we speak of the artist as *creating* instead of merely *making* something, although the word is being done to death by overuse nowadays, when every child and every lipstick manufacturer is labeled "creative."

Needless to say, there have always been many more craftsmen than artists among us, since our need for the familiar and expected far exceeds our capacity to absorb the original, but often deeply unsettling experiences we get from works of art. The urge to penetrate unknown realms, to achieve something original, may be felt by every one of us now and then; to that extent, we can all fancy ourselves potential artists, mute inglorious Miltons. What sets the real artist apart is not so much the desire to *seek*, but his mysterious ability to *find* which we call talent. We also speak of it as a "gift," implying that it is a sort of present from some higher power, or as "genius," a term which originally meant that a higher power—a kind of good demon—inhabits the artist's body and acts through him. All we can really say about talent is that it must not be confused with aptitude. Aptitude is what the craftsman needs; it means a better than average knack for doing something that any ordinary person can do. An aptitude is fairly constant and specific; it can be measured with some success by means of tests which permit us to predict future performance. Creative talent, on the other hand, seems utterly unpredictable; we can spot it only on the basis of *past* performance. And even past performance is not enough to assure us that a given artist will continue to produce on the same level: some artists reach a creative peak quite early in their careers and then go dry, while others, after a slow and unpromising start, may achieve astonishingly original work in middle age or even later.

Originality, then, is what distinguishes art from craft. We may say, therefore, that it is the yardstick of artistic greatness or importance. Unfortunately, it is also very hard to define: the usual synonyms—uniqueness, novelty, freshness—do not help very much, and the dictionaries tell us only that an original work must not be a copy, reproduction, imitation, or translation. What they fail to point out is that originality is always relative: there is no such thing as a complete, absolute original work of art. Thus if we want to rate works of art on an "originality scale," our problem does not lie in deciding whether or not a given work is original: the obvious copies and reproductions are for the most part easy enough to eliminate, but in establishing just exactly *how* original it is. To do that is not impossible. However, the difficulties besetting our task are so great that we cannot hope for more than tentative and incomplete answers. Which does not mean, of course, that we should not try—quite the contrary. For whatever the outcome of our labors in any particular case, we shall certainly learn a great deal about works of art in the process.

Let us look at a few of the baffling questions that come up when we investigate the problem of originality. The *Thorn Puller* or *Spinario* (fig. 4), has long been one of the most renowned pieces of ancient bronze sculpture and enjoys considerable fame as a work of art even today—

4 *Thorn Puller* (*Spinario*). Bronze, height 18". Capitoline Museums, Rome

5. ALBRECHT DÜRER. *Battle of Sea Gods*. 1494. Pen drawing, 11" × 14". Albertina, Vienna.

6. ANDREA MANTEGNA. *Battle of Sea Gods*. c. 1491. Engraving, 11" × 16". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers Fund, 1920).

except among classical archaeologists who have studied it with care. They will point out that the head, which is cast separately and is of slightly different metal, does not match the rest: the planes of the face are far more severe than the soft, swelling forms of the body, and the hair, instead of falling forward, behaves as if the head were held upright. The head, therefore, must have been designed for another figure, probably a standing one, of the fifth century B.C., but the body could not have been conceived until more than a hundred years later. As soon as we become aware of this, our attitude toward the *Spinario* changes sharply: we no longer see it as a single, harmonious unit but as a somewhat incongruous combination of two ready-made pieces. And since the pieces are separate, though fragmentary, works of art in their own right, unlike the separate pieces, which are not works of art in themselves, in Picasso's *Bull's Head*), they cannot grow together into a new whole that is more than the sum of its parts. Obviously, this graft is not much of a creative achievement. Hence we find it hard to believe that the

7. EDOUARD MANET. *Luncheon on the Grass. Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe*. 1863. Oil on canvas. 7 ft. 8 in. The Louvre, Paris.

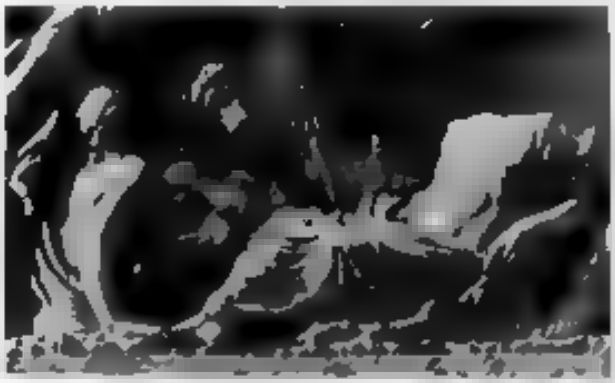
very able artist who modeled the body should have been willing to countenance such a "marriage of convenience." The combination must be of a later date, presumably Roman rather than Greek. Perhaps the present head was substituted when the original head was damaged by accident? But are the head and body really authentic Greek fragments of the fifth and fourth century B.C., or could they be Roman copies or adaptations of such pieces? These questions may be settled eventually by comparison with other ancient bronzes of less uncertain origin, but even then the degree of artistic originality of the *Spinario* is likely to remain a highly problematic matter.

A straightforward copy can usually be recognized as such on internal evidence alone: if the copyist is merely a conscientious craftsman rather than an artist, he will produce a work of craft; the execution will strike us as pedestrian and thus out of tune with the conception of the work. There are also likely to be small slip-ups and mistakes that can be spotted in much the same way as misprints in a text. But what if one great artist copies another? The drawing, *Battle of Sea Gods*, by Albrecht Dürer (fig. 5) is a case in point. An experienced eye will not only recognize it as a copy (because, while the "handwriting" is Dürer's, the design as a whole has a flavor distinctively different from that of the master's other output at that time), it will also be able to identify the source: the original must have been some work by Andrea Mantegna, a somewhat older Italian painter with a powerful artistic personality of his own. Dürer's drawing, of course, does not permit us to say with assurance what kind of work by Mantegna served as its model: it might have been a drawing, a painting, a print, possibly even a relief—or how faithful a copy it is. Yet it would be instructive to find this out, in order for us to gain a better insight into the character of our drawing. The next step, therefore, is to check through the known works of Mantegna: if the same composition does not occur among them, we will have learned nothing new about the drawing but we may have added something to our knowledge of Mantegna, for in that event the Dürer drawing would be a valuable record of an otherwise unknown—and thus presumably lost—composition by the older master. It so happens that Dürer's model, a Mantegna engraving, has survived (fig. 6). As we compare the two, we are surprised to see that the drawing, although it follows Mantegna's design detail for detail, somehow retains the qual-

ity of an independent work of art as well. How can we resolve this paradox? Perhaps we may put it this way: in using the engraving as his model, Dürer did not really copy it in the accepted sense of that word, since he did not try to achieve the effect of a duplicate. He drew purely for his own instruction, which is to say that he looked at the engraving the way he would look at something in nature, transcribing it very accurately yet with his own inimitable rhythm of line. In other words, he was not in the least constrained or intimidated by the fact that his model, in this instance, was another work of art. Once we understand this, it becomes clear to us that Dürer's drawing *represents* (it does not *copy*) the engraving in the same way that other drawings represent a landscape or a living person, and that its artistic originality does not suffer thereby. Dürer here gives us a highly original view of Mantegna, a view that is uniquely Dürer's.

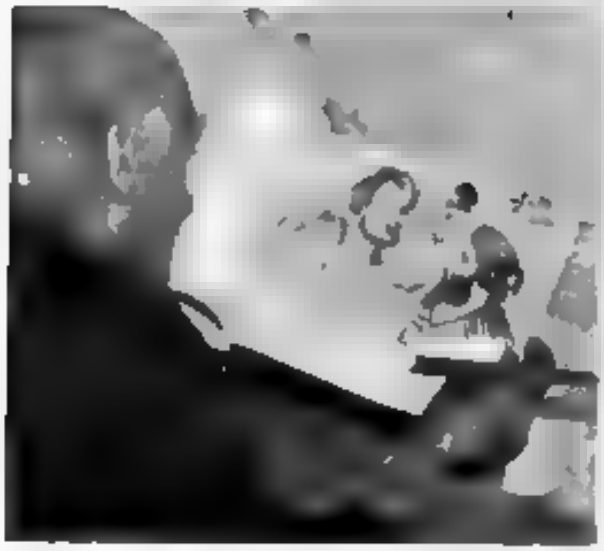
A relationship as close as this between two works of art is not as rare as one might think. Ordinarily, though, the link is less obvious. Edouard Manet's famous painting, *Luncheon on the Grass* (fig. 7), seemed so revolutionary a work when first exhibited almost a century ago that it caused a scandal, in part because the artist had dared to show an undressed young woman next to two fashionably clothed men. In real life such a party might indeed get raided by the police, and people assumed that Manet had intended to represent an actual event. Not until many years later did an art historian discover the source of these figures: a group of classical deities from an engraving after Raphael (fig. 9). The relationship, so striking once it has been pointed out to us, had escaped attention for Manet did not *copy* or *represent* the Raphael composition; he merely *borrowed* its main outlines while translating the figures into modern terms. Had his contemporaries known of this, the *Luncheon* would have seemed a rather less disreputable kind of outing to them, since now the hallowed shade of Raphael could be seen to hover nearby as a sort of chaperon. (Perhaps the artist meant to tease the conservative public, hoping that after the initial shock had passed, somebody would recognize the well-hidden quotation behind his "scandalous" group.) For us, the main effect of the comparison is to make the cool, formal quality of Manet's figures even more conspicuous. But does it decrease our respect for his originality? True, he is "indebted" to Raphael, yet his way of bringing the forgotten old composition back to life is in itself so original and creative that he may be said to have more than repaid his debt. As a matter of fact, Raphael's figures are just as "derivative" as Manet's; they stem from still older sources which lead us back to ancient Roman art and beyond (compare the relief of *River Gods*, fig. 8).

Thus Manet, Raphael, and the Roman river gods form three links in a chain of relationships that arises somewhere out of the dim and distant past and continues into the future—for the *Luncheon on the Grass* has in turn served as a source of more recent works of art (see fig. 10). Nor is this an exceptional case. All works of art anywhere—yes, even such works as Picasso's *Bull's Head*—are part of similar chains that link them to their predecessors. If it is true that "no man is an island," the same can be said of works of art. The sum total of these chains makes a web in which every work of art occupies its own specific place, and which we call *tradition*. Without tradition—the word means "that which has been handed down to us"—no originality would be possible; it provides, as it were, the firm platform from which the artist makes his leap of the imagination. The place where he lands will then become part of the web and serve as a point of departure for further leaps. And for us, too, the web of tradition is equally essential. Whether we are aware of it or not, tradition is the framework within which we inevitably form our opinions of works of art and assess their degree of originality. Let us not forget, however, that such assessments must always remain incomplete and subject to revision. For in order to arrive at a definitive view, we



above: 8. *River Gods* (detail of a Roman sarcophagus), 3rd century A.D. Villa Medici, Rome

left: 9. MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI, after RAPHAEL, *The Judgment of Paris* (detail), c. 1520. Engraving



Pablo Picasso: sketches after Manet's *Luncheon on the Grass*, 1954. Courtesy Alexander Liberman

should not only need to know *all* the different chains of relationships that pass through a given work of art, we should be able to survey the entire length of every chain. And that we can never hope to achieve.

Originality is what distinguishes art from craft; tradition serves as the common meeting ground of the two. Every budding artist starts out on the level of craft by imitating other works of art. In this way he gradually absorbs the artistic tradition of his time and place until he has gained a firm footing in it. But no the truly gifted ever leave that stage of rudimental competence and become creators in their own right. No one, after all, can be taught how to create; he can only be taught how to go through the motions of creating. If he has talent, he will eventually achieve the real thing. What the apprentice or art student learns are skills and techniques—established ways of drawing, painting, carving, designing, established ways of seeing. And if he senses that his gifts are too modest for painting, sculpture, or architecture, he is likely to turn to one of the countless special fields known collectively as applied art. There he can be fruitfully active on a more limited scale: he may become an illustrator, typographer, or interior decorator; he may design textile patterns, chinaware, furniture, clothing, or advertisements. All these pursuits stand somewhere between "pure" art and "mere" craft. They provide some scope for originality to their more ambitious practitioners, but the flow of creative endeavor is hemmed in by such factors as the cost and availability of materials or manufacturing processes, accepted notions of what is useful, fitting, or desirable—for the applied arts are more deeply enmeshed in our everyday lives and thus cater to a far wider public than do painting and sculpture. Their purpose, as the name suggests, is to beautify the useful—an important and honorable one, no doubt, but of a lesser order than that of art pure-and-simple. Nevertheless, we often find it difficult to maintain this distinction. Medieval painting, for instance, is to a large extent "applied," in the sense that it embellishes surfaces which serve another practical purpose as well—walls, book pages, windows, furniture. The same may be said of much ancient and medieval sculpture. Greek vases (see pages 78-81), although technically pottery, are sometimes decorated by artists of very impressive ability. And in architecture the distinction breaks down altogether, since the design of every building, from country cottage to cathedral, reflects external limitations imposed upon it by the site, by cost factors, materials, technique, and by the practical purpose of the structure. The only "pure" architecture is imaginary architecture. Thus architecture is, almost by definition, an applied art, but it is also a major art, as against the others, which are often called the minor arts.

It is now time to return to our troubled layman and his assumptions about art. He may be willing to grant, on the basis of our discussion so far, that art is indeed a complex and in many ways mysterious human activity about which even the experts can hope to offer only tentative and partial conclusions, but he is sure to key it take this as confirming his own belief that he doesn't know anything about art. Are there truly people who know nothing about art? If we except small children and the victims of severe mental illness or deficiency, our answer must be no, for we cannot help knowing *something* about it, just as we all know something about politics and economics, no matter how indifferent we may be to the issues of the day. Art is so much a part of the fabric of human living that we encounter it at all the time, even if our contacts with it are limited to magazine covers, advertising posters, war memorials, and the buildings where we live, work, and worship. Much of this art, to be sure, is pretty shoddy—art at third- and fourth-hand, worn out by endless repetition, representing the lowest common denominator of popular taste. Still, it is art of a sort, and since it is the only art most people ever experience, it molds their ideas on art in general. When they say "I know what I like," they really mean, "I like what I know (and I reject whatever fails to match the things I am familiar with)"—such likes are not in truth theirs at all, for they have been imposed upon them by habit and circumstance, without any personal choice. To like what we know and to distrust what we do not know is an age-old human trait. We always tend to think of the past as "the good old days," while the future seems fraught with danger. But why should so many of us cherish the illusion of having made a personal choice in art when in actual fact we have not? I suspect there is another unspoken assumption here, which goes something like this: "Since art is such an 'unruly' subject that even the experts keep disagreeing with each other, my opinion is as good as theirs—it's all

a matter of subjective preference. In fact, my opinion may be *better* than theirs, because as a layman I react to art in a direct, straightforward fashion, without having my view obstructed by a lot of complicated theories. There must be something wrong with a work of art if it takes an expert to appreciate it.

Behind these mistaken conclusions we find a true and important premise—that works of art exist in order to be liked rather than to be debated. The artist does not create merely for his own satisfaction, but wants his work approved by others. In fact, the hope for approval is what makes him want to create in the first place, and the creative process is not completed until the work has found an audience. Here we have another paradox: the birth of a work of art is an intensely private experience, so much so that many artists can work only when completely alone and refuse to show their unfinished pieces to anyone; yet it must, as a final step, be shared by the public in order for the birth to be successful. Perhaps we can resolve the paradox once we understand what the artist means by "public." He is concerned not with *the* public as a statistical entity, but with this particular public, his audience—quality rather than quantity, what matters to him. At a minimum, this audience need consist of no more than one or two people whose opinion he values. If he can win them over by his work, he feels enough agreeable to go on; without them, he despairs of his calling. There have been some very great artists who had only such a minimum audience. They hardly ever saw any of their work or had an opportunity to display it in public, but they continued to create because of the moral support of a few faithful friends. These, of course, are rare cases. Ordinarily artists also need patrons who will purchase their work, thus combining moral and financial support. From the artist's point of view, patrons are always "audience" rather than "customers." There is a vast difference between these last two terms. A customer buys the products of craftsmanship; he knows from previous experience what he will get and that he is going to like it—why else should he have established the custom of returning to the same source of supply? We think of him as "regular" and "satisfied." An audience, in contrast, merits such adjectives as critical, fickle, receptive, enthusiastic, it is uncommitted, free to accept or reject, so that anything placed before it is on trial; nobody knows in advance how the work will be received. Hence there is an emotional tension between artist and audience that has no counterpart in the relationship of craftsman and customer. It is this very tension, this sense of uncertainty and challenge, that the artist needs. He must feel that his work is able to overcome the resistance of the audience; otherwise he cannot be sure that what he has brought forth is a genuine creation, a work of art in fact as well as in intention. The more ambitious and original his work, the greater the tension, and the more triumphant his sense of release after the response of the audience has shown him that his leap of the imagination is successful. On a tiny scale we all have a similar experience when we happen to think up a joke: we have an irresistible urge to tell it to someone, for we can't be sure that it really *is* a joke until we find out whether it strikes others as funny, too. This analogy should not be pressed too far, but it does suggest why artists need an audience to "complete" their work.

The audience whose approval looms so large in the artist's mind is a limited and special one, not the general public. The merits of the artist's work can never be determined by a popularity contest. The size and composition of this primary audience vary a good deal with time and circumstance; its members may be other artists as well as patrons, friends, critics, and interested bystanders. The one qualification they all have in common is an informed love of works of art—an attitude at once discriminating and enthusiastic that lends particular weight to their judgments. They are, in a word, *experts*, people whose authority rests on experience rather than theoretical knowledge. And because experience, even within a limited field, varies from one individual to the other, it is only natural that they should at times disagree among themselves. Such disagreement often stimulates new insights; far from invalidating the expert's role, it shows rather how passionately they care about their subject, whether this be the art of their own time or of the past.

The active minority which we have termed the artist's primary audience draws its recruits from a much larger and more passive secondary audience, whose contact with works of art is less direct and continuous. This group, in turn, shades over into the vast numbers of those who believe they "don't know anything about art": the laymen pure and simple. What distinguishes the layman, as we have seen before, is not that he actually *is* pure and simple but that he likes to think of himself as being so. In reality, there is no sharp break, no difference in kind, between him and the expert—only a difference in degree. The road to expertness invites anyone with an open mind and a capacity to absorb new experiences. As we travel on it, as our understanding grows, we shall find ourselves liking a great many more things than we had thought possible at the start; yet at the same time we shall gradually acquire the courage of our own convictions, until—if we travel far enough—we know how to make a meaningful individual choice among works of art. By then, we shall have joined the active minority that participates directly in shaping the course of art in our time. And we shall be able to say, with some justice, that we know what we like.

PART ONE

THE ANCIENT WORLD

1. Magic and Ritual—The Art of Prehistoric Man

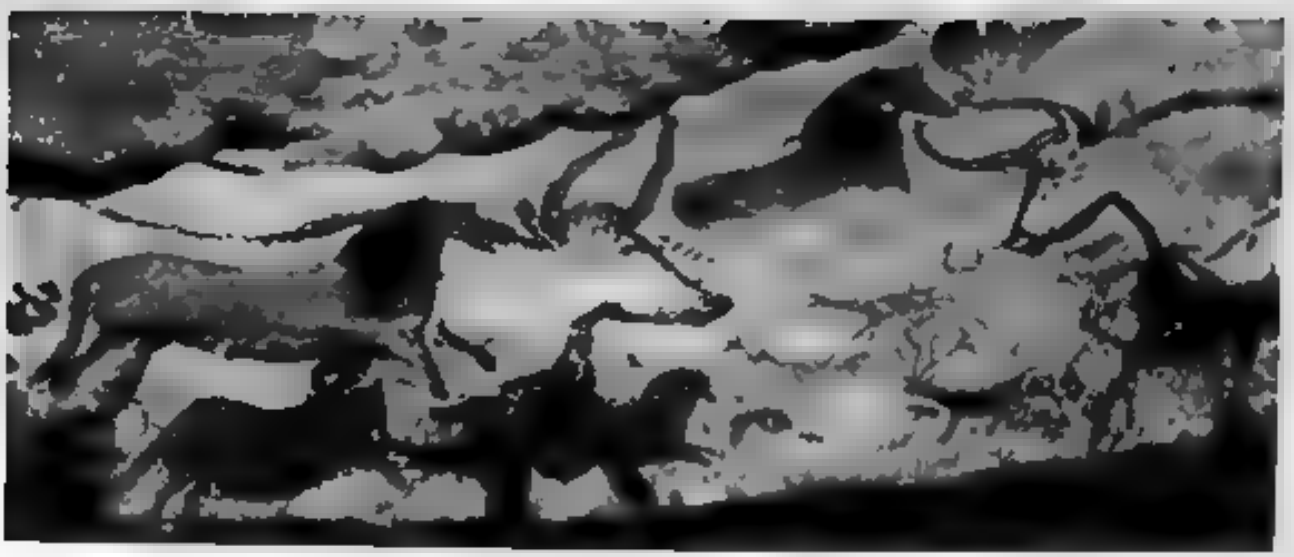
THE OLD STONE AGE

When did man start creating works of art? What prompted him to do so? What did these earliest works of art look like? Every history of art must begin with these questions—and with the admission that we cannot answer them. Our earliest ancestors began to walk the earth on two feet about a million years ago—but how they were then using their hands remains unknown to us. Not until some 600,000 years later do we meet the earliest traces of man the toolmaker. He must have been using tools all along—after all, even apes will pick up a stick to knock down a banana or a stone to throw at an enemy. The *making* of tools is a more complex matter. It demands first of all the ability to think of sticks or stones as "fruit knockers" or "bone crackers"—not only when they are needed for such purposes but at other times as well. Once man was able to do that, he gradually discovered that some sticks or stones had a handier shape than others, and he put them aside for future use. He selected and "appointed" certain sticks or stones as tools because he had begun to connect *form* and *function*. The sticks, of course, have not survived, but a few of the stones have; they are large pebbles or chunks of rock that show the marks of repeated use for the same operation—whatever that may have been. The next step was for man to try chipping away at these tools-by-appointment so as to improve their shape. This is the first craft of which we have evidence, and with it we enter a phase of human development known as the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age.

1 *Wounded Bison* (cave painting) c. 15,000–10,000 B.C. Altamira, Spain

It is during the last stage of the Paleolithic, about 20,000 years ago, that we encounter the earliest works of art known to us. These, however, already show an assurance and refinement far removed from any humble beginnings. Unless we are to believe that they came into being in a single, sudden burst—as Athena is said to have sprung full-grown from the head of Zeus, we must assume that they were preceded by thousands of years of slow growth about which we know nothing at all. At that time the last Ice Age was drawing to a close in Europe (there had been at least three previous ones, alternating with periods of subtropical warmth, at intervals of about 25,000 years), and the climate between the Alps and Scandinavia resembled that of present-day Siberia or Alaska. Huge herds of reindeer and other large herbivores roamed the plains and valleys, preyed upon by the ferocious ancestors of today's lions and tigers—and by our own ancestors. These men liked to live in caves or in the shelter of overhanging rocks wherever they could find them. Many such sites have been discovered, mostly in Spain and in southwestern France; on the basis of differences among the tools and other remains found there, scholars have divided up the "cavemen" into several groups, each named after a characteristic site, and of these it is especially the so-called Aurignacians and Magdalenians who stand out for the gifted artists they produced and for the important role art must have played in their lives.

The most striking works of Paleolithic art are the images of animals, incised, painted, or sculptured, on the rock surfaces of caves, such as the wonderful *Wounded Bison* from the cave at Altamira in northern Spain (fig. 1). The dying animal has collapsed on the ground, its legs no longer able to carry the weight of the body, yet even

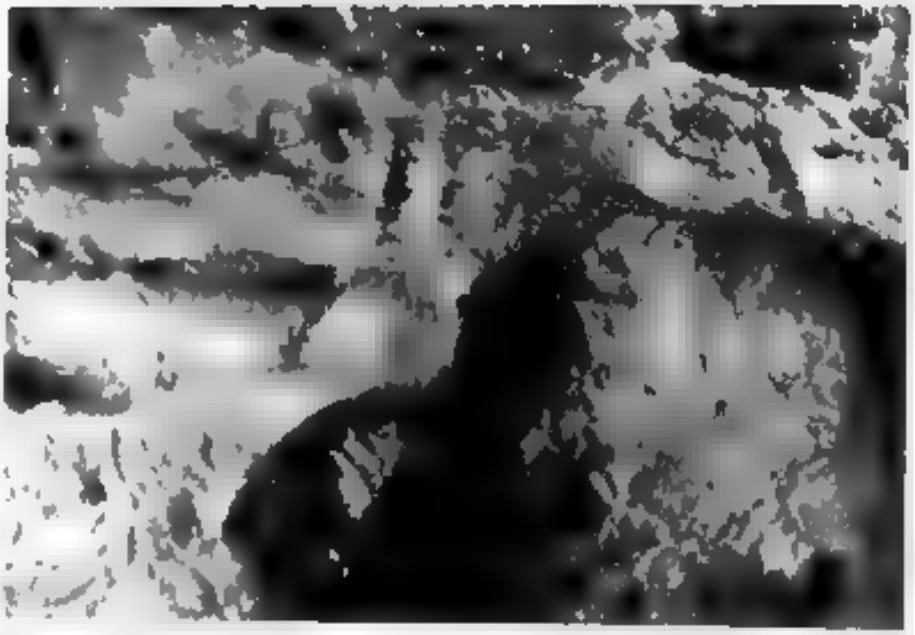


above 12 Cave Paintings c. 15,000–10,000 B.C. Lascaux (Dordogne), France

left 13 *Black Bull* (detail of a cave painting) c. 15,000–10,000 B.C. Lascaux (Dordogne), France

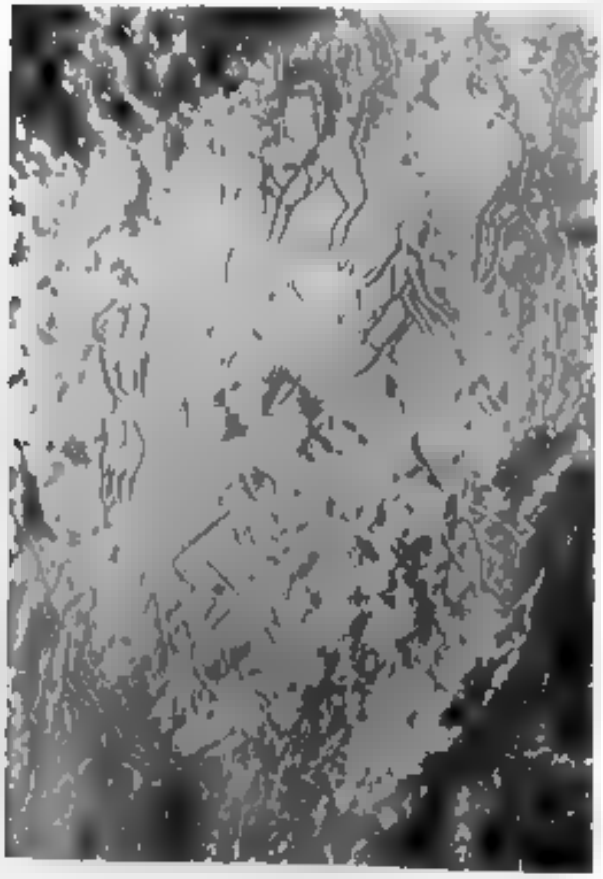
in this helpless state the head is lowered in defense against the spears of the hunters, which threaten it from the lower left-hand corner. What a vivid, lifelike picture it is! We are amazed not only by the keen observation, the assured, vigorous outlines, the subtly controlled shading that lends bulk and roundness to the forms, but even more perhaps by the power and dignity of this creature in its final agony. Equally impressive, though not quite as fine in detail, are the painted animals in the cave at Lascaux, in the Dordogne region of France (figs. 12, 13). Bison, deer, horses, and cattle race across walls and ceiling in wild profusion, some of them simply outlined in black, others filled in with bright earth colors, but all showing the same uncanny sense of life.

How did this extraordinary art develop? What purpose did it serve? And how did it happen to survive intact over so many thousands of years? The last question can be answered easily enough: for the pictures never occur near the mouth of a cave, where they would be open to easy view (and destruction) but only in the darkest recesses, as far from the entrance as possible. Some can be reached only by crawling on hands and knees, and the path is so intricate that one would soon be lost without an expert guide. The cave at Lascaux, characteristically enough, was discovered purely by chance in 1940 by some neighborhood boys whose dog had fallen into a hole that led to the underground chamber. Hidden away as they are in the bowels of the earth, to protect them from the casual intruder, these images must have served a purpose far more serious than mere decoration. There can be little doubt, in fact, that they were produced as part of a magic ritual to ensure a successful hunt. We gather this not only from their secret location and from the lines meant to represent spears or darts that are often found pointing at the animals, but also from the peculiar, disorderly way the images are superimposed on one another (as in fig. 12). Apparently, for the men of the Old Stone Age there was no clear distinction between image and reality: by making a picture of an animal they meant to bring the animal itself within their grasp, and in "killing" the image they thought they had killed the animal's vital spirit. Hence a "dead" image (one on which the killing ritual had been performed) was of no further significance and could be disregarded when it became necessary to renew the spell. The magic worked, too, we may be sure,



right: 4. *Nude Woman* c. 15,000–10,000 B.C.
Rock carving (detail). La Magdelene Cave
(Penne, Tarn), France

below: 15. *Ritual Dance*
c. 15,000–10,000 B.C.
Rock engraving, height of figures c. [illegible]
Cave of Addaura,
Monte Pellegrino (Palermo)



hunters whose courage was thus fortified were bound to be more successful when slaying these formidable beasts with their primitive weapons. Nor has the emotional basis of this kind of magic been lost even today. We carry snapshots of those we love in our wallets because this gives us a sense of their presence, and people have been known to tear up the photographs of someone they have come to hate.

Even so, there remains a good deal that puzzles us about the cave paintings. Why do they have to be in such inaccessible places? Couldn't the hunting magic they serve have been performed just as well out in the open? And why are they so marvelously life-like? Would not the magic have been equally effective if the "killing" had been practiced upon less realistic images? We know of scores of less latent instances of magic which require only the crudest and most schematic kind of representation, such as a crossed sticks for a human figure.

Perhaps we should regard the Magdalenian cave pictures as the final phase of a development that began as simple killing magic at a time when big game was plentiful, but shifted its meaning when the animals became scarce. There is evidence that the big herds withdrew northward as the climate of Central Europe grew warmer. At Altamira and Lascaux, then, the main purpose may no longer have been to "kill" but to "make" animals—to increase their supply. Could it be that the Magdalenians felt they had to practice their fertility magic in the bowels of the earth because they thought of the earth itself as a living thing from whose womb all other life springs? Such a notion is familiar to us from the cults of earth deities of later times; it is not impossible that its origin goes back to the Old Stone Age. If it does, it would help to explain the admirable realism of the cave paintings, for an artist who believes that he is actually "creating" an animal is more likely to strive for this quality than one who merely sets up an image for the kill. Some of the cave pictures even provide a clue to the origin of this tradition of fertility magic: in a good many instances, the shape of the animal seems to have been suggested by the natural formation of the rock, so that its body pour-

cides with a bump or its contour follows a vein or crack as far as possible. We all know how our imagination sometimes makes us see all sorts of images in chance formations such as clouds or blots. A Stone Age hunter, his mind filled with thoughts of the big game on which he depended for survival, would have been even more likely to recognize such animals as he stared at the rock surfaces of his cave, and to attribute deep significance to his discovery. Perhaps at first he merely reinforced the outlines of such images with a charred stick from the fire, so that others, too, could see what he had found. It is tempting to think that those who proved particularly good at finding such images were given a special status as artist-magicians and relieved of the dangers of the real hunt so that they could perfect their image-hunting, until finally they learned how to make images with little reliance on chance formations, though they continued to welcome such aid. A striking example of this process of creation is the remarkable *Nude Woman* from the La Magdeleine Cave at Penne (fig. 4), one of the rare instances of the human figure in Paleolithic art; apparently human fertility was a less pressing problem than animal fertility. The legs and torso have been carved from natural ledges of the rock in such a way that the shapes seem to emerge almost imperceptibly from the stone. The right arm is barely visible and the head appears to have been omitted altogether for lack of "co-operation" on the part of the natural surface. What kind of ritual may have centered on this figure we can only guess. Yet the existence of cave rituals relating to both human and animal fertility would seem to be confirmed by a unique group of Paleolithic drawings recently discovered on the walls of the cave of Addaura near Palermo, in Sicily (fig. 14). These images, incised into the rock with quick and sure lines, show human figures in dancelike movements, along with some animals, and here, as at Lascaux, we again find several separate layers of images superimposed on one another.

Apart from large-scale cave art, the men of the Upper Paleolithic also produced small, hand-sized drawings and carvings in bone, horn, or stone, skillfully cut by means of flint tools. These, too, seem to have originated with the recognition and elaboration of chance resemblances at an earlier stage. Stone Age men had been content to collect pebbles (and probably other small objects of less durable nature) in whose natural shape they saw representational qualities that rendered them magic; echoes of this approach can be felt in the more fully worked pieces of later times as well. Thus the so-called *Venus of Willendorf* in Austria (fig. 16), one of several such female fertility figurines, has a bulbous roundness of form that recalls an egg-shaped sacred pebble. And the masterful *Bison* (fig. 17) of reinderer horn owes its compact, expressive outline in part to the contours of the palm-shaped piece of antler from which it was carved. It is not an unworthy companion to the splendid beasts at Altamira and Lascaux.

The art of the Old Stone Age in Europe as we know it today marks the highest achievements of a way of life that began to decline soon after. Adapted almost perfectly to the special conditions of the receding Ice Age, it could not survive beyond them. In other parts of the world, the Old Stone Age gave way to new developments between c. 10,000 and 4000 B.C., except for a few partic-

16. *Venus of Willendorf*, c. 25,000–10,000 B.C. Stone, height 4 in. Museum of Natural History, Vienna.

17. *Bison* from La Magdeleine, near Les Eyzies (Dordogne), c. 15,000–10,000 B.C. Reindeer horn. Museum of National Antiquities, St. Germain-en-Laye, France.

18. *A Spirit Man Spearing Kangaroos*, aboriginal painting from Western Arnhem Land, North Australia. c 1900. Tree bark

quarly inhospitable areas where the Old Stone Age way of life continued because there was nothing to challenge or disturb it. The Bushmen of South Africa and the aborigines of Australia are — or were until very recently — the last remnants of this primeval phase of man's development. Even their art has decidedly Paleolithic features: the painting on tree bark from North Australia (fig. 18), while far less skillful than the cave pictures of Europe, shows a similar interest in movement and a keen observation of detail (including an "X-ray view" of the inner organs); only here it is kangaroos rather than bison on which the hunting magic is being worked.

FROM HUNTING TO HUSBANDRY

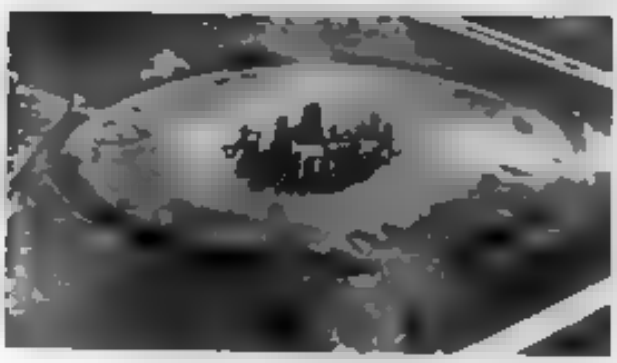
What brought the Old Stone Age to a close has been termed the Neolithic Revolution. And a revolution it was indeed, although it of course extended over several thousand years. It began in the Near East sometime about 8000 B.C., when men made their first successful attempts to domesticate animals and food grains — one of the truly epoch-making achievements of human history. Paleolithic man had led the unsettled life of the hunter and food gatherer, reaping where nature sowed and thus at the mercy of forces which he could neither understand nor control. But now, having learned how to assure their food supply by their own efforts, men settled down in permanent village communities; a new discipline and order entered their lives. There is, then, a very basic difference between the New Stone Age — or Neolithic — and the Old, despite the fact that men still depended on stone as the material of their main tools and weapons. The new mode of life brought forth a number of important new crafts and inventions long before the earliest appearance of metals: pottery, weaving and spinning, basic methods of architectural construction in wood, brick, and stone. We know all this from the tangible remains of Neolithic settlements that have been uncovered by excavation. Unfortunately, these remains tell us very little, as a rule, of the spiritual condition of Neolithic man. They include stone implements of ever greater technical refinement and beauty of shape, and an infinite variety of clay vessels covered with abstract ornamental patterns, but hardly anything comparable to the painting and sculpture of the Paleolithic. Yet the change-over from hunting to husbandry must have been accompanied by profound changes in man's view of himself and the world, and it seems impossible to believe that these did not find expression in art. There may be a vast chapter in the development of art here that is lost to us simply because Neolithic artists worked in wood or other impermanent materials. Or perhaps further excavations will help to fill the gap. A tantalizing glimpse of what lies in store for us is provided by the very recent discoveries at prehistoric Jericho, which include a group of impressive sculptured heads dating from between 7000 and 6000 B.C. (fig. 19). They are actual human skulls whose faces have been "reconstituted" in tinted plaster, with pieces of sea shell for the eyes. The subtlety and precision of the modeling, the fine gradation of planes and ridges, the feeling for the relationship of flesh and bone would be remarkable enough in themselves, quite apart from the amazingly early date. The features, moreover, do not show a single type; each has a strongly individual cast. Here, then, we have the only large-scale sculpture known to us so far between the Upper Paleolithic of c. 10,000 B.C. and the oldest monuments of Mesopotamian art, about 3500 to 3000 B.C.

19. Neolithic Plastered Skull, from Jericho, Jordan

above 20 Early Neolithic Wall and Tower c. 7000-6000 B.C. Jericho, Jordan

upper right 21 Dolmen c. 1500 B.C. Carnac, Brittany

right, center and below 22, 23 Stonehenge c. 1800-1400 B.C. Diameter of circle 97', height of stones above ground 13'. Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire, England



Mysterious as they are, these heads clearly point forward to the latter (compare fig. 72): they are the first harbingers of a tradition of portraiture that will continue unbroken until the collapse of the Roman Empire. Unlike Paleolithic art, which had grown from the perception of chance images, the Jericho heads are not intended to "create" life but to perpetuate it beyond death by replacing the transient flesh with a more enduring substance. From the circumstances in which these heads were found we gather that they were displayed above ground while the rest of the body was buried beneath the floor of the house: most likely they belonged to venerated ancestors whose beneficent presence was thus assured. Paleolithic man, too, had buried his dead, but we do not know what ideas he associated with the grave: was death merely a return to the womb of mother earth, or did he have some conception of the beyond? The Jericho heads, on the other hand, suggest that Neolithic man believed in a spirit or soul, located in the head, which could survive the death of the body and assert its power over the fortunes of later generations, and thus had to be appeased or controlled. The preserved heads, apparently, were "spirit traps" designed to keep the spirit in its original dwelling place. They thus express in visible form the sense of tradition, of family or clan continuity, that sets off the settled life of husbandry from the roving existence of the hunter. And Neolithic Jericho was a settled community of the most emphatic sort: the people who treasured the skulls of their forebears lived in stone houses with neat plaster floors, within a fortified town protected by walls and towers of rough but strong masonry construction (fig. 20). Yet, amazingly enough, they had no pottery, the technique of baking clay in a kiln, it seems, was not invented until later.

While the Near East became the cradle of civilization

(to be civilized, after all, means to live as a citizen, a town dweller), the Neolithic Revolution progressed at a very much slower pace in Europe. About 3000 B.C. Near Eastern influences began to spread to the northern shore of the Mediterranean, but beyond the Alps these influences did not make themselves felt until a much later time. In central and Northern Europe a sparse population continued to lead the simple tribal life of small hunting communities even after the introduction of bronze and iron, until a few hundred years before the birth of Christ. Thus Neolithic Europe never reached the level of social organization that produced the masonry architecture of Jericho; instead, we find there monumental stone structures of a different kind, called megalithic because they consisted of huge blocks or boulders placed upon each other without mortar. Their purpose was religious rather than civic or utilitarian; apparently the sustained and co-ordinated effort they required could be compelled only by the authority of religious faith, a faith that almost literally demanded the moving of mountains. Even today these megalithic monuments have an awe-inspiring, superhuman air about them, and they were the work of a forgotten race of giants. Some, known as dolmens, are tombs, "houses of the dead," with upright stones for walls and a single giant slab for a roof (fig. 23). Others, the so-called cromlechs, form the setting of religious observances. The one at Stonehenge in southern England (figs. 22, 24) consists of a great circle of evenly spaced uprights supporting horizontal slabs (lintels), and two inner circles similarly marked, with an altar-like stone at the center. The entire structure is oriented toward the exact point at which the sun rises on the day of the summer solstice, and therefore it must have served a sun-worshiping ritual. Whether a monument such as this should be termed architecture is a matter of definition; nowadays we tend to think of architecture in terms of enclosed interiors, yet we also have landscape architects, the designers of gardens, parks, and playgrounds, nor would we want to deny the status of architecture to open-air theaters or sports stadiums. Perhaps we ought to consult the ancient Greeks, who coined the term. To them, "archi-tecture" meant something higher than ordinary "tecture" (that is, "construction" or "building"), much as an archbishop ranks above a bishop or an archfiend above a fiend; a structure distinguished from the merely practical, everyday kind by its scale, order, permanence, or solemnity of purpose. A Greek, therefore, would certainly have acknowledged Stonehenge as architecture. And we, too, shall have no difficulty in doing so once we understand that it is not necessary to *enclose* space in order to define or articulate it. If architecture is "the art of shaping space to human needs and aspirations," then Stonehenge more than meets the test.

24 Plastered Skull, from the Sepik River, New Guinea. 19th century. British Museum, London.

PRIMITIVE ART

There are, as we have seen, a few human groups for whom the Old Stone Age lasted until the present day. Modern survivors of the Neolithic are far easier to find. They include all the so-called primitive societies of tropical Africa, the islands of the South Pacific, and the Americas. "Primitive" is a somewhat unfortunate word; it suggests, quite wrongly, that these societies represent the original condition of mankind, and has thus come to be burdened with all sorts of conflicting emotional overtones. Still, no other single term will do better. Let us continue, then, to use primitive as a convenient label for a way of life that has passed through the Neolithic Revolution but shows no signs of evolving in the direction of the "historic" civilizations. What this means is that primitive societies are essentially rural and self-sufficient; their social and political units are the village and the tribe, rather than the city and the state. They perpetuate themselves by custom and tradition, without the aid of written records; hence they have little awareness of their own history. The entire pattern of primitive life is static rather than dynamic, without the inner drive for change and expansion that we take for granted in ours. Primitive societies tend to be strongly isolationist and defensive toward outsiders; they represent a stable but precarious balance of man and his environment, ill-equipped to survive contact with urban civilizations. Most of them have proved tragically helpless against encroachment by the West. Yet at the same time the cultural heritage of primitive man has enriched our own: his customs and beliefs, his folklore, and his music have been recorded by ethnologists, and primitive art is being avidly collected and admired throughout the Western world.

The rewards of this concern with the world of primitive man have been manifold. Among them is a better understanding of the origins of our own culture in the

Neolithic of the Near East and Europe. Though the materials on which we base our knowledge of primitive society and its ways are almost invariably of quite recent date—very few of them go back beyond the seventeenth century—they offer striking analogies with the Neolithic of the distant past and, of course, they are infinitely richer. Thus the meaning of the cult of skulls at Jericho is illuminated by countless parallels in primitive art. The closest, astonishingly enough, is to be found in the Sepik River district of New Guinea, where until quite recently the skulls of ancestors (and of important enemies) were given features in much the same fashion, including the use of sea shells for eyes (fig. 24). And here we *know* that the purpose was to "trap" and thereby to gain power over the spirit of the dead. On the other hand, the Jericho cult probably differed from the New Guinea version in some significant respects, for the sculptured skulls from the Sepik River lack the delicate, realistic modeling of those from Jericho; the painted tribal pattern on the faces, rather than any actual portrait resemblance, establishes the identity of the deceased. The unrelieved savagery of expression makes it hard for us to think of these heads as works of art, yet they embody the same belief as the splendid wood carvings of ancestral figures produced in that area, such as the one in figure 25. The entire design is centered on the head, with its intensely staring shell eyes, while the body—as in primitive art generally—has been reduced to the role of a mere support. The limbs suggest the embryo position in which so many primitive people like to bury their dead. The bird emerging from behind the head, with its great wings outspread, represents the ancestor's vital spirit or life force. From its appearance it must be a frigate bird or some other sea bird noted for its powers of flight. Its soaring movement, contrasted with the rigidity of the human figure, forms a compelling image, and a strangely familiar one, for our own tradition, too, includes the "soul bird"—from the dove of the Holy Spirit to the albatross of the Ancient Mariner—so that we find ourselves responding, almost against our will, to a work of art that at first glance might seem both puzzling and repellent.

Ancestor worship is the most persistent feature of primitive religions and the strongest cohesive force in primitive society, but since the primitive world consists of countless isolated tribal groups, it can take an almost infinite variety of forms, and its artistic expression varies even more. On Easter Island, for instance, we find huge ancestral figures carved from volcanic rock (fig. 26). Their trunks, now buried in drifting soil accumulated over several centuries, are hidden from view. Here the carver's effort has again centered on the elongated, craggy features of the face, and the back of the head is suppressed entirely. These figures seem to reflect an impulse akin to that behind the megalithic monuments of Europe. Among the native tribes of Gabon in Equatorial Africa, the skulls of ancestors used to be collected in large containers that were protected by a carved guardian figure, a sort of communal

25 *Male Figure Surmounted by a Bird*, from the Sepik River, New Guinea. 19th–20th century. Wood, height 48". Washington University Art Collection, St. Louis

26 Stone Images. 17th century or earlier. On the slope of Rano Raraku, Easter Island

above: 27 Guardian Figure, from the Bakota area, Gabon, Equatorial Africa, 19th–20th century. Wood covered with brass, height 30 . Ethnographic Collection of the University, Zurich

top right: 28 Guardian Figure, from the Bakota area, Gabon, Equatorial Africa, 19th–20th century. Wood covered with brass and copper, height 28 . Collection Charles Ratton, Paris

right: 29 *Male Portrait Head*, from Ife, Nigeria, 12th century. Bronze, height 11 . Collection the Oni of Ife

dwelling place of the ancestral spirits. Figure 27 shows such a guardian in the form traditional among the Bakota. This tribe, like a number of others along the west coast of Central Africa, was familiar with nonferrous metals to some extent, so that its artists were able to sheathe their guardian images in polished brass, thus endowing them with special importance. This figure is a remarkable example of the geometric abstraction which occurs, to a greater or lesser extent, throughout the realm of primitive art. Except for the head, the entire design has been flattened into a single plane: body and limbs are contracted to a hollow diamond shape; the headdress consists of two segments of circles. The face, in contrast, is a concave oval within which two spherical eyes and a pyramid-like nose nestle as they would in the center of a dish. The effect of the whole is extraordinarily calm, disciplined, and harmonious—a finely balanced sequence of shapes so unaggressive that one might almost mistake it for mere decoration. Surely this guardian could not

have been meant to frighten anybody. Tribal secrets are not readily betrayed, hence the available accounts do not tell us very much about the exact significance of the Bakota guardians. It seems reasonable, however, to explain their extreme remoteness from nature—and the abstract tendency of primitive art generally—as an effort to convey the "otherness" of the spirit world, to divorce—as strictly as the artist's imagination would allow—from the world of everyday appearances. Well and good—but how are we to account for the varying *degrees* of abstraction in primitive art? Must we assume that the more abstract its form, the more "spiritual" its meaning? If so, does the difference between the Bakota and Sepik River figures reflect an equally great difference in the kinds of ancestor worship from which they sprang, or are there perhaps other factors to be taken into account as well?

As it happens, the Bakota guardians provide a good test for these assumptions. They have been collected in considerable numbers, and the differences among them are notable even though they all clearly belong to a single type and must have been employed for exactly the same purpose. Our second specimen (fig. 28) is almost identical with the first, except for the head, which in comparison seems almost gruesomely realistic. Its shape is strongly convex rather than concave, and every detail has an unmistakable representational meaning. This face, with its open mouth full of pointed teeth, is obviously designed to frighten. Here, we feel, is a guardian figure that does indeed live up to its function. Yet the members of the tribe failed to share our reaction, for they found the more abstract guardian figure equally acceptable. What, then, is the relation between the two? They were probably made at different times, but the interval could not have been more than a century or two, inasmuch as wooden sculpture does not survive for long under tropical conditions, and European travelers, so far as we know, did not begin to bring back any Bakota guardians until the eighteenth century. In any event, given the rigidly conservative nature of primitive society, we can hardly believe that the ancestor cult of the Bakota underwent any significant change during the time span that separates figure 27 from figure 28. Which of them came first, or—to put the question more cautiously—which represents the older, more nearly original version? Figure 28, surely, since we cannot imagine how its realistic features could have evolved from the spare geometry of figure 27. The line of development thus leads from figure 28 to figure 27, from representation to abstraction (we also have a good many intermediate examples). This change seems to have taken place while the religious meaning remained the same. Must we then credit the primitive artist and his public with an interest in abstraction for its own sake? That hardly sounds plausible. There is, I think, a far easier explanation: the increasingly abstract quality of the Bakota guardians resulted from endless repetition. We don't know how many such figures were in use at the same time, but the number must have been considerable,

30. *Hornblower*. Benin, Nigeria. Late 16th–early 18th century. Bronze, height 14". The Museum of Primitive Art, New York.

since each guardian presided over a container of not more than a dozen skulls. Their life expectancy being limited, they had to be replaced at frequent intervals, and the conservative temper of primitive society demanded that every new guardian follow the pattern of its predecessor. Yet, as we know, no copy is ever completely faithful to its model: so long as he repeated the basic outlines of the traditional design, the Bakota carver enjoyed a certain latitude, for no two of the many surviving guardian figures have exactly the same facial structure. Maybe these slight variations were even expected of him, so as to distinguish the newly created guardian from the one it replaced. Any gesture or shape that is endlessly repeated tends to lose its original character: it becomes ground down, simplified, more abstract. We see a good example of this in the ideographs of Chinese writing, which started out as tiny pictures but before long lost all trace of their representational origin and became mere signs. The same kind of transformation, although not nearly as far-reaching, can be traced among the Bakota guardians: they grew simpler and more abstract, since this was the only direction in which they could develop. One might term what happened to them "abstraction by inbreeding." We have discussed the process at such length because it is a fundamental characteristic of Neolithic and

primitive art, though we cannot often observe it as clearly as in the case of the Bakota figures. But let us be careful not to take a negative view of this "inbreeding." It has its dangers, to be sure, but it also leads to the creation of an infinite variety of new and distinctive designs, both in art and in nature (as witness the vast number of breeds among dogs, all of them the result of inbreeding). Finally, we should note that abstraction by inbreeding does have its ultimate source in the primitive artist's concern with the otherness of the spirit world, for it is this concern that makes him repeat the same designs over and over again. After all, if he sets out to create a guardian of ancestral skulls, the only model he can use is another such guardian figure, and he cannot know whether he has succeeded unless the two resemble each other.

The inbreeding of images in primitive art can be interrupted in two ways: there may be a forcible interbreeding of different tribal traditions as the consequence of migration or conquest, or conditions may develop that favor a return to the world of visible appearances. Such conditions prevailed for a time along the coast of Equatorial Africa a few hundred miles northwest of Gabon. There, through contact with the historic civilizations of the Mediterranean, a number of native kingdoms arose, but none of them proved very enduring. A king, unlike a tribal chieftain, bases his authority on the claim that it has been given to him by supernatural forces: he rules "by the grace of God," embodying the divine will in his own person, or he may even assume the status of a deity himself. There are thus no inherent limits, ethnic, linguistic, or otherwise, to royal authority. Every king is, at least in theory, all-conquering. Hence his domain is not only larger and more complex than that of the tribal chief: he also has to exact far greater obedience from his subjects. He does so with the aid of a favored ruling elite, the aristocracy, to whom he delegates some of his authority. They enforce security and order among the rest of the population, which in return must support the aristocracy and the royal court by contributing a share of its goods and services. The institution of kingship, then, demands a society divided into classes, rather than the loose association of family or clan groups that makes up a tribe. It means the victory of the town over the countryside, and thus runs counter to the rural tenor of primitive life. The African kingdoms never quite achieved this victory, so their instability is perhaps not surprising. The decisive factor may have been their failure to develop or adopt a system of writing. They existed, as it were, along the outer

31. *Kneeling Woman*, from the Baluba area, Congo
19th–20th century. Wood, height 18 in.
Royal Museum of the Belgian Congo, Tervueren, Belgium

32. Mask, from Kappel, Louchental, Switzerland
9th century. Wood, height 18
Rietberg Museum, Zurich (v. d. Heydt Collection)

34. Mask, from the Bamenda area, Cameroons. 19th–20th century. Wood, height 26 . Rietberg Museum, Zurich (E. v. d. Heydt Collection)

34. Mask, from the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain. 19th–20th century. Bark cloth, height 18 . Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico

edge of the historic civilizations, and their rise and fall, therefore, are known to us only in dim and fragmentary fashion.

Artistically, the most impressive remains of these vanished native kingdoms are the portrait heads excavated at Ife, Nigeria, somewhat to the west of the lower course of the Niger River. Some are of terracotta, others, such as the splendid example in figure 29, of bronze. The casting technique, called the cire-perdue (lost wax) process, surely had been imported from the Mediterranean, but it was used here with great skill. The actual modeling is done in wax over an earthen core; another layer of earth is firmly packed around the head, the whole is then heated to melt out the wax, and molten bronze is poured into the hollow form thus created. Even more astonishing than its technical refinement, however, is the subtle and assured realism of our Ife head. The features are thoroughly individual, yet so harmonious and noble in expression as to recall the classical art of Greece and Rome (see colorplate 7 and fig. 236). At the time this head was produced, the twelfth century A.D., nothing of comparable character can be found in Europe. Only the tribal scars on the face, and the holes for attaching hair and beard, relate it to primitive art elsewhere—these, and the purpose for which it was made: ancestor worship. Our head, together with its companions, must have formed part of a long series of portraits of dead rulers, and the use of real hair—probably hair taken from the person represented—strongly suggests that these heads were prepared as "traps" for the spirits of the deceased. But since the rulers each had individual importance, their spirits, unlike those of the tribal ancestors, could not be merged into an impersonal collective entity; in order to be an effective trap, every head had to be an authentic, clearly distinguishable portrait. It is possible, in fact, that these heads were made (if not of bronze, then at least of terracotta) while their subjects were still alive, and became spirit traps only after the ruler's death, through the addition of his hair. Clearly, each of these heads is unique and irreplaceable. It had to last forever; hence it was executed in laborious bronze rather than wood. It is no accident, then, that the Ife heads bear a closer resemblance to the Jericho skulls than to the ancestor figures of primitive art. For the rulers of Ife had indeed recaptured something of the urban quality of the Jericho ancestor cult.

The bronze technique of Ife was handed on to the kingdom of Benin, which arose in the same area and did not disappear until the early eighteenth century. In addition to ancestor heads, the artists of Benin produced a vast variety of works that had nothing to do with the spirit world but served to glorify the ruler and his court. The *Hornblower* (fig. 30) is a characteristic specimen of this art for display. By the standards of primitive sculpture as a whole, it seems exceptionally realistic, but when measured against the art of Ife, it betrays its close kinship with tribal wood carvings in the emphasis on the head and the geometric simplification of every detail.

That primitive man should prefer to think of the spirits of his ancestors collectively, as did the Bakota, rather than in terms of separate individuals, is not at all surpris-

Mask (Eskimo), from southwest Alaska
Late 19th century. Wood, height 22
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York

ing in view of the curiously fluid nature of his religious beliefs. Such religious beliefs have been termed animism, for to the primitive mind a spirit exists in every living thing. He will feel that he must appease the spirit of a tree before he cuts it down, but the spirit of any particular tree is also part of a collective "tree spirit," which in turn merges into a general "life spirit." Other spirits dwell in the earth, in rivers and lakes, in the rain, in sun and moon, still others demand to be appeased in order to promote fertility or cure disease. Their dwelling places may be given the shape of human figures, in which case such spirits sometimes achieve enough of a stable identity to be viewed as rudimentary deities. This seems to be true of the very fine *Kneeling Woman* (fig. 31), produced by the Baluba tribe of the Congo region, though little is known about her ritual significance. The figure is among the gentlest and least abstract of all tribal carvings, and her trancelike expression, as well as the hollow bowl, suggests a ceremonial of incantation or divination.

In dealing with the spirit world, primitive man was not content to perform rituals or to present offerings before his spirit traps; he needed to act out his relations with the spirit world through dances and similar dramatic ceremonials in which he himself could temporarily assume the role of the spirit trap by disguising himself with elaborate masks and costumes. The origin of these dance rituals goes back as far as the Old Stone Age (see fig. 15), and there are indications that animal disguises were worn even then. In primitive society, the acting-out ceremonials assumed a vast variety of patterns and purposes, and the costumes, always with a mask as the central feature, became correspondingly varied and elaborate. Nor has the fascination of the mask died out to this day. We still feel the thrill of a real change of identity when we wear one at Halloween or carnival time, and among the folk customs of the European peasantry there were, until recently, certain survivals of pre-Christian ceremonies in which the participants impersonated demons by means of carved masks of truly primitive character (see fig. 32). Masks form by far the richest chapter in primitive art; the proliferation of shapes, materials, and functions is almost limitless. Even the manner of wearing them varies surprisingly: some cover only the face, others the entire head; some rest on the shoulders; some may be worn above the head, attached to a headdress or atop a pole. There are masks of human faces, ranging from the realistic to the most fantastic, and animal masks or combinations of both in every conceivable form. There are also masks that are not made to be worn at all but to be displayed independently as images complete in themselves. The few samples reproduced here can convey no more than the faintest suggestion of the wealth of the available material. Their meaning, more often than not, is impossible to ascertain. The ceremonies which they served usually had elements of secrecy that were jealously guarded from the uninitiated, especially if the performers themselves formed a secret society. This emphasis on the mysterious and spectacular not only heightened the dramatic impact of the rituals, it also permitted the makers of masks to strive for imaginative new effects, so that masks in general are less subject to traditional restrictions than other kinds of primitive sculpture.

African masks, such as the one in figure 33, are distinguished for symmetry of design and the precision and sharpness of their carving. In our example, the features of the human face have not been rearranged but restructured, so to speak, with the tremendous eyebrows rising above the rest like a protective canopy. The solidity of these shapes becomes strikingly evident as we turn to the fluid, ghostly features of the mask from the Gazelle Peninsula on the island of New Britain in the South Pacific, made of bark cloth over a bamboo frame (fig. 34). It is meant to represent an animal spirit, said to be a crocodile, and was worn in nocturnal ceremonies by dancers carrying snakes. Even stranger is the Eskimo mask from southwest Alaska (fig. 35), with its nonsymmetrical design of seemingly unrelated elements, especially the dangling "leaves" or sticks attached to curved "branches." The single eye and the mouth full of teeth are the only recognizable details to the outsider, yet to those who know how to "read" this assembly of shapes it is the condensed

left 36. War Helmet (Tlingit), from southeast Alaska. Early 19th century. Wood, height 12". The American Museum of Natural History, New York.

below 37. Mask, from the Brakebill Mound, Tennessee. c. 1000–1600. Ocean shell, height 8". Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

represent an image of a tribal myth about a swan that drives white whales to the hunters. Such radical displacement of facial details is characteristic of Eskimo masks generally, though it is seldom carried as far as here. The wooden war helmet from southeast Alaska (fig. 36), in contrast, strikes us by its powerful realism, which may be due not only to the fact that this is a work of Indian rather than Eskimo origin, but also to its function. It too, is a kind of mask: a second face intended to disconcert the enemy by its fierce expression. Our final specimen, one of the most fascinating of all, comes from an Indian burial mound in Tennessee (fig. 37). It has been estimated as being between 400 and 1000 years old. The material is a single large sea shell, whose rim has been smoothed and whose gently convex outer surface has been transformed into a face by simple but strangely evocative carving and drilling. Shell masks such as this seem to have been placed in graves for the purpose of providing the dead with a second, permanent face to trap his spirit underground.

Compared to sculpture, painting plays a subordinate role in primitive society. Though the technique was widely known, its use was restricted in most areas to the coloring of wood carvings or of the human body, sometimes with intricate ornamental designs (see fig. 25). As an independent art, however, painting could establish itself only when exceptional conditions provided suitable surfaces. Thus the Nootka Indians on Vancouver Island, off the northwest coast of North America, developed fairly large wooden houses with walls of smooth boards which they liked to decorate with scenes of tribal legend. Figure 38 shows a section of such a wall, representing a thunder bird on a killer whale flanked by a lightning snake and a wolf. The animals are clearly recognizable but they do not form a meaningful scene unless we happen to know the story [illegible] the [illegible]. The owner of the house obviously did [illegible] the painter's main concern was how to combine the four creatures into an effective pattern filling the area at his disposal. It is apparent that these animals, which play important parts in the tribal mythology, must have been represented countless times before: each of them is assembled in accordance with a well-established traditional formula made up of fixed ingredients—small, firmly outlined pieces of solid color that look as if they have been cut out separately and laid down one by one. The artist's pattern-consciousness goes so far that any overlapping of forms embarrasses him: where he cannot avoid it, he treats the bodies of the animals as transparent, so that the outline of the whale's back can be seen continuing right through the lower part of the bird's body, and the feathers of the right wing reveal the front legs of the wolf.

Formal and abstract as the Nootka wall painting may seem in comparison with the animals of the Paleolithic, it becomes downright realistic if we judge it by the standards of the sand painting visible in figure 39. That unique art grew up among the Indian tribes inhabiting the arid

18 *Lightning Snake, Wolf and Thunder Bird on Killer Whale* (Nootka) c. 1840. Wood, 1 ft. × 9 in. The American Museum of Natural History, New York

19 Sand Painting Ritual for a Sick Child (Navaho), Arizona

Southwest of the United States is main practitioners today are the Navaho of Arizona. The technique, which demands considerable skill, consists of pouring powdered rock or earth of various colors on a flat bed of sand. Despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that they are impermanent and must be made fresh for each occasion that demands them, the designs are rigidly fixed by tradition; they can, indeed, be cited as a prime example of abstraction by inbreeding. The various compositions are rather like recipes, prescribed by the medicine man and "filled" under his supervision by the painter. For the main use of sand paintings is in ceremonies of healing.

That these ceremonies are sessions of great emotional intensity on the part of both doctor and patient is well attested by our illustration. Such a close union—or even, at times, identity—of priest, healer, and artist may be difficult to understand in modern Western terms. (Or could it be that all these qualities are present, though not to an equal degree, in the personality and work of Sigmund Freud?) But for primitive man, trying to bend nature to his needs by magic and ritual, the three functions must have appeared as different aspects of a single process. And the success or failure of this process was to him quite literally a matter of life and death.

2. Egyptian Art

History, we are often told, begins with the invention of writing, some 5000 years ago. It makes a convenient landmark, for the two events do coincide in a rough way, and the absence of written records is surely one of the key differences between prehistoric and historic societies. But as soon as we ask why this is so, we face some intriguing problems. First of all, how valid is the distinction between "prehistoric" and "historic"? Does it merely reflect a difference in our *knowledge* of the past? (Thanks to the invention of writing, we do know a great deal more about history than about prehistory.) Or was there a genuine change in the way things happened, or the kinds of things that happened, after history began? Obviously, prehistory was far from uneventful; the road from hunting to husbandry was a long and arduous one. Yet the changes in man's condition that mark this road, decisive though they are, seem incredibly slow-paced and gradual when measured against the events of the past 5000 years. The beginning of history, then, means a sudden increase in the speed of events, a shifting from low into high gear, as it were. And we shall see that it also means a change in the *kind* of events.

Perhaps it is merely a matter of perspective: things that are near seem larger, but I do not think so. For the problems and pressures faced by historic societies are very different from those that confronted Paleolithic or Neolithic man. Prehistory might be defined as that phase of human evolution during which man as a species learned how to maintain himself against a hostile environment; his achievements were responses to threats of physical extinction. With the domestication of animals and food plants, he had won a decisive victory in this battle, assuring his survival on this planet. But the Neolithic Revolution placed him on a level at which he might well have remained indefinitely: the forces of nature, at least during that geological era, would never again challenge him as they had Paleolithic man. And in many parts of the globe, as we saw in the previous chapter, man was content to stay on the Neolithic plateau of primitive society. In a few places, however, the Neolithic balance of man and nature was upset by a new threat, a threat posed not by nature but by man himself. The earliest monument to that threat is seen in the fortifications of Neolithic Jericho (see fig. 20), constructed almost 9000 years ago. What was the source of the human conflict that made them necessary? Competition for grazing land among tribes of herdsmen or for arable soil among farming communities? The basic cause, we suspect, was that the Neolithic Revolution had been too successful in this area, permitting the human population to grow beyond the available food supply. This situation might have been resolved in a number of ways: constant tribal warfare could have reduced the population, or the people could have united in larger and more disciplined social units for the sake of ambitious group efforts that no loosely organized tribal society would have been able to achieve. The fortifications at Jericho were an enterprise of this kind, requiring sustained and specialized labor over a long period. We do not know the outcome of the struggle in that region (future excavations may tell us how far the urbanizing process extended), but about 3000 years later similar conflicts, on a larger scale, arose in the Nile valley and that of the Tigris and Euphrates, and there these conflicts generated enough pressure to produce a

40. Men, Boats, and Animals (wall painting), c. 3100 B.C., Hierakonpolis

new kind of society very much more complex and efficient than had ever existed before.

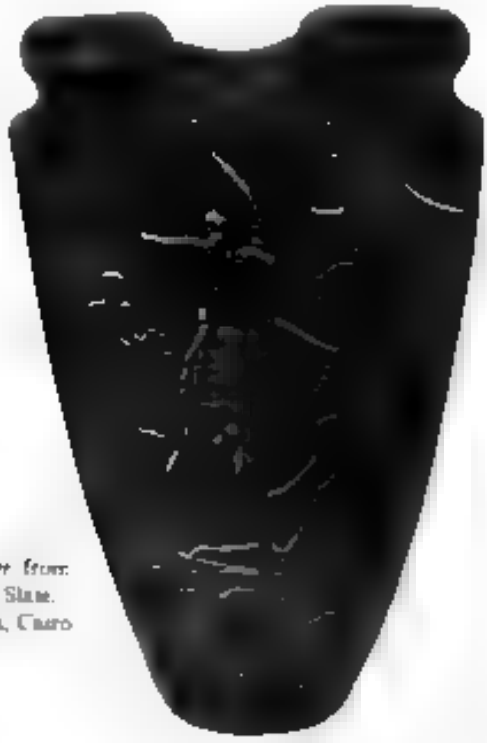
It is at this point that we find the pace of events shifting into high gear. These societies quite literally *made* history. They now [illegible] forth great men and great deeds [illegible] definition of history by demanding human effort on a new and larger scale, but they made these achievements *memorable*. In order to be memorable an event must be more than worth remembering [illegible] must also be accomplished quickly enough to be grasped by human memory and not spread over many centuries as was the Neolithic Revolution. From now on first in Egypt and Mesopotamia, somewhat later in neighboring areas as well as in the Indus valley and along the Yellow River, events happen in a new dynamic world where the capacity to survive was challenged not by the forces of nature but by human forces, by tensions and conflicts arising either within a society or as the result of competition between societies. These efforts to cope with human environment have posed a far greater challenge to man than his earliest struggle with nature. They are the cause of the ever-quickening pace of events during the past 5000 years.

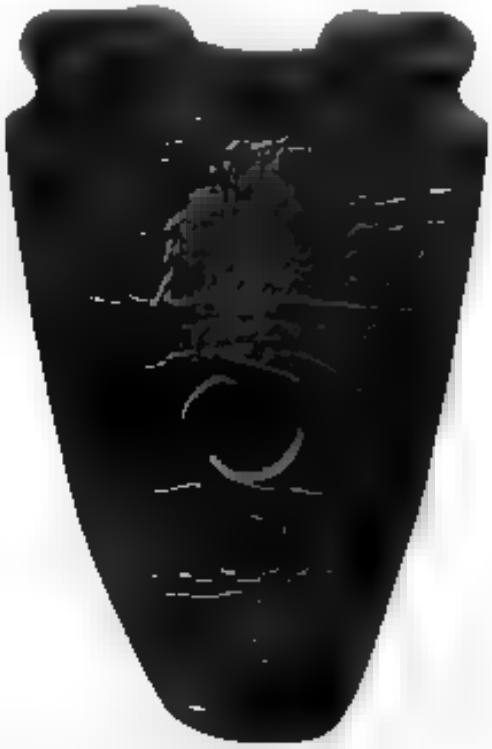
The invention of writing was an early and indispensable accomplishment. The histories of Mesopotamia and Egypt [illegible] the growth we have known would have been impossible. We do not know the earliest phase of this development, but it may have taken several hundred years. Between [illegible] and [illegible] roughly speaking, with Mesopotamia in the lead, after the new societies were already past their first stage. History was well under way by the time writing could be used to record its events.

THE OLD KINGDOM

Egyptian civilization has long been regarded as the most rigid and conservative ever. Plato said that Egyptian art had not changed in 10,000 years. Perhaps "enduring" and "continuous" are better terms for it, although at first glance all Egyptian art between 3000 and 500 B.C. does tend to have a certain sameness. There is a kernel of truth in this: the basic pattern of Egyptian institutions, beliefs, and artistic ideas was formed during the first few centuries of that vast span of years and kept reasserting itself until the very end. We shall see, however, that as time went on this basic pattern went through ever more severe crises that challenged its survival. Had it been as inflexible as supposed, it would have succumbed long before it finally did. Egyptian art alternates between conservatism and innovation, but is never static. Some of its great achievements had a decisive influence on Greek and Roman art, and thus we can still feel ourselves linked to the Egypt of 5000 years ago by a continuous, living tradition.

The history of Egypt is divided into dynasties of rulers, in accordance with ancient Egyptian practice, beginning with the First Dynasty shortly before 3000 B.C. (the dates of the earliest rulers are difficult to translate exactly into our calendar). The transition from prehistory to the First Dynasty is known as the predynastic period. The Old Kingdom forms the first major division after that, ending about 2181 B.C. with the overthrow of the Sixth Dynasty. This method of counting historic time conveys at once the strong Egyptian sense of continuity and the overwhelming importance of the Pharaoh (king), who was not only the supreme ruler but a god. We have had





41, 42 *Palette of King Narmer* from Hierakonpolis, c. 3100 B.C. Slate, height 25". Egyptian Museum, Cairo

occasion to mention the main features of kingship before (see page 28) the Pharaoh transcended them all, for his kingship was not a duty or privilege derived from a superhuman source but was absolute divine. However absurd his status may seem to us, and however ineffective it was in practice at times of political disturbance, it remained the key feature of Egyptian civilization. For us it has particular importance because it very largely determined the character of Egyptian art. We do not know exactly the steps by which the early Pharaohs established their claim to divinity, but we know their historic achievements: molding the Nile valley from the first cataract at Assuan to the Delta into a single effective state, and increasing its fertility by regulating the annual inundation of the river waters through dams and canals.

Of these vast public works nothing remains today, and very little has survived of ancient Egyptian palaces and cities. Our knowledge of Egyptian civilization rests almost entirely on the tombs and their contents. This is no accident, since these tombs were built to last forever. Yet we must not make the mistake of concluding that the Egyptians viewed life on this earth merely as a road to the grave. Their preoccupation with the soul of the dead is a link with the Neolithic past, but the meaning they gave it was quite new and different: the dark fear of the spirit of the dead, which dominates primitive ancestor cults, seems entirely absent. Instead, the Egyptian attitude was that each man must prepare for his own happy afterlife. He would equip his tomb as a kind of shadowy replica of his daily environment for his spirit, his *ka*, to enjoy, and would make sure that his *ka* had a body to dwell in (his own mummified corpse, or, if that should be destroyed, a statue of himself). There is a curious blurring of the sharp line between life and death here, and perhaps that was the essential impulse behind these mock households: a man who knew that after death his *ka* would enjoy the same pleasures he did, and who had provided these pleasures in advance by his own efforts, could look forward to an active and happy life without being haunted by fear of the great unknown. In a sense, then, the Egyptian tomb was a kind of life insurance, an investment in peace of mind. Such, at least, is the impression one gains of Old Kingdom tombs. Later on, the serenity of this concept of death was disturbed by a tendency to subdivide the spirit or soul into two or more separate identities, and by the introduction of a sort of judgment, a weighing of souls, and it is only then that we also find expressions of the fear of death.

An early stage in the development of Egyptian funerary customs, and of Egyptian art, can be seen in the fragment of a wall painting from a predynastic tomb at Hierakonpolis (fig. 40), which also happens to be the oldest known picture on a man-made flat surface, a brick wall. The design is still decidedly primitive in character—an even scattering of forms over the entire surface. It is instructive to note, however, that the human and animal figures tend to become standardized, abbreviated

41. *Pottery* [illegible] Egyptian Museum [illegible]

signs, almost as if they were on the verge of turning into hieroglyphics (such as we see in fig. 67). The large white shapes are boats; their significance here seems to be that of funeral barges or vehicles of the soul, since that is their role in later tombs. The black and white figures above the topmost boat are mourning women, their arms spread out in a gesture of grief. For the rest, the picture does not appear to have any coherence as a scene nor any symbolic import; perhaps we ought to view it as an early attempt at those typical scenes of daily life that we meet several centuries later in Old Kingdom tombs (figs. 55, 56).

At the time of the Hierakonpolis mural, about 3200 B.C., Egypt was in process of learning the use of bronze tools. The country, we may assume, was ruled by a number of local sovereigns not too far removed from the status of tribal chiefs. The fight scenes between black-bodied and white-bodied men in the painting probably

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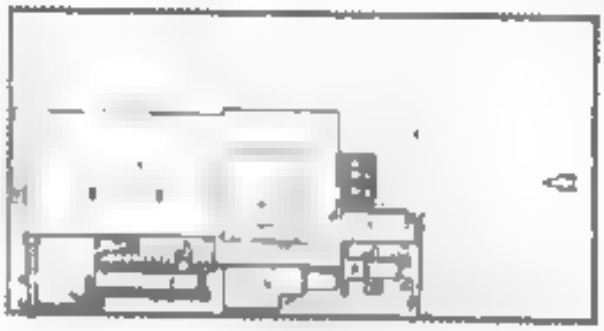
reflect local warfare and raids. Out of these emerged two rival kingdoms, Upper and Lower Egypt. The struggle between them was ended when one of the Upper Egyptian kings, called Menes in later accounts, won a decisive victory over Lower Egypt and combined the two realms. He is probably identical with King Narmer, who appears on the strange but important object in figures 41 and 42, a ceremonial slate palette celebrating a victory over Lower Egypt. Note the African crocodile on which the king is seated, from Hierakonpolis, but the work has little in common with the wall painting. Nor was the Narmer palette can even be the oldest of its kind. We know not only of the earliest sculpture image of a historic personage identified by name, but its character is clearly no longer primitive. In fact, it is a work in which most of the features of Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom and later have already enough precedent material to trace step by step the evolution of the wall painting into this palette.

Let us first read the scene on both sides. The assumption that we are able to read it is an indication that we have lifted a veil behind which the meaning of these reliefs is made clear and explicit not only by means of hieroglyphic labels but also through the use of a broad range of visual conventions conveying precise messages to the beholder and, most important of all, through the disciplined rational consciousness of the design. In fact, Narmer has extended a victory over enemies by the hair and about to slay them with his mace. Two more defeated enemies are placed in the lower compartment, the rectangular shape next to the main scene is a fortified town or stronghold belonging to the upper right we see a papyrus bush of papyrus plants holding a falcon standing above a clump of papyrus plants holding a tether attached to a human head which grows from the same stem as the plants. This composite image actually repeats the unification symbolism of the heraldic papyrus plant, name of Lower Egypt, which the victorious falcon Horus represents of Upper Egypt. The parallel between Horus and Narmer are the same, a god triumphs over human resistance. Narmer's gesture must not be taken as representing a real fight, the enemy is helpless from the very start, and he waves a ritual rather than a physical effort. We gather this from the fact that Narmer has taken off his sandals, the court official behind him carries them in his right hand, an indication that he is standing on holy ground. On the other side of the palette (fig. 42) he again appears barefoot, followed by the sandal carrier, as he marches in solemn procession behind a group of standard-bearers to inspect the decapitated bodies of prisoners. (The same notion recurs in the Old Testament, apparently as the result of Egyptian influence, when the Lord commands Moses to remove his shoes before He appears to him in the burning bush.) The bottom compartment re-enacts the victory once again in a symbolic event with the Pharaoh represented as a strong bull trampling an enemy and knocking down a citadel. A bull's tail hanging down from his belt is shown in both images of Narmer. It was to remain a part of Pharaoh's ceremonial garb for the next 3000 years. Thus the central scene is not only an explicit mean[illegible] of the warring nocturnal beasts and their attendants [illegible] notes and may well be a carry-over from earlier purely ceremonial palettes. In any event, they do not reappear in Egyptian art.

We have discussed these scenes at such length because we must grasp their content in order to understand their formal qualities, their style. We have avoided this term until now and [illegible] necessary to comment on it briefly before we proceed. We consider as from [illegible] the working [illegible] originally [illegible] referred to [illegible] the stone of the letters as we [illegible] words. Nowadays, however, style is used [illegible] way, [illegible] of human [illegible]. It is simply a term of praise in this case. We have seen [illegible] means to have [illegible]. But something else is implied [illegible] we ask ourselves what we mean when we say that something has its style. Such a thing we feel is not only undistinguished but also undistinguishable in other words, we do not know how to classify it [illegible] its proper context, because it seems to be pointing in several directions at once. Of a thing that has style, then, we expect that it must not be inconsistent with itself; it must have an inner coherence, or unity, a sense of wholeness, of being all of a piece. This is the quality we admire in things that have style, but it has a way of impressing itself upon us even if we do not know what particular *kind* of style is involved. In the visual arts, style means the particular way in which the forms that make up any given work of art are chosen and fitted together. To art historians the study of styles is of central importance: it not only enables them to find out, by means of careful analysis and comparison, when and where (and by whom) a given work was produced, but it also leads them to understand the artist's intention as expressed through the style of his work. This intention depends on both the artist's personality and the setting in which he lives and works. Accordingly, we speak of "period styles" if we are concerned with those features which distinguish, let us say, Egyptian art as a whole from Greek art. And within these broad period styles we in turn distinguish the styles of particular phases, such as the Old Kingdom, or, wherever it seems appropriate, we differentiate national or local styles within a period, until

42. Group of Mastabas (after A. Badawy), 4th Dynasty

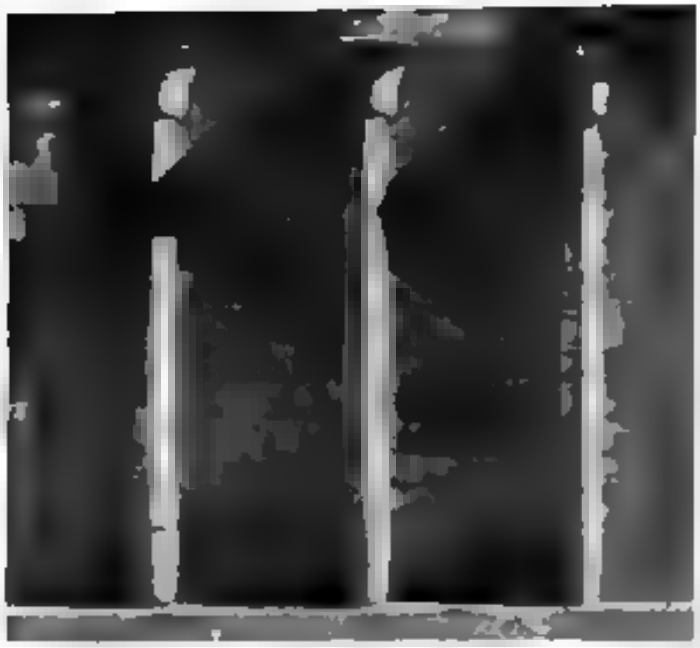
left 45. Step Pyramid of King Zoser, Saqqara. 3rd Dynasty, c. 2650 B.C.



below 46. Plan of the Funerary District of King Zoser, Saqqara (M. Hirmer after J. P. Lauer). 1 Pyramid (in mastaba) 2. Funerary Temple 3, 4, 6 Courts 5) Entrance Hall, 7) Small Temple 8. Court of North Palace, 9) Court of South Palace 10) Southern Tomb

we arrive at his personal views and dualism. Even these may need to be subdivided further into various phases in an artist's development. The extent to which we can hope to do so depends on how much internal evidence we have of a sense of community. There is no formula we are dealing with. We know that the art of Ikhnaton's period has a much more continuous growth than the prehistoric art. What is not clear is that we must not at all cannot be analyzed in terms of style at all, but that the concept of style, which is based on the art of history, can be applied to many in a more sense. Hence it seemed best not to blur the edge of this possible tool by using it prematurely.

Let us now return to the Narmer palette. The new principle of style becomes readily apparent on contrast. Its predynastic was painting. What strikes us first is a strong sense of order. The surface of the palette has been divided into horizontal bands or registers, and each figure stands on a narrow strip denoting the ground. The only exceptions are the two rows of long-necked beasts, whose necks seem to form a frame for the hieroglyphic signs, which belong to a different level of reality, and the dead enemies. The latter are seen from above, whereas the standing figures are seen from the side. Thus visibly the modern notion of representing a scene as it would appear to a single observer at a single moment is alien to the Egyptian artist, as it had been to his Neolithic predecessor. He strives for clarity not illusion, and therefore he picks the most telling view in each case. But he imposes a strict rule on himself: when he changes his angle of vision, he must do so by 90 degrees, as if he were sighting along the edges of a cube. As a consequence, he acknowledges only three possible views: full face, strict profile, and vertically from above. Any intermediate position embarrasses him (note the oddly rubber-like figures of the fallen enemies, fig. 4, bottom). Moreover, he is faced with the fact that the standing human figure, unlike that of an animal, does not have a single main profile but two competing profiles, so that, for the sake of clarity he must combine these views. His method of doing this is a method that was to survive unchanged for 2500 years. It is clearly shown in the large figure of Narmer in figure 4: eye and shoulders in frontal view, head and legs in profile. Apparently this formula was worked out so as to show the Pharaoh and his persons in significance while moving in the penumbra of his divinity in the most complete way possible. And since the scenes depict solemn and as it were timeless rituals, the artist did not have to concern himself with the fact that his method of representing the human body made almost any kind of movement or action practically impossible. In fact, the frozen quality of the image would seem especially suited to the divine nature of the Pharaoh and ordinary mortals are he simply is. Whenever physical activity demanding any sort of effort or strain must be depicted, the Egyptian artist does not hesitate to abandon the composite view if necessary. For such activities is always performed by underlings whose dignity does not have to be preserved; thus in our palette the two animal trainers and the four men carrying standards are shown in strict profile throughout except for the eyes. The Egyptian style of representing the human figure then seems to have been created specifically for the purpose of conveying in visual form the majesty of the divine king. It must have originated among the artists working for the royal court. And it



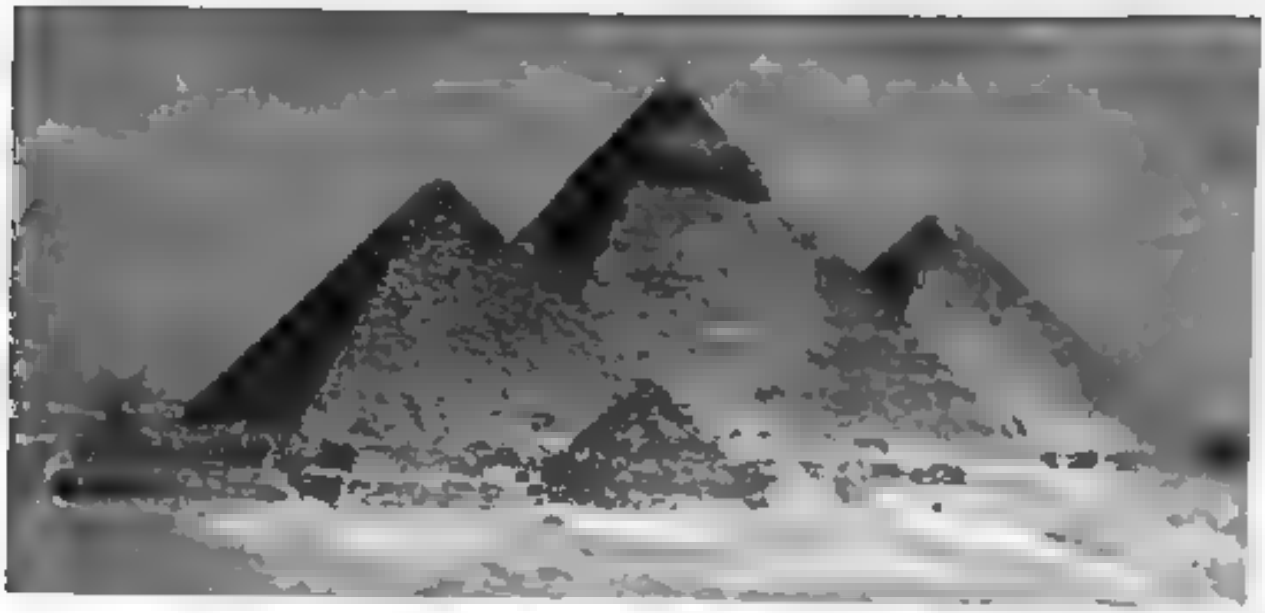
[illegible] Palace
[illegible] funerary [illegible] of King Zoser, Saqqara

never lost its ceremonial, sacred flavor, even when in later times it had to serve other purposes as well.

The full beauty of the style which we saw in the Narmer palette does not become apparent until about three centuries later, during the Third Dynasty, and especially under the reign of King Zoser, who was its greatest figure. From the tomb of Hesyra, one of Zoser's high officials, comes the master's wooden relief (fig. 43) showing the deceased with the emblems of his rank. These include writing materials, since he performed, as scribe, was a high-born recorder. The stance of the figure corresponds exactly to that of Narmer on the palette, but the proportions are far more balanced and harmonious, and the carving of the physical details shows keen observation as well as great delicacy of touch.

When we speak of the Egyptian attitude toward death and afterlife as expressed in the tombs, we must be careful to make it clear that we do not mean the attitude of the average Egyptian but only that of the small, privileged caste closest to and around the royal court. The tombs of the members of this class of high officials, who were often relatives of the royal family, are usually found in the immediate neighborhood of the Pharaohs' tombs, and the shape and ornament of these tombs are related to the funerary monuments of the divine kings. We still have a great deal to learn about the origin and significance of Egyptian tombs, but there is reason to believe that the concept of afterlife we find in the so-called private tombs did not apply to ordinary mortals, but only to the privileged few because of their association with the immortal Pharaohs. The standard form of these tombs was the mastaba, a squarish mound, faced with brick or stone, above the burial chamber, which was deep underground and linked to the mound by a shaft (fig. 44). Inside the mastaba is a chapel for offerings to the *ka* and a secret cubicle for the statue of the deceased. Royal mastabas grew to conspicuous size as early as the First Dynasty, and their exteriors could be elaborated to resemble a royal palace. During the Third Dynasty they developed into step pyramids; the best known (and probably the first) is that of King Zoser (fig. 45), built over a traditional mastaba (see plan, fig. 46). The pyramid itself, unlike later examples, is a completely solid structure whose only purpose seems to have been to serve as a great landmark.

The modern imagination, enamored of "the silence of the pyramids," is apt to create a false picture of these monuments. They were not erected as isolated structures in the middle of the desert, but as part of vast funerary districts with temples and other buildings which were the scene of great religious celebrations during the Pharaoh's lifetime as well as after. The most elaborate of these is the funerary district around the pyramid of Zoser; enough of its architecture has survived to make us understand why its creator, Imhotep, came to be deified in later Egyptian tradition. He is the first artist whose name has been recorded in history, and deservedly so, since his achievement is most impressive even today. Egyptian architecture had begun with structures made of mud bricks, wood, reeds, and other light materials. Imhotep used cut stone masonry, but his repertory of architectural forms still reflected shapes and forms developed for less enduring materials. Thus we find columns of several kinds, always engaged (rather than free-standing), which echo the bundles of reeds, the wooden supports that used to be set into mud-brick walls in order to strengthen them. But the very fact that these members no longer had their original functional purpose made it possible for Imhotep and his fellow architects to redesign them so as to make them serve a new, expressive purpose. The notion that architectural forms can express anything may seem difficult to grasp at first; today we tend to assume that unless these forms have a clear-cut structural service to perform (such as supporting or enclosing) they are mere surface decoration. But let us look at the slender, tapering fluted columns in figure 43 or the papyrus-shaped half-columns in figure 47: these do not simply decorate the walls to which they are attached, but reinterpret them and give them life, as it were. Their proportions, the feeling of strength or resilience they convey, their spacing, the degree to which they project, all share in this task. We shall learn more about their expressive role when we discuss Greek architecture, which took over the Egyptian stone column and developed it further. For the time being, let us note one additional factor that may enter into the design and use of such columns: announcing the symbolic purpose of the building. The papyrus half-columns in figure 47 are linked with Lower Egypt (compare the papyrus plants in fig. 41), hence they appear in the North Palace of Zoser's funerary district. The South Palace has

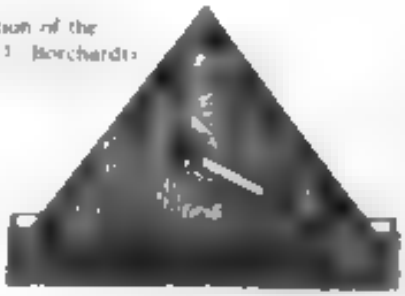


48. The Pyramids of Mycerinus (c. 2450 B.C.), Chefren (c. 2530 B.C.), and Cheops (c. 2570 B.C.), Giza

[illegible] the shape [illegible] be [illegible] size [illegible] with [illegible] gypsum.

The development of the pyramid reaches its climax during the Fourth Dynasty in the famous trio of great pyramids at Giza (fig. 48), all of them of the "ancient" more stepped shape. They originally had an outer casing of fine, polished stone, which has disappeared except near the top of the pyramid of Chefren. Each of the three contains a slightly different design and distribution of the essential features are shown in the section of the smallest and largest, that of Cheops (fig. 49). The burial chamber is now near the center of the structure and lower than the ground as in the pyramid of Zoser. Around the three great pyramids are several smaller ones and a large number of mastabas for members of the royal family and high officials, but the unified funerary district of Zoser has given way to a simpler arrangement, adjoining each of the great pyramids to the east is a funerary temple from which a processional causeway leads to a second temple at a lower level in the Nile valley at a distance of about a third of a mile. Next to the valley temple of the second pyramid, that of Chefren, stands the Great Sphinx, carved from the living rock (fig. 50), perhaps an even more impressive embodiment of divine kingship than the pyramids themselves. The royal head rising from the body of a lion towers to a height of 65 feet and bore, in all probability, the features of Chefren. Damage inflicted upon it during Islamic times has obscured the details of the face, but its awesome majesty is such that a thousand years after it could be regarded as an image of the sun-god.

Enterprises of this huge scale mark the high point of Pharaonic power. After the end of the Fourth Dynasty, less than two centuries after Zoser, they were never attempted again, although pyramids on a much more modest scale continued to be built. The world has always marveled at the sheer size of the great pyramids as well



49. North-South Section of the Pyramid of Cheops (after J. Borchardt)

50. The Great Sphinx

[illegible] height [illegible]

as at the technical accomplishment they represent, but they have also come to be regarded as symbols of state labor, thousands of men forced by cruel masters to serve the aggrandizement of absolute rulers. Such a picture may well be unjust; certain records have been preserved indicating that the labor was paid for, so that we are probably nearer the truth if we regard these monuments as vast public works providing economic security for a good part of the population.

Apart from its architectural achievements, the chief glory of Egyptian art during the Old Kingdom and later is the portrait statues recovered from funerary temples and tombs. One of the finest is that of Chephren, from the valley temple of his pyramid (fig. 51). Carved of diorite, a stone of extreme hardness, it shows the king enthroned with the falcon of the god Horus enfolding the back of the head with its wings (we encountered the association, in different form, on the Narmer palette, fig. 41). Here the Egyptian sculptor's "cubic" view of the human form appears in full force. Clearly, the sculptor prepared the statue by drawing its front and side views on the faces of a rectangular block and then worked inward until these views met. The result is a figure almost overpowering in its three-dimensional firmness and immobility, thus a magnificent vessel for the spirit. The body, well proportioned and powerfully but not completely impersonal, only the face suggests some individual traits as will be seen if we compare it with that of Mycerinus (fig. 52), Chephren's successor and the builder of the third pyramid at Giza. Mycerinus is accompanied by his queen, standing. Both have the left foot placed forward, yet there is no hint of a forward movement. Since the two are shown of the same height, the pair offers an interesting comparison of male and female beauty as interpreted by

• Mycerinus and the Queen, from Giza, c. 2500 B.C. Slate, height [illegible]. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

[illegible] Photo: [illegible]
Akhenaten [illegible] Painted limestone, height [illegible] Egyptian Museum [illegible]

one of the finest of Old Kingdom sculptors who knew not only how to contrast the structure of the two bodies but also how to emphasize the soft swelling form of the queen through a thin and close-fitting gown. The sculptor who carved the statues of Prince Rahotep and his wife Nofret, [illegible] was as subtle in this respect. They show her [illegible] appearance, the [illegible] which they must have shared with other such statues but which has survived [illegible] intact only in a few instances. The darker hue of the prince's face has no [illegible] significance [illegible] the standard masculine [illegible] in Egyptian art. The eyes have been inlaid [illegible] quartz to make them [illegible] as [illegible] the personal character of his face is very [illegible]

[illegible] and seated figures [illegible] the basic [illegible] that large scale [illegible] Old. At [illegible] the [illegible] side [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] The [illegible] the beginning [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] but we [illegible] make [illegible] high [illegible] and [illegible] the peaks the original

[illegible]

[illegible] the beginning scenes have been restricted [illegible] but example stands out [illegible] expression of the face but also [illegible] which recalls the [illegible] flabby body of a man past middle age.

Among [illegible] portraits [illegible] are [illegible] which have been used in the [illegible] members of the royal house [illegible] purpose is not entirely clear. They were placed near the burial chamber under [illegible] the statue chamber of the mastaba so they may have been intended rather as reserve heads for the mummy or as abbreviated statues. They show a pecularly concentration on the face, while the rest of the head is treated in the most summary fashion. Could they be a remote echo of the Neolithic custom of keeping the head of the deceased separate from the body (see Jericho, see page [illegible])? Be that as it may, their emphasis on the underlying geometric structure of the human face makes them particularly appealing to modern eyes.

Before we leave the Old Kingdom let us cast a brief glance at some of the scenes of daily life from the offering chambers of nonroyal tombs, such as that of the architectural overseer Ti at Saqqara. The hippopotamus hunt in figure 55 is of special interest to us because of its landscape setting. The background of the relief is formed by a papyrus thicket: the stems of the plants make a regular rippling pattern that erupts in the top zone into

Right: [illegible] *Hunting in the Papyrus Thicket* [illegible] tomb of [illegible] Saqqara

Below: [illegible] *Fishing in the* [illegible] detail of a painted limestone relief [illegible] tomb of [illegible] Saqqara

[illegible] by [illegible] a [illegible] in the boat [illegible] marked by a [illegible] equipped with a rugged hippopotamuses and fish. All these aquatic [illegible] are [illegible] observed and full of action. [illegible] himself, standing in the second boat, is [illegible] but as [illegible] in a different world. His pose is that of the [illegible] relief and statues [illegible] 41 and [illegible] above the fishermen, since he is more [illegible] than they. But he is also [illegible] of the [illegible] of the hub: he neither directs nor supervises it but simply observes. Its passive role is characteristic of the representations of the deceased in all such scenes from the Old Kingdom. It seems to be a subtle way of conveying the fact that the body is dead but the spirit is alive and aware of the pleasures of this world, though the man can no longer participate in them directly. We

should also note that these scenes of daily life do not represent the dead man's favorite pastimes. If they did, he would be looking back, and such nostalgia is quite alien to the spirit of Old Kingdom tombs. It has been shown in fact that these scenes form a seasonal cycle, a sort of perpetual calendar of recurrent human activities, for the spirit of the deceased [illegible] year in and year out. The artist, on the other hand, these scenes offered a welcome opportunity to [illegible] powers of observation [illegible] detail [illegible] as [illegible] reality. Another [illegible] a newborn calf on its back [illegible] and the frightened animal [illegible] Kingdom [illegible] human [illegible]

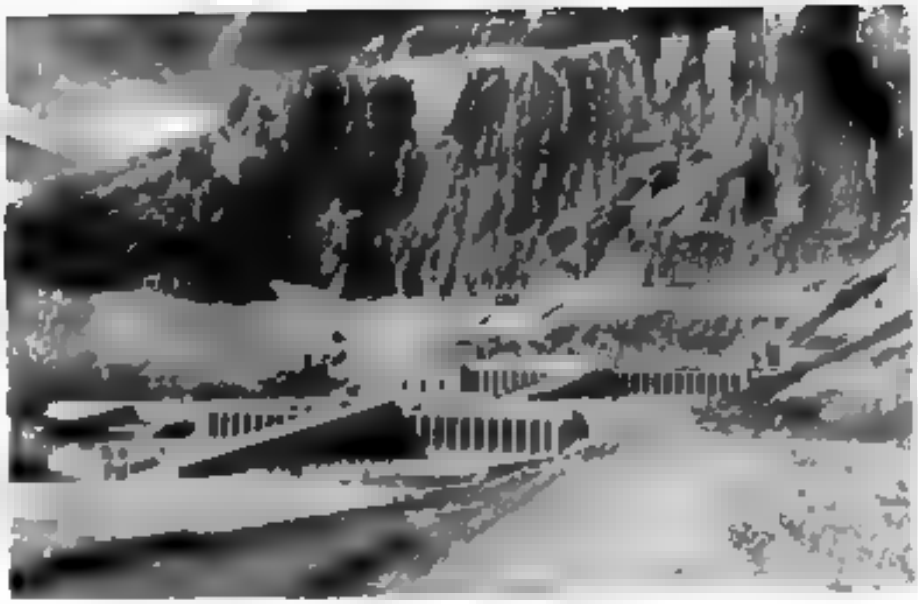
[illegible] AN [illegible] WRIN[illegible] DEAD MAN

[illegible] Middle Kingdom [illegible] Twelfth [illegible] weakened [illegible] Western Asiatic people [illegible] Thebes [illegible] Middle Kingdom art. We find it [illegible] the new [illegible] royal portrait that marks the Twelfth Dynasty such as the one in figure 47. There is a real sense of shock on first encountering this strange, modern face: the serene assurance of the Old Kingdom has given way to a brooding, troubled expression that bespeaks a new level of self-awareness. Deprived of its royal trappings, our fragment displays so uncompromising a realism, physical as well as psychological, that at first glance the link with the sculptural tradition of the past seems broken entirely. Here is another enduring achievement of Egyptian art, destined to live on in Roman portraiture and in the

[illegible] Art [illegible]

Feeding the Oryxes, c. 1900 B.C. [illegible] Khnum-hotep, Beni Hasan

portraiture of the Renaissance. A loosening of established rules also makes itself felt in Middle Kingdom painting and relief, where it leads to some interesting departures from convention. These occur most conspicuously in the decoration of the tombs of local princes at Beni Hasan, which have survived destruction better than most Middle Kingdom monuments because they are carved into the living rock. The mural *Feeding the Oryxes* (fig. 58) comes from one of these rock-cut



[illegible] temple of Hatshepsut [illegible]

[illegible]

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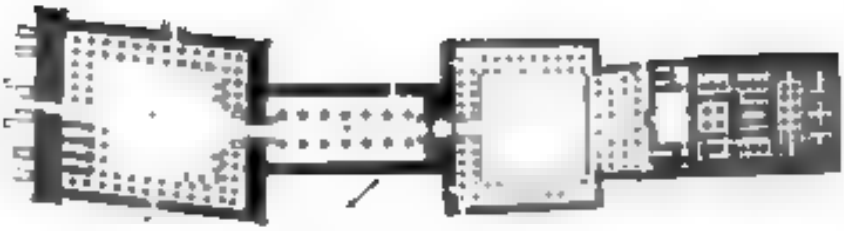


61 Plan of the Temple of Amun Mut Khonsu at Luxor (after Nicholas Swaan)

[illegible] name Akhenaten [illegible] the Amun temples and [illegible] the capital [illegible] Egypt [illegible] the modern Amarna [illegible] a new monotheistic faith however did not outlast his reign [illegible] and under his successors [illegible] was specially resented among the ruling per[illegible] after [illegible] the country became [illegible] under Greek and Roman rule [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] an end [illegible] temples [illegible]

New Kingdom [illegible] a vast scale [illegible] monuments [illegible] the flat [illegible]

[illegible] that have [illegible]

Baba [illegible] Amun and several other deities [illegible] through three [illegible] among [illegible] commanders [illegible] reminiscent of [illegible] but with the mounting [illegible] a pyramid [illegible] made and [illegible] and colonnades [illegible] Hatshepsut's [illegible] the Old Kingdom monuments [illegible]

[illegible] rulers of the New Kingdom continued to build funerary temples but an ever greater share of their architectural energies was devoted to huge [illegible] temples of Amun [illegible] the supreme god [illegible] the reigning [illegible] walls claimed as his [illegible] The temple [illegible] Thebes dedicated to [illegible] was begun [illegible] by Amenhotep [illegible] was completed and [illegible] that [illegible] its plan is characteristic [illegible] the general pattern of later Egyptian temples [illegible] massive walls with sloping sides flanking the entrance this unit is known as the gateway or pylon [illegible] left and [illegible] the court [illegible] trapezoidal

[illegible] limestone [illegible]

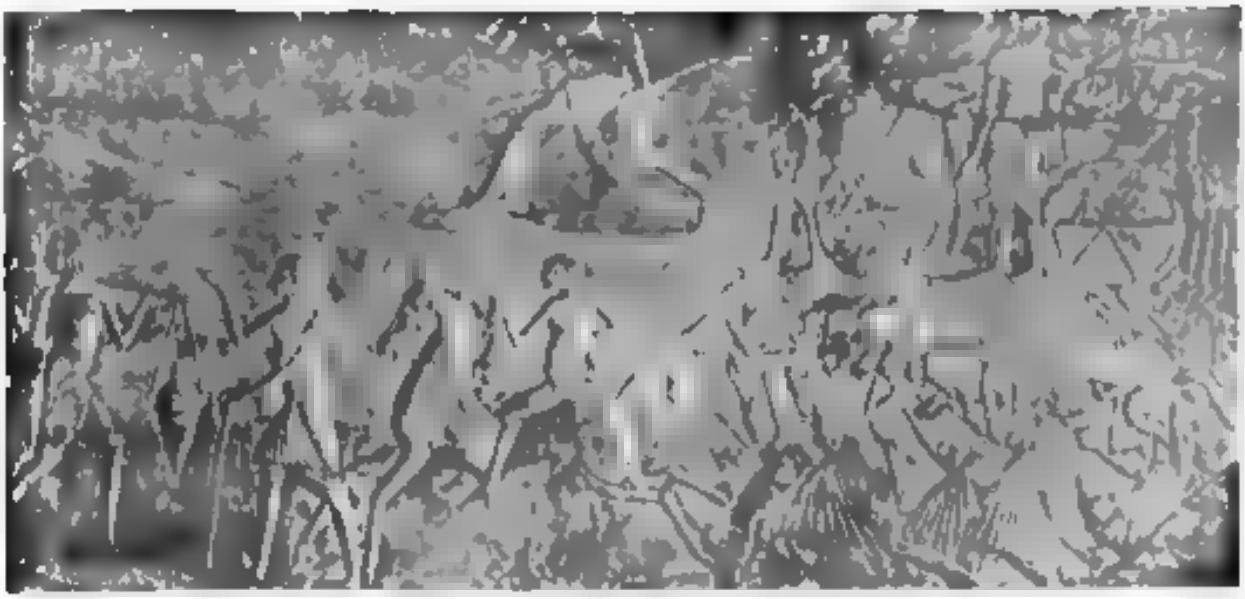
[illegible]

65. *The Daughter* [illegible] a mural from Tell el-Amarna [illegible] Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

because Ramesses II, who added [illegible] the temple that had been planned under Amenhotep III, changed the axis of his court slightly so as to conform with the direction of the Nile. We then enter a pillared hall, which brings us to the second court (fig. 61, B and C; fig. 60, center and right). On its far side we find another pillared hall. Beyond it the temple proper begins: a series of symmetrically arranged halls and chapels shielding the holy of holies, a square room with four columns (fig. 6[illegible]), extreme right). The entire sequence of courts, halls, and temple was enclosed by high walls that shut off the outside world. Except for the monumental façade, such a structure is designed to be experienced from within: ordinary worshipers were confined to the courts and could but marvel at the forest of columns that screened the dark recesses of the sanctuary. The columns had to be closely spaced in order to support the stone roofs of the ceiling, and these had to be short to keep them from breaking under their own weight. Yet the architect has consciously exploited this condition by making the columns far heavier than they need be. As a result, the beholder feels almost crushed by their sheer mass. The overawing effect is certainly impressive, but also rather [illegible] when measured against the earlier masterpieces of Egyptian architecture. We need only compare the papyrus columns of the [illegible] of Amenhotep [illegible] with the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Nor do the Akhenaten [illegible] have the grace and charm of the earlier [illegible] but they do have a new vigor and a new kind of beauty [illegible] Too [illegible] we compare a [illegible] of the Amarna period with a [illegible] of Akhenaten [illegible] [illegible] the famous bust of Akhenaten's queen Nefertiti, the masterpiece of the Akhenaten style. What distinguishes this [illegible] is not much as a new sense of [illegible] [illegible] for traditional immobility of Egyptian [illegible] but the plastic shapes too seem more pliable and relaxed, ampleomatic, as it were. We find this quality again in the delight of fragment of a wall painting showing the daughters of Akhenaten (fig. 65). Their playful gestures and informal poses seem to be in studied defiance of all rules of Pharaonic dignity. The old religious tradition was quickly restored after Akhenaten's death, but the artistic innovations he encouraged could be felt in Egyptian art for some time to come. The scene of workmen struggling with a heavy beam (fig. 66), from the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara, not long before the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., shows a freedom and expressiveness that would have been unthinkable in earlier times. Even the face of Akhenaten's successor, Tutankhamen, as it appears on his gold coffin, betrays an echo of the Akhenaten style (colorplate 2). Tutankh-



[illegible] Museum, Bologna

[illegible]

[illegible]

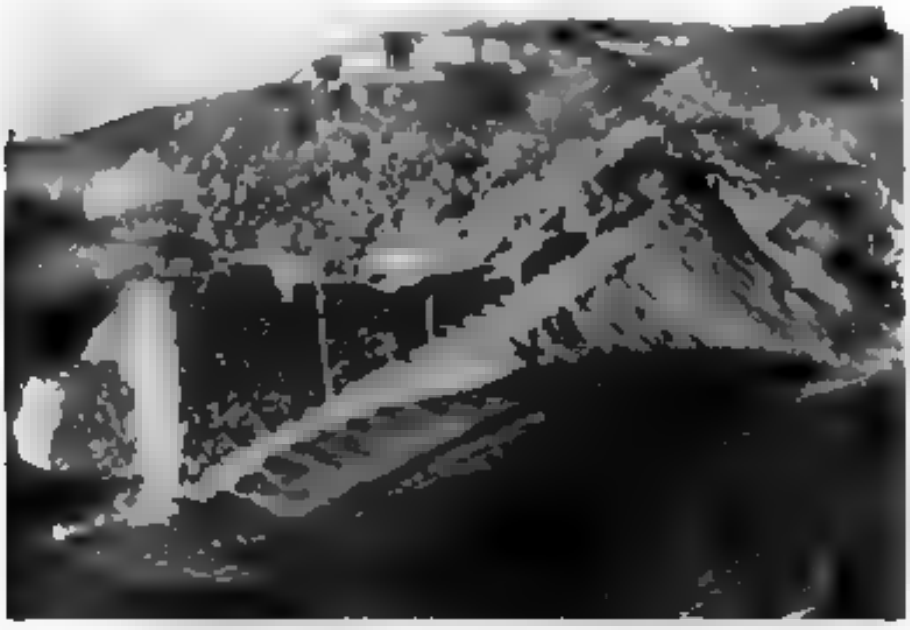
[illegible]

3. The Ancient Near East

SUMERIAN ART

It is an exciting and astonishing fact that man should have emerged into the light of history in two separate places at just about the same time. Between 3500 and 3000 B.C. when Egypt was being united under Pharaoh's rule, another great civilization arose in Mesopotamia, the land between the rivers. And for some 3000 years the two great centers remained hemisphere-apart even though they had contact with each other from their earliest beginnings and their destinies were interwoven in many ways. The pressures that forced the inhabitants of both regions to abandon the pattern of Neolithic savagery may well have been the same (see page [illegible]). But the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates unlike that of the Nile, a narrow fertile strip protected by deserts on either side, resembles a wide, shallow trough with few natural defenses, crisscrossed by two great rivers and their tributaries, and easily encroached upon from any direction. Thus the facts of geography tended to discourage the idea of uniting the entire area under a single head. Rulers who had this ambition do not appear, so far as we know, until about a thousand years after the beginnings of Mesopotamian civilization, and they succeeded in carrying it out only for brief periods and at the cost of a more continuous warfare. As a consequence, the political history of ancient Mesopotamia has no underlying theme of the sort that divine kingship provides for Egypt: foreign invasions, the sudden upsurge and equally sudden collapse of military power. These are its substance. Against such a disturbed background, the continuity of culture and artistic traditions seems all the more remarkable. This common heritage is very largely the creation of the founding fathers of Mesopotamian civilization, whom we call Sumerians after the region of Sumer which they inhabited, near the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates.

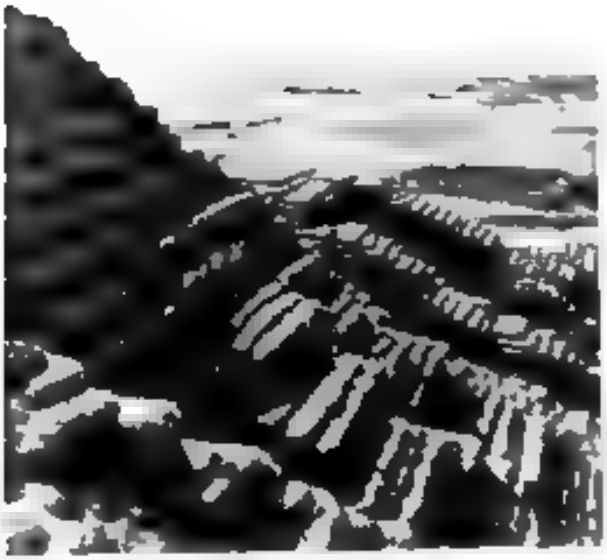
The origin of the Sumerians remains obscure. The language is unrelated to any other known tongue. Some time before 4000 B.C. they came to southern Mesopotamia from Persia, and there, within the next thousand years, they founded a number of city states and developed their distinctive form of writing, in which wedge-shaped characters are impressed on tablets. This formative phase, corresponding to the Predynastic Period in Egypt, is called prehistoric because the early dynastic period, in about [illegible] B.C., is the earliest for which the tangible remains of Sumerian civilization are extremely scanty compared with those of ancient Egypt, stone being unavailable in Mesopotamia. The Sumerians built in mud brick and wood, so that almost nothing is left of their architecture except the foundations. Nor did they have a sculptural tradition. Although some rich tombs were made, in the shape of vaulted chambers, the sculpture of the early dynastic period have been found in the city of Ur. Our knowledge of Sumerian civilization thus depends very largely on chance fragments brought to light by excavation, including



68. The 'White Temple' on its Ziggurat, Uruk (Warka), c. 3500–3000 B.C.

[illegible] vast numbers of inscribed clay tablets. Yet in recent decades we have learned enough to form a general picture of the achievements of this [illegible] generous, inventive and [illegible] people.

Each Sumerian city-state had its own local god who was regarded as its king and owner. It also had a human ruler, the steward of the divine sovereign, who led the people in serving the gods. The local god in return was expected to please the [illegible] his subjects among his [illegible] deities who controlled the forces of nature such as wind and weather, water [illegible] and the heavenly host. [illegible] was the idea of divine ownership reached a [illegible] the god was quite literally believed to own not only the territory of the city-state but also the [illegible] the people and [illegible] produce. All these were subject to [illegible] taxation. [illegible] the people [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



Ziggurat [illegible] Zambi

[illegible] Temple [illegible] Uruk (Warka) [illegible] 3500–1000 B.C. Marble, height 8 [illegible] The Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Statues from the Temple, Tell Asmar [illegible] Marble [illegible] figures [illegible] Museum, Baghdad [illegible] Chicago

[illegible] the present in the images and the statues [illegible] the persons they [illegible] messages [illegible] The [illegible] was [illegible] based on the [illegible] Asmar [illegible] the roundness of [illegible] these figures are as [illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible] had [illegible] a far richer repertory [illegible] the quality [illegible] again and again.

[illegible] simplification [illegible] Asmar [illegible] characteristic [illegible] the artist who works by [illegible] his forms out of a solid block. A far more flexible and [illegible] style prevails among the Sumerian sculpture that was made by addition rather than subtraction, that is either modeled in soft material or cast in bronze or put together by combining such varied substances as wood, gold leaf, and lapis lazuli. Some pieces of the latter kind, roughly contemporary with the Tell Asmar figures, have been found in the tombs at Ur, which we had occasion to mention earlier. They include the fascinating object shown in colorplate [illegible], an offering stand in the shape of a billy goat rearing up against a flowering tree. The animal, marvelously alive and energetic, has an almost demonic power of expression as it gazes at us from between the branches of the symbolic

[illegible] on the Soundbox of a Harp from Ur, c. 1800 B.C. The University Museum, Philadelphia

[illegible]
The [illegible] Museum, Baghdad

[illegible] tree. And we [illegible] thought [illegible] sacred [illegible] goat. Lati[illegible] and their [illegible] [illegible] Such [illegible] [illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] Egypt [illegible] West [illegible] [illegible] the Sumer[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Much [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

were less bound to the tradition. The city-state Sumer is perhaps not surprising that in Sargon [illegible] Akkad and his successors [illegible] 2340 – 2150 BC [illegible] the first Mesopotamian rulers who [illegible] themselves kings and proclaimed their ambition to rule the entire [illegible] these Akkadians. Naturally [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] has survived [illegible] a magnificent [illegible] head in bronze [illegible] Nonetheless [illegible] the [illegible] with precious [illegible] remains a powerful likeness of majesty and [illegible] the same time [illegible] which is [illegible] the [illegible] hanging [illegible] procession [illegible] the [illegible] hanging [illegible] handled with [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] Museum [illegible] Boston

[illegible] Sagash [illegible]

[illegible] Sargon [illegible] Akkad [illegible] the [illegible] Mesopotamian [illegible] Sumerian [illegible] Akkadian [illegible] Sumerian [illegible] Akkadian [illegible] Sumerian [illegible] Akkad

[illegible]

[illegible] compared with the Akkadian [illegible] flesh [illegible] pressed [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] Assurnasirpal statues. The stone has been [illegible] high [illegible] the subtly accented finish [illegible] a wonderful [illegible] high [illegible] features. The seated statue [illegible]

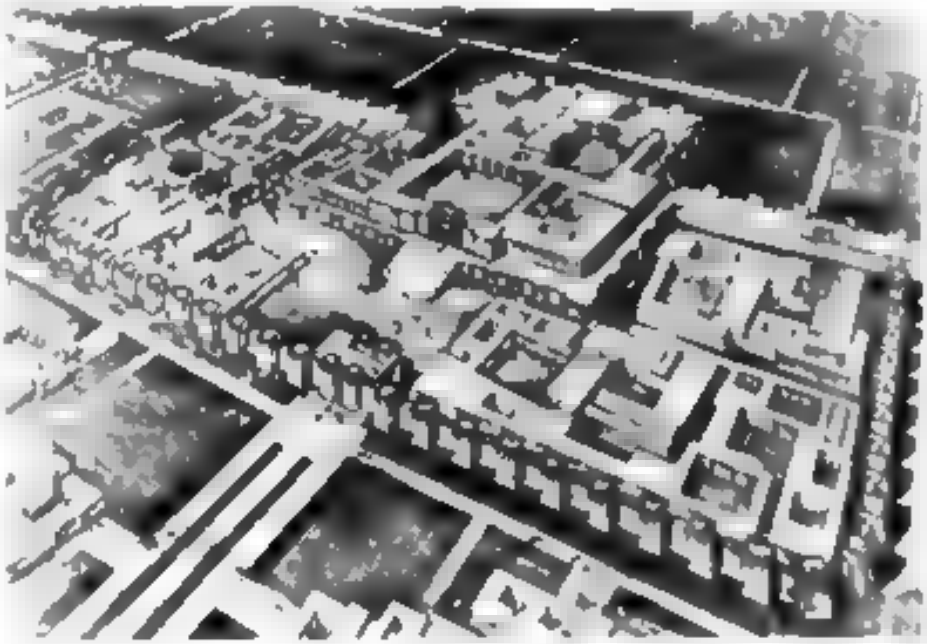
[illegible] sents Gudea with an architectural plan on his lap (perhaps the enclosing wall of a temple district), which he is offering for the god's approval. There are six entrances framed by tower-like projections, and the walls show regularly spaced buttresses of the kind we saw on the White Temple at Uruk-Warka. The figure makes an instructive contrast with Egyptian statues such as those in figure 53 and [illegible]. The Sumerian carver has rounded off all the corners to emphasize the roundness and quietness of the forms. Equally characteristic is the muscular tension in Gudea's bare arm and shoulder compared with the passive relaxed limbs of Egyptian statues.

The second millennium B.C. was a time of [illegible] in Mesopotamia. The Hittite [illegible] had brought the Isin [illegible] Egypt had an even more disruptive effect in the [illegible] the Egyptian Empire. The [illegible] power by outside rulers was [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] when Babylon [illegible] the Kassite [illegible] passed by Akkad [illegible] the [illegible] under the Babylonian [illegible] great [illegible] figure [illegible] the age [illegible] respects [illegible] Sumer [illegible] the [illegible] shepherd [illegible] the [illegible] was [illegible] and [illegible] Babylon [illegible] center. [illegible] more than a human [illegible] wanted [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ries after the Gudea statues, it is strongly related to them in both style and technique. In fact, the relief here is so high that the two figures almost give the impression of statues sliced in half when we compare them with the more flat treatment of the Naram-Sin stele. As a result, the sculptor has been able to render the eyes of the deities so that Hammurabi and Shamash gaze at each other with a force and directness unique in representations of this kind. They make us recall the statues from Tell Asmar, whose enormous eyes indicate an attempt to establish the same relationship between human and godhead in an earlier phase of Sumerian civilization.

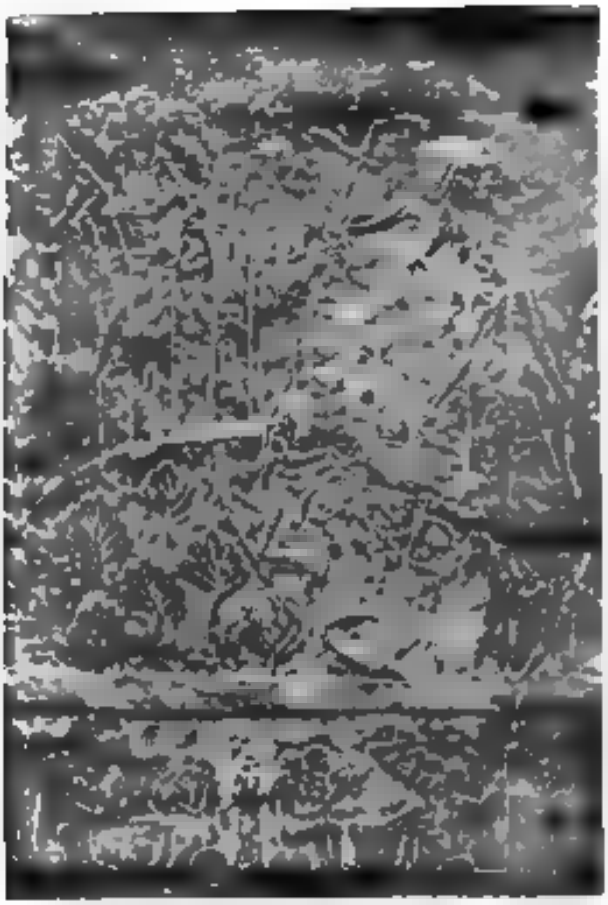
ASSYRIAN ART

The city-state of Assur on the upper course of the Tigris owed its rise to power to a strange chain of events. During the earlier half of the second millennium B.C. Asia Minor had been invaded from the east by people of Indo-European language. One group, the Mitannians, created an expansionist kingdom in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, including Assur, while another, the Hittites, established themselves farther north on the rocky plateau of Anatolia. Their capital, near the present-day Turkish village of Bogazköy, was protected by impressive fortifi-



A) Citadel of Sargon II at Dur Sharrukin (Khorsabad), 721–706 B.C. Reconstruction by Charles Altman

B) Gate of the Citadel of Sargon II during excavation



[illegible]

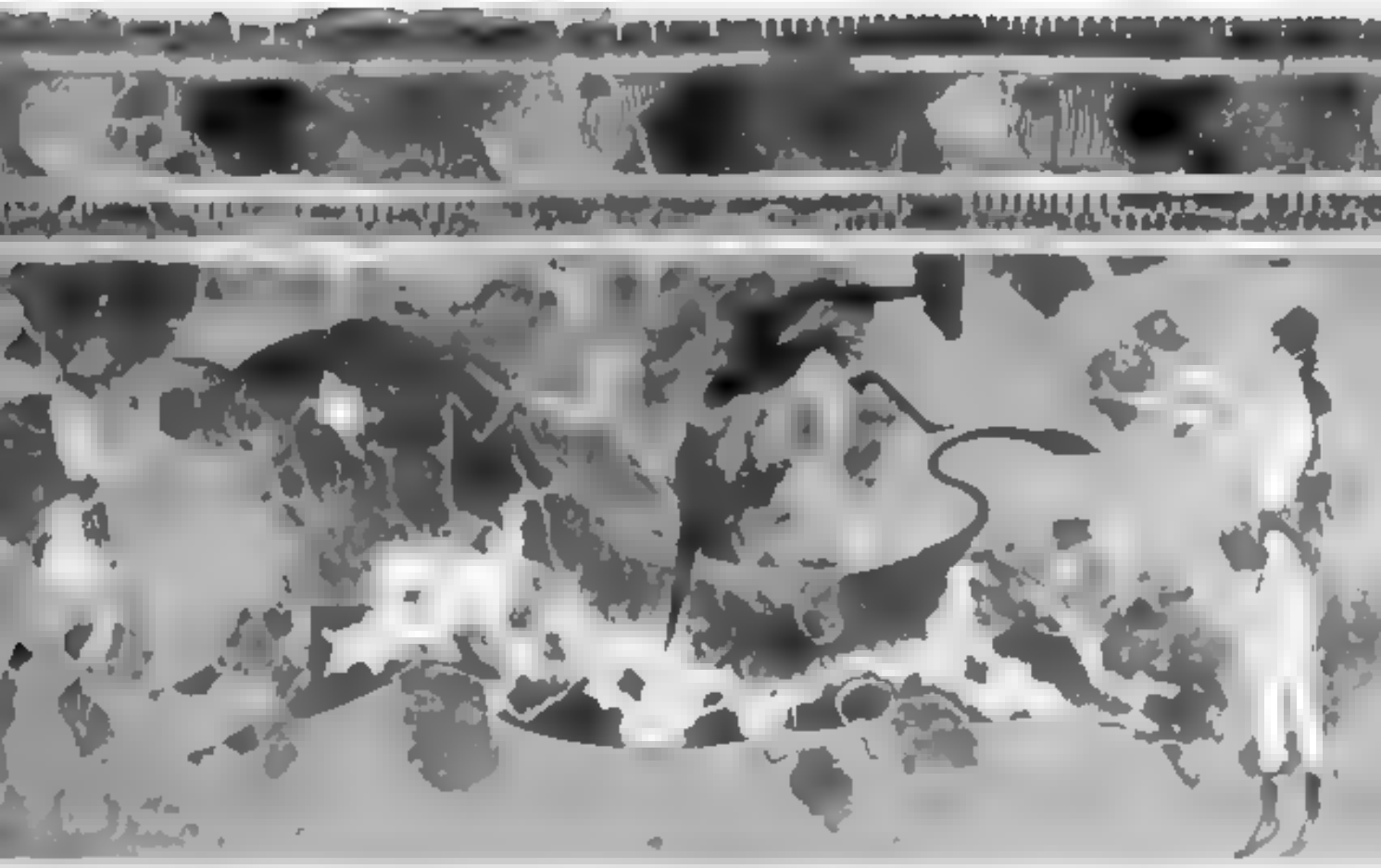
Limestone [illegible] British Museum, London

cations built of large, roughly cut stones; the gates were flanked by snarling lions or other guardian figures protruding from the enormous blocks that formed the jambs of the doorway (fig. 86). About 1360 B.C. the Hittites attacked the Mitannians, who were allies of the Egyptians. But [illegible] because [illegible] internal crisis provoked by the religious reforms of Akhenaten (see pages 46–47), [illegible] effective aid, the Mitannians were defeated [illegible]. Assur regained its independence. Under a series of able rulers, the Assyrian dynasty gradually expanded until it embraced not only Mesopotamia proper but the surrounding regions as well. At the height of its power, between [illegible] and [illegible] B.C., the Assyrian empire stretched from the Sinai peninsula [illegible] Armenia; even lower Egypt was successfully invaded in 671 B.C.

The Assyrians, [illegible] has been said, were [illegible] the Sumerians and the Romans were [illegible] the Greeks. Their civilization depended on the achievements of the south but reinterpreted them [illegible] own [illegible] manner. [illegible] has the temples and ziggurats [illegible] were adapted [illegible] Sumerian models, while the palaces [illegible] Assyrian kings grew [illegible] enormous [illegible] Sargon II [illegible] Sinacherib [illegible] [illegible] been [illegible] [illegible] figure [illegible] which was one [illegible] gate [illegible] process of excavation [illegible] The Assyrians [illegible] Sumerians built [illegible] blocks [illegible] the gateway and the [illegible] mountain [illegible] with great [illegible] some [illegible] which were [illegible] difficult to present [illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] [illegible] with low reliefs [illegible] case [illegible] guardian demons [illegible] and sculpture [illegible] have been [illegible]

Below: [illegible] British Museum, London

[illegible] Museum Philadelphia



[illegible] Nineveh (Kuyunjik) [illegible] height of figure British Museum, London

86 The Ishtar Gate (restored), from Babylon c. 575 B.C. State Museums, Berlin

[illegible] Hamanu in [illegible] Kuyunjik. [illegible] pickaxes and [illegible] notice the [illegible] they have set [illegible] away [illegible] The latter group [illegible] representation [illegible] which they [illegible] widens visibly as it approaches the foreground [illegible] as of the artist has meant to render it in perspective yet the same band also serves as a curved band that frames the marchers. An odd mixture of modes but an effective device for linking foreground and background. Below the main scene we observe the soldiers at camp, relaxing with food and drink while one of them stands guard.

The mass of descriptive detail in the reliefs of military

[illegible] pa[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the petsha glorification [illegible] being. Its purpose is served more directly by an [illegible] recent subject, the royal lion hunts. These were more [illegible] of ceremonial combats than actual hunts. The animals were released [illegible] ages within a [illegible] square [illegible] by [illegible] wipes which sheds for the king [illegible] presumably at a much earlier time, the hunting [illegible] has been an important duty of Mesopotamian rulers, a [illegible] benefactor of the community. Here in Assyria [illegible] sculptor [illegible] to the greatest heights in figure 84, from the palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud, where the lion attacking the [illegible] chariot from the rear is clearly the hero of the scene. Its magnificent strength and courage the wounded animal seem to embody as the dramatic effect on that we miss in the pictorial accounts of war. The dying lion on the right is equally impressive in its agony. How different is the Egyptian artist's rendering of the same subject. We need only compare the horses. The Assyrian horses are less graceful but very much more energetic and, unlike them, they flee from the attacking lion, their ears laid back in fear. The lion hunt reliefs from Nineveh, about two centuries later, than those of Nimrud are the finest of all. Despite the shallowness of the actual carving, the bodies have a greater sense of weight and volume because of the subtle gradations of the surface. Images such as the dying lioness (fig. 85) have an unforgettable tragic grandeur.

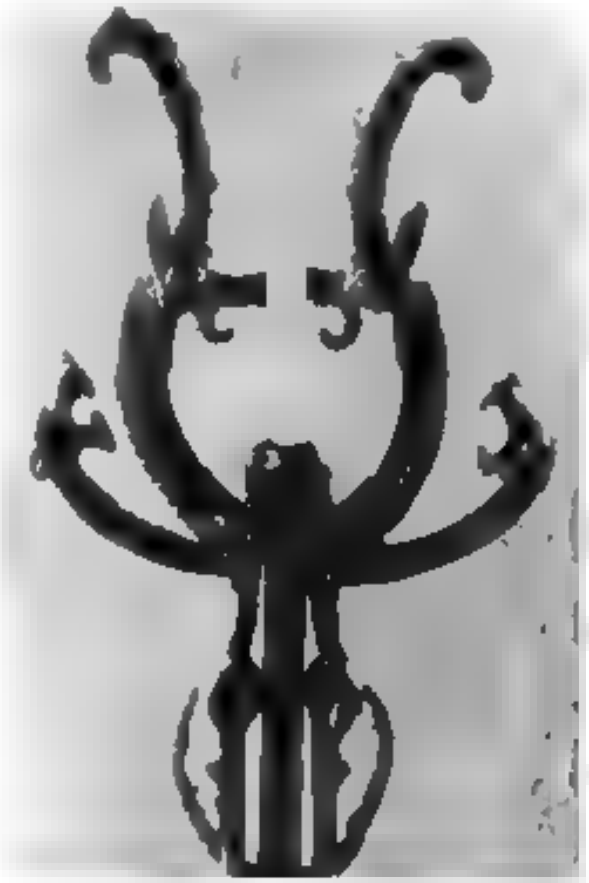
The Assyrian empire came to an end when Nineveh fell before the combined onslaught of Medes and Scythians from the east. At the same time, a commander of the Assyrian army in southern Mesopotamia made himself king of Babylon. Under him and his successors the ancient city had a final brief flowering between 626 and 539 B.C., before it was acquired by the Persians. The best known of these New Babylonian rulers was Nebuchadnezzar, the builder of the walls of Babylon. The famous structure represented only the part of a very large architectural complex comparable to the citadel of Sargon II at Dur Sharrukin. Whereas the Assyrians had used carved stone slabs, the New Babylonians, who were farther removed from the sources of such slabs, substituted baked and glazed brick. This technique, which had been developed in Assyria, but now was used on a far larger scale, both for surface ornament and for architectural reliefs. Its very distinctive effect becomes evident if we compare the gate of Sargon's citadel (fig. 83) with the Ishtar Gate of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, precisely in Babylon, which has been reconstructed from the thousands of individual glazed bricks that covered its surface (fig. 86). The stately procession of bulls, dragons, and the animals of molded brick within a framework of [illegible] ornamental bands has a grace and gaiety far removed from the ponderous guardian monsters of the Assyrians. Here, for the last time, we sense again that special genius of ancient Mesopotamian art for the portrayal of animals, which we noted in early dynastic times.

87. Painted Beaker from Susa, 4000–3000 B.C. Height 11". The Louvre, Paris.

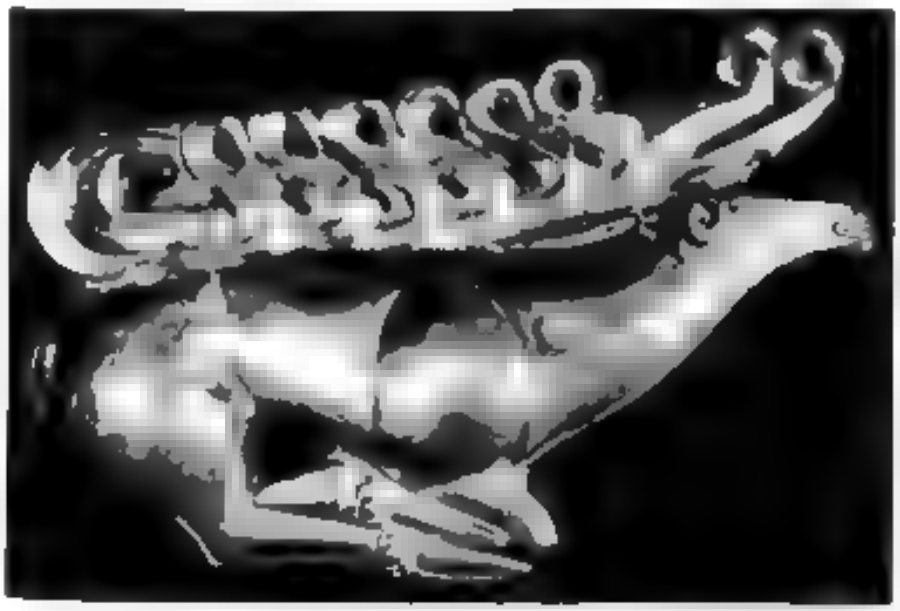
PERSIAN ART

Persia, the mountainous tableland east of the Tigris, Mesopotamia, takes its name from the people who conquered Babylonia (539 B.C.) and became the heirs of what had been the Assyrian empire. Today the country is called Iran, which is the more suitable name, since the Persians who put the area on the map of world history were latecomers who had arrived on the scene only a few centuries before they began their epochal conquests. Inhabited continuously since prehistoric times, Iran always seems to have been a gateway for migratory tribes from the Asiatic steppes to the north as well as from India to the east. The new arrivals would settle down for a while, dominating or intermingling with the local population, until they in turn were forced to move on to Mesopotamia, to Asia Minor, to southern Russia, by the next wave of migrants. These movements form a shadowy area of historical knowledge, and available information is vague and uncertain. Since nomadic tribes leave no permanent monuments or written records, we can trace their wanderings only by a careful study of the objects they buried with their dead. Such objects of wood, bone, or metal represent a distinct kind of portable art which we call the nomad's gear: weapons, bridles for horses, buckles, fibulas and other articles of adornment, cups, bowls, etc. They have been found over a vast area, from Siberia to Central Europe, from Iran to Scandinavia. They have in common not only a jewel-like concentration of ornamental design but also a repertory of forms known

as the "animal style." And one of the sources of this animal style appears to be ancient Iran. Its main feature, as the name suggests, is the decorative use of animal motifs in a rather abstract and imaginative manner. We find its earliest ancestors on the prehistoric painted pot-



tery of western Iran, such as the fine beaker in figure 87 which shows an ibex (a wild mountain goat) reduced to a few sweeping curves so that the body of the animal becomes a mere appendage to the huge horns. The racing hounds above the ibex are little more than horizontal streaks and the wet-nose effect on the strange one below the [illegible] looking-necked bird. In the historic art of Sumer this style soon gave way to an interest in the organic unity of animal bodies (see colorplate 1 and fig. 74), but in [illegible] it survived despite the powerful influence of Mesopotamia. Several thousand years later it reasserts itself in the vital bronzes of the Luristan region in much greater [illegible] a particularly resourceful kind. The pole top ornament (fig. 88) consists of a symmetrical pair of rearing bezoar with sweeping curved necks and horns or gnarled [illegible] suspect one were pursued by a pair of lions, but the bodies of the latter have been absorbed into those of the bezoar, whose necks have been pulled out to a degree of [illegible] tenderness. By and for whom the Luristan bronzes were produced remains something of a mystery. There can be little doubt, however, that they are somehow linked with the animal-style metalwork of the Asiatic steppes such as the splendid Scythian gold stag from southern Russia, which is more or less [illegible] later in date (fig. 89). The animal bodies here show far less arbitrary distortion and the smoothly curved sections divided by sharp ridges have no counterpart among Luristan bronzes. In the way the antlers have been elaborated into an abstract pelmet ornament betrays a similar feeling for form. Whether or not this typically Scythian piece reflects earlier Asiatic sources independent of the Iranian tradition, the Scythians surely learned a good deal from the bronzecasters of Luristan during their stay in Iran. They belonged to a group of nomadic Indo-European tribes, including the Medes and the Persians, that began [illegible] the country soon after 800 B.C. An alliance of Medes and Scythians, it will be recalled, had crushed



above left: 88. Pole Top Ornament from Luristan
9th–7th century B.C. Bronze, height [illegible]
British Museum, London

left: 89. Stag *from* Kostromskaya
Scythian, 7th–6th century B.C.
Chased gold, height c. 12"
Hermitage Museum, Leningrad

Audience Hall of Darius, Persepolis, 518 B.C.

Bull's head, carved from Persepolis, by Joanna Dittmann, University of Chicago

[illegible] Persepolis

tained their own religious belief derived from the prophecies of Zoroaster: this was a faith based on the dualism of Good and Evil, embodied in Ahuramazda, Light, and Ahriman, Darkness. Since the cult of Ahuramazda centered on fire altars in the open air, the Persians had no religious architecture. Their palaces, on the other hand, were huge and impressive structures. The ambitious site at Persepolis was begun under Darius [illegible] as generally [illegible] a vast number of [illegible] halls and courts assembled in a raised platform [illegible] he [illegible] residences of Assyria, seeking [illegible] and Assyrian traditions are the strongest single elements through which they almost determine the character of the [illegible] they have been combined with influences from [illegible] of the empire in such a way that the resulting [illegible] Persian [illegible] Thus at Persepolis [illegible] on a grand scale. The Audience Hall of Darius [illegible] supports [illegible] which are [illegible] Such a [illegible] suggests [illegible] influences [illegible] the [illegible] the slender [illegible] the Persian [illegible] Asia Minor [illegible] have [illegible] which [illegible] architecture [illegible] the large [illegible] part of the [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible] combined [illegible] [illegible] Darius [illegible] the [illegible] Darius [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the

95 Palace of Shapur I, Ctesiphon
241–272 A.D.

96 Weaver's silk [illegible] 6th–7th century A.D.
National Museum, Florence (Archeological Collection)

capacity for growth: the style formulated under Darius I about 500 B.C. continued without significant change until the end of the empire. The main reason for this failure, it seems, was the Persians' preoccupation with decorative effects regardless of scale, a carry-over from their nomadic past which they never sloughed off. There is no essential difference between the bull capital of figure 91 and the fine goldsmith's work (fig. 93), textiles, and other portable art of Achaemenid Persia. The latter tradition, unlike that of monumental architecture and sculpture, somehow managed to survive the more than 500 years during which the Persian empire was under Greek and Roman domination, so that it could flower once more when Persia regained its independence and seized Mesopotamia from the Romans.

The rulers who accomplished this feat were of the house of the Sassanians, the greatest figure Shapur I and his political and artistic ambitions of Darius. At Naksh-i-Rustam, the burial place of the Achaemenid kings not far from Persepolis, he commemorated his victories over the Roman emperors in an enormous relief hewn into the living rock (fig. 94). The prime source of this scene of triumph is a well-known composition in Roman sculpture, with the emperors in the role of the humiliated barbarians, but the flattening of the volumes and the ornamental elaboration of the draperies indicate a mixture of Persian qualities. The two elements hold each other in balance, and that is what makes the relief so strangely impressive. A blending of Roman and Near Eastern elements can also be observed in Shapur's palace at Ctesiphon, near Baghdad, with its enormous brick-vaulted audience hall (fig. 95): the blind arcades of the façade again show an emphasis on decorative surface pattern. But monumental art under Sassanian rule proved as incapable of further evolution as it had under the Achaemenids. Metalwork and textiles, on the other hand, continued to flourish. The chief glory of Sassanian art and a direct echo of the ornamental tradition reaching back more than a thousand years to the Luristan bronzes was its woven silks, such as the splendid sample in figure 96. They were copiously exported both to Constantinople and to the Christian West, and we shall see that their wealth of colors and patterns exerted an important stimulus upon the art of the Middle Ages. And since their manufacture was resumed after the Sassanian realm fell to the Arabs in the mid-seventh century, they provided an essential treasury of design motifs for Islamic art as well.

4. Aegean Art

If we sail from the Nile Delta northwestward across the Mediterranean, our first glimpse of Europe will be the eastern tip of Crete. Beyond it we find a scattered group of small islands, the Cyclades, and, a little farther on, the mainland of Greece facing the coast of Asia Minor across the Aegean Sea. The adjective "Aegean" is not merely a geographical term; it has been adopted to designate the civilizations that flourished in this area during the third and second millennia B.C., before the development of Greek civilization proper. There are three of these closely interrelated civilizations, each named for a place: Crete, called Minoan after the legendary ruler King Minos; that of the small islands north of Crete, the Cyclades; and that of the Greek mainland, Helladic. Each of them has in turn been divided into three phases, Early, Middle, and Late, which correspond very roughly to the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms in Egypt. The most important remains and the greatest art belong to the centuries dating from the late part of the Middle and on into the Late phase.

A hundred years ago, Aegean civilization was known only from the Iliad's account of the Trojan War, the *Iliad* and Greek legends centering in Crete. The earliest excavations, by Heinrich Schliemann during the 1870s in Asia Minor and Greece, by Sir Arthur Evans in Crete shortly before 1900, were undertaken to test the factual core of these tales. Since then a great amount of fascinating material has been brought to light, far more than the ancient sources would lead us to expect, but our knowledge of Aegean civilization even now is very much more limited than our knowledge of Egypt or the ancient Near East. Unfortunately, our reading of the archaeological evidence has so far received almost no aid from the written records of the Aegeans. In Crete a syllabic writing was developed about 2000 B.C., and a page from a Minoan script called Linear B, which was in use about six centuries later both in Crete and on the Greek mainland, has recently been deciphered. The language of Linear B is Greek, yet this apparently was not the language in which Minoan script was used in the fifteenth century B.C., so that being able to read Linear B does not help us to understand the great mass of earlier Minoan inscriptions. Moreover, the Linear B texts are largely palace inventories and administrative records, which reveal very little about the history and culture of the people who composed them.

above: 97. Colonnade with Stucco Relief, North Entrance, Palace of Minos, Knossos, Crete, c. 1400 B.C.

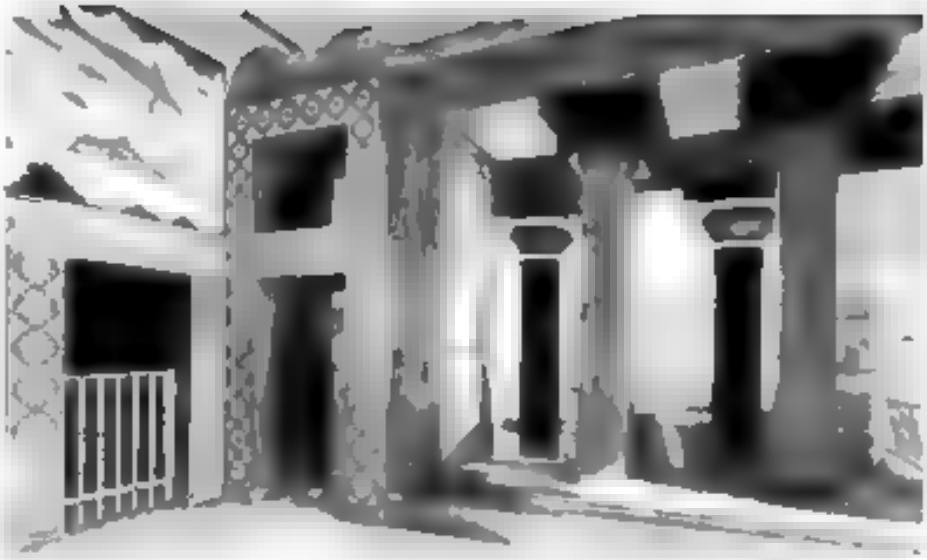
right: 98. Staircase, East Wing, Palace of Minos, Knossos, Crete

90 Idol, from Amorgos
2500–1100 B.C.
Marble, height 30
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

We thus lack a great deal of the background knowledge necessary for an understanding of Aegean art. Its forms, although linked both to Egypt and the Near East on the one hand and to later Greek art on the other, are no mere transition between these two worlds; they have a haunting beauty of their own that belongs to neither. Among the many strange qualities of Aegean art, perhaps the most puzzling is its air of freshness and spontaneity which makes us forget how little we know of its meaning.

CYCLADIC ART

The people who inhabited the Cycladic islands between about 3000 and [illegible] have left hardly any trace apart from their modest stone tombs. The things they buried with their dead are remarkable in one respect only: they include a large number of marble [illegible] of a peculiar impressive kind. A [illegible] of them represent a standing nude female figure with arms folded across the chest, presumably the mother-goddess [illegible] goddess known in [illegible] from Asia Minor and [illegible] Near East, whose ancestry reaches [illegible] the way back to the [illegible] Age see fig. 9). The [illegible] which at first glance [illegible] an [illegible] of primitive sculpture: the flat wedge-shaped [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] few inches [illegible] such as that [illegible] beyond the range [illegible] of [illegible] range [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] elegance [illegible] sophistication. However, [illegible] seem [illegible] [illegible] the organic structure of the body: these are the [illegible] causes of [illegible] marking the knees and [illegible] [illegible] modern [illegible] the figure seems a bold departure from anything we have seen before. There is the length of earlier fertility [illegible] but a [illegible] of them betray their descent from the bulbous, heavy-bodied Venus figurines of the [illegible] Stone Age. In fact, the earliest Cycladic idols [illegible] were of that type. What then, made the Cycladic sculptors suppress the traditional fertility aspects of their female idols and [illegible] at the [illegible] ideal of figure 90? Was there perhaps a radical change in the meaning and ritual purpose of these statues? We cannot even venture a guess to explain the mystery. Suffice it to say that the Cycladic sculptors of the second millennium B.C. produced the oldest life-size figures of the female nude we know, and that for many hundreds of years they were the only ones to do so. In Greek art, we find very few nude female statues until the middle of the fourth century B.C., when Prax-



The Queen's Megaron
Palace of Minos, Knossos, Crete

[illegible] they begin [illegible] images [illegible] be made [illegible] the [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] sanctuary [illegible] the Aegean [illegible] Minoan [illegible]

MINOAN AGE

[illegible] the [illegible] What [illegible] the Near East [illegible] attack [illegible] causes [illegible] Minoan [illegible] of [illegible] disappeared [illegible] by [illegible] nothing. Yet the [illegible] Minoan [illegible]

Two [illegible] of these [illegible] during the eight centuries [illegible] the Late Minoan era the Cretans had [illegible] advances much beyond the [illegible] village life [illegible] though they seem [illegible] engaged [illegible] seaways trade that brought them contact with Egypt. Then they created not only their own system of writing but an urban civilization as we [illegible] entering in several great palaces. At least three of them, Knossos, Phaistos and Malia, were built in short order. Hardly anything is left today of this sudden spurt of large-scale building activity for the three palaces were all destroyed at the same time about 1700 B.C. after an interval of a hundred years new and even larger structures began to appear on the same sites, only to suffer destruction, in their turn, about 1400 B.C. It is these "new" palaces that are our main

Snake goddess. Protoc[illegible]
[illegible] terracotta
height [illegible]
Museum, Candia, Crete

left 102 **Beaked Jug (Kamares Style), from Phaistos**
c. 1800 B.C. Height 10". Museum, Candia, Crete

below 103 *The Octopus Vase* from Palaikastro, Crete
c. 1500 B.C. Height [illegible]. Museum, Candia, Crete

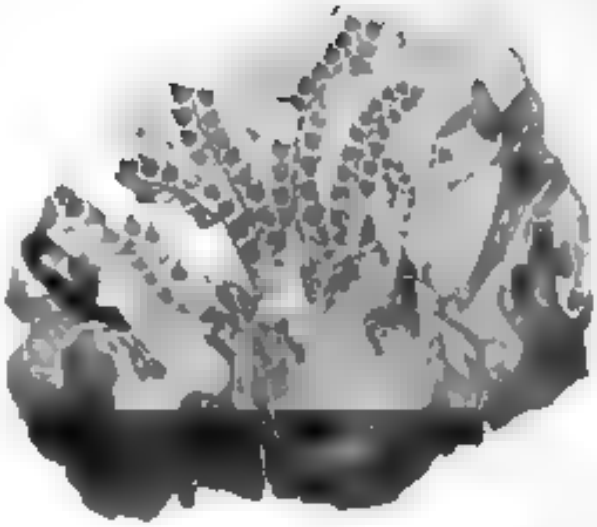
source of information on Minoan architecture. The one at Knossos called the Palace of Minos was the most ambitious, covering a vast territory and composed of so many rooms that it survived in Greek legend as the labyrinth of the Minotaur. It has been carefully excavated and partly restored. We cannot recapture the appearance of the building as a whole, but we can assume that the exterior probably did not look impressive compared to Assyrian or Persian palaces (see figs. 8, 9). There was no striving for unified, monumental effect. The individual units are generally rather small, the ceilings low (figs. 97, 98), so that even those parts of the structure that were several stories high could not have seemed very tall. Nevertheless, the numerous porticoes, light wells, and air shafts must have given the palace a pleasantly open, airy quality, and some of the interiors, with their richly decorated walls, retain their atmosphere of intimate elegance to this very day. The masonry construction of Minoan palaces is excellent throughout, but the columns were always of wood. Although none have survived, their characteristic form, the smooth shaft tapering downward, topped by a wide, cushion-shaped capital, is known from representations in painting and sculpture. About the origins of this type of column, which in some contexts could also serve as a religious symbol, or about its possible links with Egyptian architecture, we can say nothing at all.

Who were the rulers that built these palaces? We do not know their names or deeds (except for the legendary Minos), but the archaeological evidence points to a few conclusions. They were not warrior princes, since no fortifications have been found anywhere on Minoan Crete, and military subjects are almost unknown in Minoan art; nor is there any hint that they were sacred kings in the Egyptian or Mesopotamian mode, although they may well have presided at religious festivals. The vast parts of Minoan palaces that can be identified as places of worship are small chapels, suggesting that religious ceremonies took place out of doors. On the other hand, the many storerooms, workshops, and offices at Knossos indicate that the palace was not only a royal residence but a great center of administrative and commercial activity. Since shipping and trade formed an important part of Minoan economic life (to judge from elaborate harbor installations and from Cretan export articles found in Egypt and elsewhere), perhaps the king should be viewed as the head of a merchant aristocracy.

The religious life of Minoan Crete is even harder to define than the political or social order. It centered on certain sacred places, such as caves or groves, and its chief deity (or deities?) was female, akin to the mother and fertility goddesses we have encountered before. Since the Minoans had no temples, we are not surprised to find that they lacked large cult statues as well, but religious subjects in Minoan art are few in number and of

uncertain significance even on a small scale. Two terra-cotta statuettes of c. 1600 B.C. from Knossos may represent the goddess in one of her several identities. One of them (fig. 10[illegible]) shows her with three long snakes wound around her arms, body, and headdress. Their meaning would seem to be clear: in many ancient religions snakes are associated with earth deities and mother goddesses, just as the bared breasts of our statuette suggest female fertility. But is she really a goddess? Her rigid, frontal stance would be equally fitting for a priestess figure, and the snakes may represent a royal snake handling rather than a divine attribute. Perhaps the figure is a queen or priestess? She seems [illegible] awesomeness and the emphasis on the costume and its [illegible] [illegible] Another palace [illegible] but Crete has few snakes [illegible] snake cult was probably imported, not home-grown, yet no snake [illegible] has so far been discovered outside Crete. [illegible] the style of the statuette [illegible] a possible design [illegible] the emphatic [illegible] the gaze, the large eyes and heavy arched eyebrows suggest a kinship [illegible] perhaps through Asia Minor [illegible] Mesopotamian art.

The snake goddess dates from the beginning of the period between [illegible] which [illegible] everything we have [illegible] Minoan architecture [illegible] painting. [illegible] the palaces and [illegible] there was what seems [illegible] an explosive increase in wealth and an equally remarkable step-going [illegible] energy. The most [illegible] aspect of this [illegible] influence, however, [illegible] great achievement [illegible] painting. At the time [illegible] the earlier palaces between [illegible] and [illegible] there had developed a style of pot[illegible] [illegible] its technical perfection and its dynamic [illegible] ornaments (fig. 102), but this style was prepared [illegible] the naturalistic mural that covered the walls of the new palaces [illegible] these paintings have

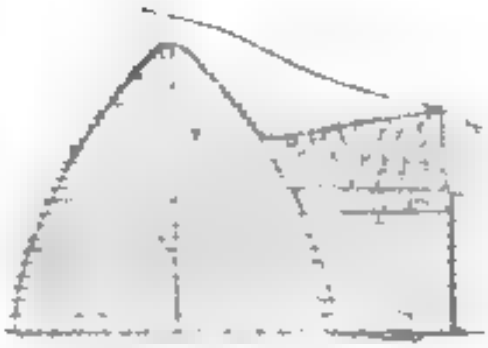


[illegible] *Fragment of a mural from Hagia Triada* [illegible] Museum, Candia, Crete

[illegible] this in what fragments [illegible] that we hardly ever have a complete composition left, [illegible] the design of an entire wall. A great many of them were scenes from nature showing animals and birds among luxuriant vegetation. The creatures [illegible] the most remarkable fragment [illegible] figure [illegible] we see a cat cautiously stalking a bird [illegible] a bush. The flat forms, silhouetted against a background of [illegible] recent Egyptian painting, and the acute observation of plants and animals also suggest Egyptian art. But if Minoan wall painting owes [illegible] Egyptian influence, [illegible] it was an attitude of mind, a sense of beauty, very different from that of the [illegible] permanence and stability, we find a passion [illegible] rhythmic undulating movement and the forms themselves have [illegible] a weightless quality: they seem [illegible] to float as easily in a world without gravity as if the scene took place under water. Marine life, as seen in the fish and dolphin frieze [illegible] (fig. 100), was a favorite subject in Minoan painting, and the marine feeling

105. *The Harvester Vase* (detail), from Hagia Triada, c. 1450–1400 B.C. Steatite, width [illegible] Museum, Candia, Crete

106. Interior, Treasury of Atreus
Mycenae, c. 1300–1250 B.C.



[illegible]

[illegible] Minoan [illegible] painting the darker patches [illegible] fragment [illegible] in which he represented [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] though he [illegible] gaits to which he [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

MYCENAEAN ART

Along the southeastern shores of the Greek mainland there existed during Late Helladic times (1600–[illegible] B.C.) a number of settlements corresponding in many ways to those of Minoan Crete. They too were grouped around palaces. Their inhabitants have come to be called Mycenaeans after Mycenae, the most important of these settlements. Since the works of art unearthed here by excavators often showed a strong Minoan flavor, the Mycenaeans were at first regarded as being [illegible] from Crete, but it is now agreed that they were [illegible] ancestors of the earliest Greeks, those who had entered [illegible] country [illegible] of about [illegible] These people had [illegible] inspiration as pirates [illegible] they drew [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

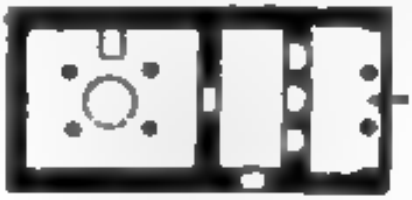
the two famous gold cups from a tomb at Vaphio (figs. 109, 110): they must have been made about 1500 B.C., a few decades after the wall vessels, but where, for whom, and by whom? Here the problem "Minoan or Mycenaean?" becomes acute. The dispute, not avoidable as it may seem, for it tests our ability to differentiate between the two neighboring cultures, I am so inclined as to consider every aspect of the cups: do we find anything in their style or content that is un-Minoan? The first impulse, surely, is to note the similarity of the human figures to those on the Harvester Vase and the similarity of the bulls to the animal in the Toreador Fresco. On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that the men on the Vaphio cups are not engaged in the Cretan bull-vaulting game but in the far more mundane business of catching the animals on the range, a subject that does not occur in Minoan art, though we do find it in Mycenae. Once we realize this, we are also apt to notice that the design on the cups does not quite match the monotonous rhythmic movement of Minoan compositions, and that the animals, for all their physical power, have the look of cattle rather than of sacred animals. It would seem then that the cups are a Mycenaean adaption of Minoan forms, rather by a mainland artist or by a Cretan working for Mycenaean patrons.

In the sixteenth century B.C. Mycenae thus presents a strange picture: a sudden powerful Egyptian influence on burial customs combined with an equally strong artistic influence from Crete and with an extraordinary material wealth as expressed in the lavish use of gold. Did the Mycenaeans perhaps conquer the Minoans, causing the destruction of the "new" palaces there about 1500 B.C.? This idea has now been discarded: the new palaces, it seems, were destroyed by a natural catastrophe (earthquakes and tidal waves following the eruption of a volcano). In any event, it does not account for the puzzling connection with Egypt. What we need is a triangular explanation that involves the Mycenaeans with Crete as well as Egypt about a century before the destruction of the new palaces, and such a theory, fascinating and plausible if difficult to confirm in detail, has been taking shape in recent years. It runs about as follows: between 1700 and 1580 B.C. the Egyptians were trying to rid themselves of the Hyksos, who had seized the Nile Delta (see page 45). For this they gained the aid of warriors from Mycenae, who returned home laden with gold, of which Egypt alone had an ample supply, and deeply impressed with Egyptian funerary customs. The Minoans, unmilitary but famous as sailors, fetched the Mycenaeans back and forth so that they now had a new and closer contact with Egypt, which may help to account for their sudden prosperity, toward 1600 B.C., as well as for the rapid development of naturalistic painting at that time. The close relations between Crete and Mycenae, once established, were later strengthened, toward 1450 B.C., when Linear B writing began to appear. The Mycenaeans were the rulers of Crete either by conquest or through dynastic marriage, and from then on the power, wealth, and culture of the Minoans declined. The great monuments of Mycenaean architecture were built between 1400 and 1200 B.C.

Apart from such details as the shape of the columns or decorative motifs of various sorts, Mycenaean architecture owes little to the Minoan tradition. The palaces on the mainland were hilltop fortresses surrounded by defensive walls of huge stone blocks, a type of construction quite unknown in Crete but similar to the Hittite citadels at Bogazkoy (see fig. 60). The Lion Gate at Mycenae (fig. 111) is the most impressive remnant of these massive ramparts, which inspired such awe in the Greeks of later times that they were regarded as the work of the Cyclopes (a mythical race of one-eyed giants). Even the Treasury of Atreus, although built of smaller and more precisely shaped blocks, has a Cyclopean lintel (see fig. 60). Another aspect of the Lion Gate foreign to the Minoan tradition is the great stone relief over the

The Lion Gate, Mycenae, c. 1350 B.C.

111a. Plan of a Mycenean Megaron



[illegible] Mycenae [illegible] height [illegible] National Museum, Athens

[illegible] stonework. The [illegible] flanking a symbolic Minoan [illegible] which have the same grim, hieratic majesty as the golden bull's head we encountered in figure [illegible]. Their [illegible] was guardians of the gate, the fierce muscular [illegible] and the [illegible] symmetrical design again suggest an influence from the ancient Near East. We must also point out that the [illegible] Walls mentioned and in Homer's *Iliad* were thought by the Mycenaeans—Asia Minor [illegible] [illegible] seems likely however, that they began [illegible] eastward across the Aegean [illegible] made it [illegible] much earlier than that.

The center of the palace at Mycenae and other main and [illegible] was the royal audience hall called the megaron. Unlike its plan is known for certain, a large rectangular [illegible] with a round hearth in the middle and four columns to support the roof beams. The [illegible] was entered through a deep porch with two columns and an anteroom. This design is in essence no more than an enlarged version of the simple houses of earlier generations; its ancestry can be traced back to Middle Helladic times. There must have been a rich decorative scheme of wall paintings and ornamental carvings to stress its dignity as the king's abode.

No trace has been found of Mycenaean temple architecture, if it ever existed. The palaces did, however, include modest shrines, as in Crete. What gods were worshiped there is a matter of dispute. Mycenaean religion surely included Minoan elements but also influences from Asia Minor, as well as deities of Greek origin inherited from their own forebears. But gods have an odd way of merging or exchanging their identities, so that the religious images in Mycenaean art are extremely hard to interpret. What, for instance, are we to make of the exquisite little ivory group (figs. 113, 114) unearthed at Mycenae in 1951? The [illegible] be piece, its richly carved shapes and easy, flexible body movements, still echoes Minoan art, but the subject is strange indeed. Two kneeling women, heads united, tend a single child whose sex [illegible] the natural interpretation would be to regard the figure on the right as the mother, since the child [illegible] her arm and turns toward her. The second woman, whose left hand rests on the other's shoulder, would then be the grandmother. Such three-generation family groups are a well-known subject in Christian art, in which we often find St. Anne, the Virgin Mary, and the Infant Christ combined in strange fashion.

[illegible] the memory of these later works that colors our view of the Mycenaean ivory. Yet we search in vain for a subject in ancient religion that fits our reading of the group. On the other hand, there is a very widespread myth about the divine child, this name varies from place to place, who is abandoned by his mother and reared by nymphs, goddesses, or even animals. We are thus forced to conclude, rather reluctantly, that our ivory in all likelihood shows a motherless child goes with his nurses. The real mystery, however, lies deeper: in the tender physical gestures, the intimate human feeling, that binds the three figures together. Nowhere in the entire range of ancient art before the Greeks do we find gods, or men, for that matter, expressing affection with such warmth and eloquence. Something quite basically new is reflected here, a fundamental view of divine beings that makes even the Minoan snake goddess (fig. 101) seem awesome and remote. Was this change of attitude and the ability to express it in art a Mycenaean achievement? Or did they inherit it from the Minoans? However that may be, our ivory group opens up a dimension of experience that had never been accessible to Egypt or Mesopotamia.

5. Greek Art

[illegible] works [illegible] we have [illegible] know so far are like fascinating strangers we approach them fully aware of the alien background and the language difficulties they present [illegible] we can understand [illegible] something [illegible] what [illegible] say we are surprised and grateful [illegible] the Greeks [illegible] undergoing [illegible] strangers but [illegible] [illegible] works [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

recording the foundation of various cities. That time also saw the first development of the older character known as Greek style in the fine arts, the so-called Geometric. We know it only from painted pottery and small-scale sculpture, from fragmenta architecture and sculpture [illegible] appear until the seventh century. [illegible] pottery had been decorated with [illegible] hexagons, concentric circles, [illegible] human and animal figures began to appear [illegible] these figures could [illegible] specimen [illegible] a group [illegible] vase [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the

vases contain hints of the narrative power of these poems. Our knowledge of eighth-century Greece were based on the visual arts alone, we would inevitably think of it as a far simpler and more primitive society than the literary evidence suggests. There is a paradox here that needs to be resolved. Perhaps at this particular time Greek civilization was so language-minded that painting and sculpture played a less important role than they were to assume in the following centuries. In that event the Geometric style may well have been something of an attempt in the eighth century to conservative tradition about to burst at the seams. In the shipwreck scene, a rigid order already seems in process of dissolution, representation and narrative demand greater scope than the style can provide. Toward 700 B.C. the dam finally bursts, new forms come flooding in, and Greek art enters another phase, which we call the Orientalizing style.

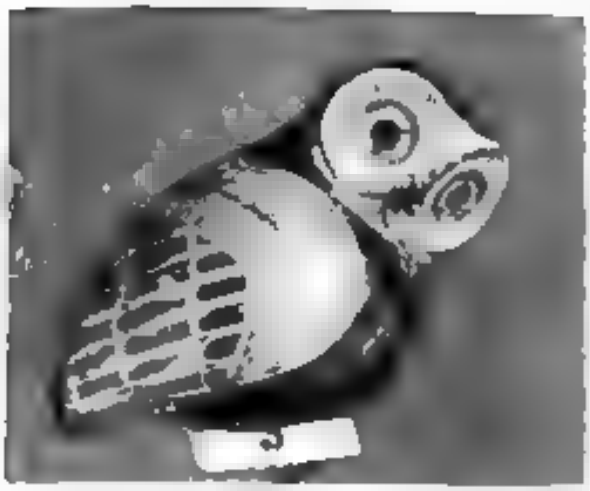
117 *The Blinding of Polyphemus* and *Gorgons* (Proto-Attic amphora) c. 675–650 B.C. Height 58. Museum, Eleusis

As its name implies, the new style reflects powerful influences from Egypt and the Near East, stimulated by increasing trade with these regions. Between c. 725 and 650 B.C. Greek art absorbed a host of Oriental motifs and ideas, and was profoundly transformed in the process. The change becomes very evident if we compare the large amphora, a two-handled storage jar, from Eleusis (fig. 117) with the Dipylon vase of a hundred years earlier. Geometric ornament has not disappeared altogether, but is confined to the peripheral zones. In the hollow of the handles and the upper neck, curvilinear motifs, such as spirals, interlacing bands, parentheses and rosettes, are conspicuous everywhere. On the shoulder of the vessel we see a frieze of fighting animals derived from the repository of Near Eastern art. The major areas, however, are given over to narrative, which has become the dominant element. The figures have grown in size and developed precision, but the vase painters scattered among them an assortment of geometric with the traditional zoomorphic motifs, a sense of a separate and lesser realm, clearly distinguishing it from the representation. As a result, the blinding of the giant Polyphemus by Odysseus and his companions, the scene on the neck of the amphora, is [illegible] and dramatic. [illegible] epic heroes [illegible] makes them seem [illegible] another [illegible] the vase [illegible] has been [illegible] Medusa, whom Perseus [illegible] Gorgons. Here we have a [illegible] bodies [illegible] the Geometric style.

The Eleusis vase belongs to a group of Proto-Attic, the ancestor of the great tradition of vase painting that was soon to flourish in Attica, the region around Athens. A few of the Orientalizing vases known as Proto-Corinthian, since it is thought that the art potters produced in Corinth. These vessels noted for the exquisite animal motifs, show particular close links with the Near East. Some of them, such as the perfume vase in figure 118, are modeled in the shape of animals. The enchanting little vase, streamlined to fit the palm of a lady's hand and very lively in pose and expression, helps us to understand why Greek pottery came to be in demand throughout the Mediterranean world.

ARCHAIC PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

The Orientalizing phase of Greek art was a period of experiment and transition, in contrast to the stable and consistent Geometric style. Once the new elements from the East had been fully assimilated, however, there emerged another style, as well defined as the Geometric but infinitely greater in range, the Archaic, which lasted



[illegible] Archaic period we [illegible] Greece [illegible] the Byzantine [illegible] a few buildings. The desire [illegible] sculpture [illegible] sake of permanence was [illegible] portrait [illegible] Greece during the [illegible] period. [illegible] the resulting [illegible] and technique [illegible] brought about decisive changes of style as well [illegible] we cannot safely reconstruct the appearance of the [illegible] wooden temples of [illegible] the basis of late works [illegible] house painting. On the other hand there was no such break in continuity and thus seems best to deal with Archaic vases before we turn to sculpture. The few surviving monuments of Archaic architecture will be discussed in a separate section devoted to the development of Greek architecture as a whole (see pages 90–97).

The significance of Archaic vase painting is in some ways completely unique. Decorated pottery, however great its value as an archaeologist's tool, rarely enters into the mainstream of the history of art: we think of it, in general, as a craft or industry which by its very nature cannot rise above the level of a minor art. This is true even of Minoan vases, despite their exceptional beauty and technical refinement, and the same may be said of the vast bulk of Greek pottery. Yet if we study such pieces as the Dipylon vase or the amphora from Eleusis,

left 118. Proto-Corinthian Perfume Vase. c. 640 B.C.
Height 2". The Louvre, Paris

below 119. Phiale: *Heracles Strangling the Nemean Lion* (Attic black-figured amphora from Vulci, c. 530 B.C.)
Height 19". Museo Civico, Brescia

impressive not only by virtue of their sheer size but as vehicles of pictorial effect, we cannot escape the feeling that they are among the most ambitious works of art of their day. There is no way to prove this, of course; far too much has been lost, but it seems obvious that these are objects of highly individual character rather than [illegible] were produced in quantity according to set patterns. Archaic vases are generally a good deal smaller than their predecessors, since pottery vessels no longer served as grave monuments (which were now made of stone). Their painted decoration, however, shows a far greater emphasis on pictorial subjects (see fig. 119): scenes from mythology, legend, and everyday life appear in endless variety, and the artistic level is often very high indeed, especially among Athenian vases. How greatly the Greeks themselves valued the beauty of these vessels is evident from the fact that after the middle of the sixth century the finest vases frequently bear the signatures of the men who made them. This indicates not only that individual artists—potters as well as painters—took pride

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

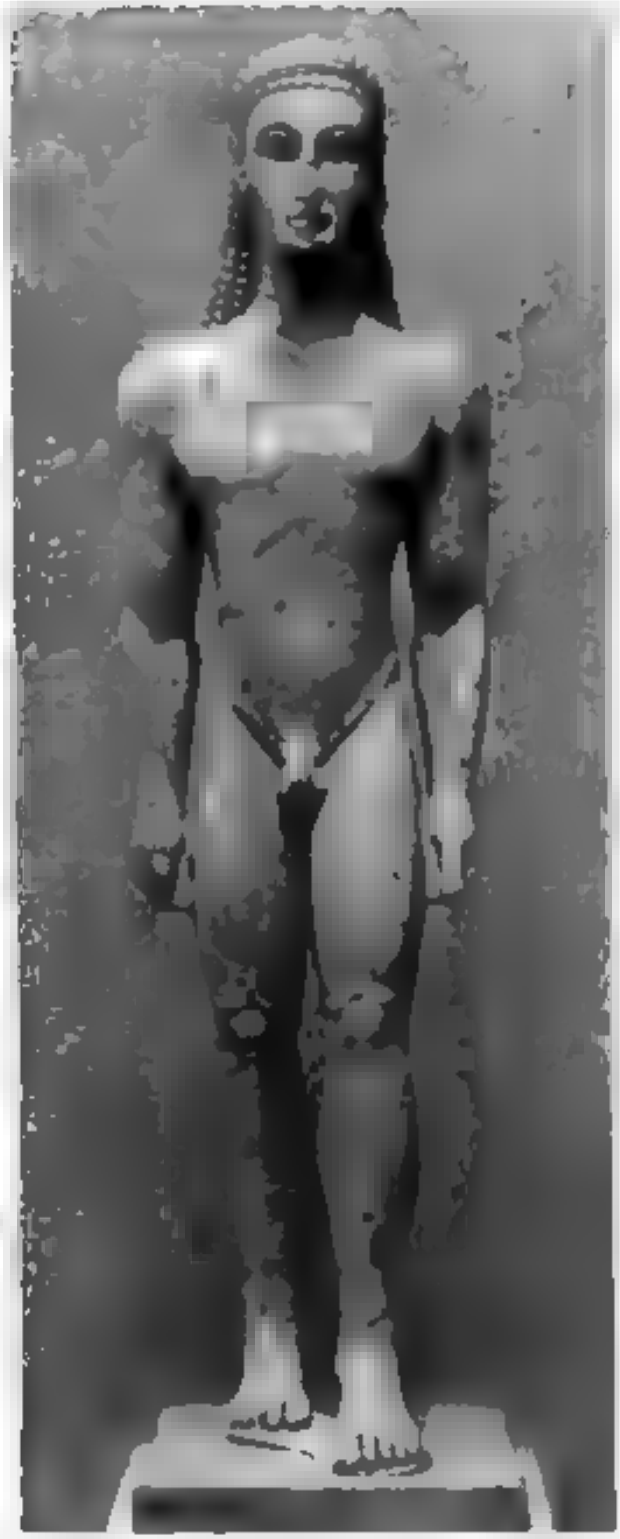
[illegible] Munich

[illegible] Paris

[illegible] the major pieces of late Archaic vase painting [illegible] the body [illegible] and deposited of his [illegible] Achilles [illegible] angels prophetic of [illegible] Thetis knows [illegible] beneath the drapery [illegible] such as those [illegible] Memnon's body. This [illegible] has a special interest because of its elaborate [illegible] signatures of both painter [illegible] Hermogenes [illegible]

[illegible] that distinguish the Orientalizing style [illegible] fighting animals, winged monsters [illegible] had reached Greece mainly through the mountains [illegible] carvings and metalwork from [illegible] or Syria which reflected Mesopotamian as well as Egyptian influences. Such objects have actually been [illegible] in Greek soil [illegible] that we can regard this channel [illegible] as well established. They do not help us, however, to explain the rise of monumental architecture and sculpture in stone about 640 B.C., which must have been based on acquaintance with Egyptian works that could be studied only on the spot. We know that small colonies of Greeks existed in Egypt at the time, but why we wonder, did Greece suddenly develop a taste for monumentality and how did her artists acquire so quickly the Egyptian mastery of stone carving? The mystery

123 *Female Figure* c. 650 B.C. Limestone, height 24". The Louvre, Paris



124 *Standing Youth, Kouros* c. 600 B.C. Marble, height 6' 4". The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fletcher Fund, 1932)

may never be cleared up, for the oldest surviving witnesses of Greek stone sculpture and architecture show that the Egyptian tradition had already been well assimilated and Hellenized, though their link with Egypt is still clearly visible.

Let us consider two very early Greek statues, a female figure of c. 650–625 B.C. (fig. 123) and a nude youth of c. 600 B.C. (fig. 124) and compare them with their Egyptian predecessors (fig. 52). The similarities are certainly striking: we note the block-conscious, cubic character of the four statues, the stern, broad-shouldered silhouette of the male figures, the position of their arms, their clenched fists, the way they stand with the left leg [illegible] the emphatic rendering of the kneecaps. The [illegible] wig-like treatment of the hair, the close-fitting garment of the female figure and her raised arm are other points of resemblance adopted by Egyptian standards. As the Archaic statues seem somewhat [illegible] [illegible] very simplified, awkward, lifeless [illegible]. Where the Egyptian sculptor [illegible] the legs and hips of the male figure to express the strength he sees shown [illegible] the nude. But the Greek statues are the [illegible] statues [illegible] cannot be measured by Egyptian terms. [illegible] they are free-standing, the earliest attempts [illegible] the human form [illegible] which this can be said. The Egyptian artist has never [illegible] the nude such figures [illegible] from the [illegible] the remain immersed [illegible] the empty space between the legs and between the [illegible] and the [illegible] between the figures is a double [illegible] as in fig. [illegible] a wall remains partially [illegible]. There are no any holes in Egyptian stone figures [illegible] the [illegible] not rank as sculpture in the round but as [illegible] in high relief. The Greek carver, in the [illegible] holes in the least, he separates the arms from the torso and the legs from each other [illegible] they are encased in shafts and go to great lengths to cut away every bit of dead material. The [illegible] are the only bridges between the fists and the thighs of the nude youth. Apparently [illegible] of the great importance [illegible] that a statue consisting of stone that has representational meaning within an organic whole the stone must be transformed, it cannot be permitted to remain inert, neutral matter. This is not [illegible] a question of technique but of aesthetic intention. The act of liberation achieved in our two figures endows them with a spirit basically different from that of any of the Egyptian statues. While the latter seem bewitched by a spell that has released them from every strain for all time to come, the Greek images are tense, full of hidden life. The direct stare of their huge eyes offers the most telling contrast to the gentle, faraway gaze of the Egyptian figures.

Whom do they represent? We call the female statues by the general name of Kore (Maiden), the male ones by that of Kouros (Youth)—noncommittal terms that gloss over the difficulty of identifying them further. Nor can we explain why the Kouros is always nude while the Kore is clothed. Whatever the reason, both types were produced in large numbers throughout the Archaic era, and their general outlines remained extraordinarily stable. Some are inscribed with the names of artists ("So-and-so made me") or with dedications to various deities. These, then, were votive offerings, but whether they represent the donor, the deity, or a divinely favored person such as a victor in athletic games remains uncertain in most cases. Others were placed in graves, yet they can be viewed as representations of the deceased only in the broadest and completely impersonal sense. This odd lack of differentiation seems part of the essential character of

c. 615 B.C. *Kouros from Anavyssos*. c. 525 B.C. Marble. Height 6'4". National Museum, Athens.

[illegible]

Soon displays a greater awareness of massive volumes but also a new elasticity and countless anatomical details are more functionally rendered than before. The style of the *Acropolis* Kore corresponds exactly to that of Pausias' dancers on vase plates. We witness the transition from black figured to red figured sculptural terms. There are numerous studies from the middle years of the sixth century showing progress was taking place along the same road, such as the magnificent *Cow Heifer* [illegible] the goddess, and the *Athena Necessos* [illegible] shows a [illegible] the beard [illegible] mature years. The *Cow Heifer* originally had [illegible] standing pose [illegible] legs [illegible] had [illegible] drapery [illegible] he [illegible] physsical [illegible] [illegible] effect [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] the same racial expression [illegible] through [illegible] centuries Greek sculpture even in the face of the dead [illegible] Unlike a terracotta [illegible] gradually [illegible] one of the most famous [illegible] of [illegible] *Rampin Head* [illegible] which probably [illegible] the head of a horseman [illegible] later [illegible] *Rampin* [illegible] the black-figure phase of [illegible] [illegible] phase [illegible] the appearance [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] type [illegible] [illegible] the same [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

found on the Acropolis of Athens. In many ways she seems more akin to the *Hera* from Samos. In fact, she probably came from Chios, another island of Ionian Greece. The architectural grandeur of her ancestress, though, has given way to an ornate, perhaps overly refined grace. The garments swirl up around the body in such a gracious curve, but the plastic forms differentiated

Kore in Ionian Peplos. Circa 530 B.C. Marble, height 48". Acropolis Museum, Athens

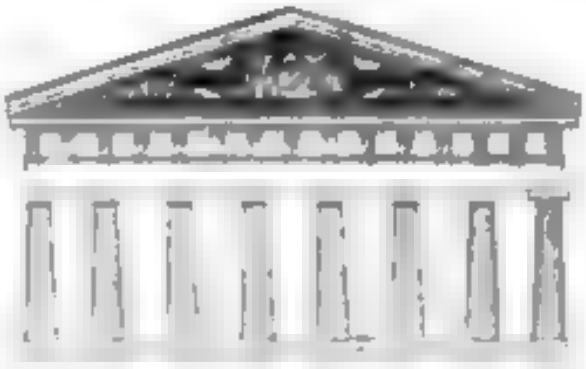
folds, pleats, and textures has almost become an end in itself. Color must have played a particularly important role in such works, and we are fortunate that so much of it survives in our example.

When the Greeks began to build their temples in stone, they also felt heir to the age-old tradition of architectural sculpture. The Egyptians had been covering the walls and even the columns of their buildings with reliefs since the time of the Old Kingdom, but these carvings were so shallow (see figs. 55, 56, 62, 66) that they left the continuity of the wall surface undisturbed. They had no weight of volume of their own, so that they were related to their architectural setting only in the same limited sense as Egyptian wall paintings, with which they were in practice interchangeable. This was also true of the reliefs on Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian buildings (see figs. 85, 90, 91). There existed, however, another kind of architectural sculpture in the ancient Near East, originated, it seems, by the Hittites, the great guardian monsters protruding from the bricks that framed the gateways of fortresses or palaces (see figs. [illegible]). The Greeks must have inspired, although perhaps indirectly, the carving of the lion gate at Mycenae (see fig. [illegible]). We must nevertheless note one important feature that distinguishes the Mycenaean guardian figures from their predecessors: although they are carved in high relief on a huge slab, this slab is an integral part of the enormously heavy [illegible] blocks of which the building, the gate, the Mycenaean architect left an empty triangular space above the lintel. Its function is to lighten the weight of the wall above, which, otherwise, would be too much for the lintel to bear. In contrast with the comparatively aggressive relief panel, there then we have a new kind of architectural sculpture, a work integrated with the structure yet also a separate entity rather than a modification of surface or block. The Hittite gate relief is proto-type of the Greek architectural sculpture as we have seen it when we compare it with the façade of the early Archaic Temple of Artemis on the island of Corfu, erected soon after 600 B.C. (figs. [illegible]). Here again the sculpture is confined to a zone that is framed by structural members but is itself structurally empty: the triangle between the horizontal ceiling and the sloping sides of the roof. This area, called the pediment, need not be filled in at all except to protect the wooden rafters behind it against moisture. It demands not a wall but merely a thin screen. And it is against this screen that the pedimental sculpture is displayed. Technically, these carvings are in high relief, like the guardian lions at Mycenae. Characteristically enough, however, the bodies are strongly undercut, so as to detach them from the background. Even at this early stage of development, the Greek sculptor wanted to assert the independence of his figures from their architectural setting. The head of the central figure actually overlaps the frame. Who is this frightening creature? Not Artemis, surely, although the temple was dedicated to that goddess. As a matter of fact, we have met her before

[illegible] the West Pediment of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu [illegible] Museum, Corfu

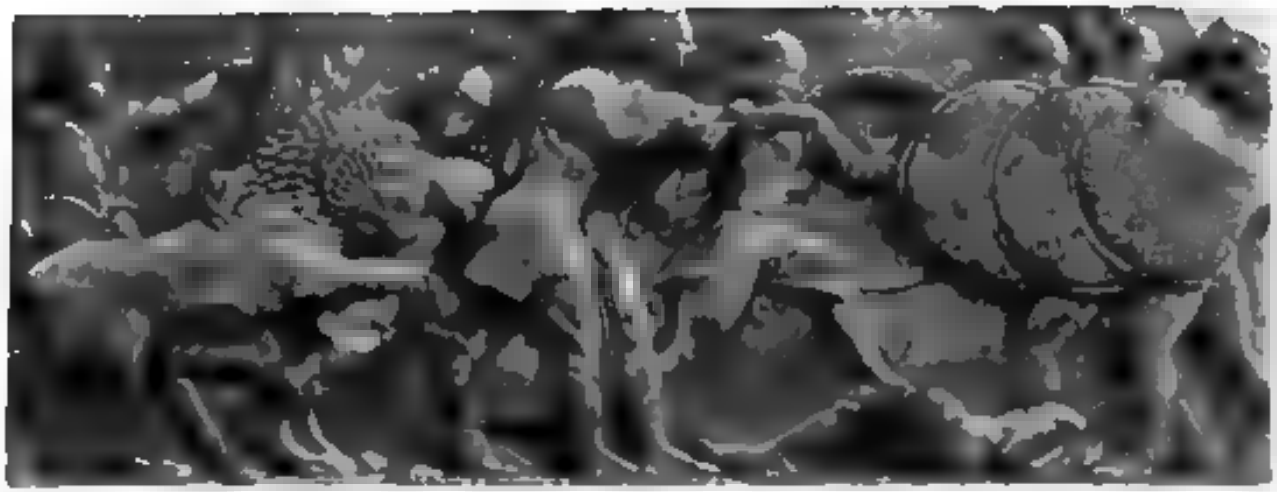
[illegible] emphasizing [illegible] purpose [illegible] was [illegible] as a [illegible] along with the [illegible] huge [illegible] of the [illegible] the temple and the [illegible] the goddess [illegible] Into her pediment [illegible] which [illegible] a [illegible] has [illegible] figure. [illegible] defined [illegible] lightening [illegible] appears as a [illegible] and [illegible] her [illegible] rather flying [illegible] a [illegible] stance that [illegible] movement without [illegible] The symmetry [illegible] arrangement [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] reflects an [illegible] scheme which we [illegible] the [illegible] at Mycenae but from many earlier examples as we [illegible] see fig 4, [illegible] center and fig 54 [illegible] Because of its ornamental character [illegible] the shape of the pediment [illegible] perfect [illegible] Yet the early Archaic designer was not content with [illegible] he also wanted the pediment to contain narrative scenes. Therefore he has added a number of smaller figures in the spaces left between it behind the huge main group. The design of the whole thus shows two conflicting purposes in uneasy balance. As we might expect, narrative will soon win out over heraldry.

Aside from the pediment, there were not many places that the Greeks deemed suitable for architectural sculpture. They might put free-standing figures—often of



[illegible] Reconstruction drawing of the West Front of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu (after Rodenwaldt)

terracotta—above the ends and the center of the pediment to break the severity of its outline. And they often placed reliefs in the zone immediately below the pediment. In Doric temples such as that at Corfu (fig. 131), this "frieze" consists of alternating triglyph blocks with three vertical markings and metopes. The latter were



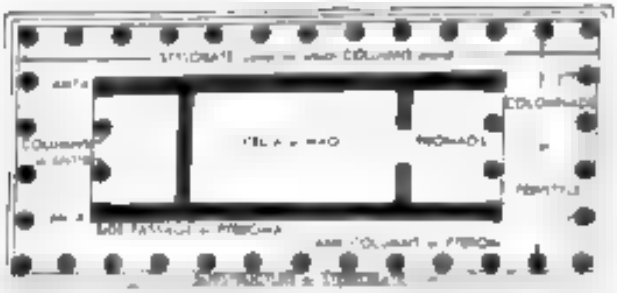
111 Reconstruction of the Façade of the Treasury of the Siphnians in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Museum, Delphi

originally the empty spaces between the ends of the ceiling beams; hence they, like the pediment, could be filled in with sculpture. In Doric architecture the triglyphs were omitted, and the frieze became what the term usually conveys to us, a continuous band of painted or sculptured decoration. The Ionians would also sometimes [illegible] its surprising development [illegible] of the treasuries of the Heraion on Samos. A [illegible] possibilities are combined in the Treasury of Siphnos, which is [illegible] for sculpture [illegible] Although the building [illegible] has been [illegible] the [illegible] impression [illegible] the [illegible] Apollo. A [illegible] was placed [illegible] the feet which [illegible] the Siphnian sculptor has taken [illegible] the spatial possibilities [illegible] the use of bases for projecting relief [illegible] the arms and legs [illegible] are [illegible] and the [illegible] the forms behind [illegible] removed from us are [illegible] merge [illegible] the background. The result [illegible] indeed [illegible] space that permits a [illegible] relationship between the figures such as we have never seen before in narrative reliefs. An comparison with older examples (see figs. 55, 66, 83, 84) [illegible] will show that Archaic art has indeed conquered a new dimension here, but not in the physical but in the expressive sense.

Meanwhile, in pedimental sculpture relief has been abandoned altogether. Instead we find separate statues placed side by side in complex dramatic sequences designed to fit the triangular frame. The most ambitious ensemble of this kind, that of the east pediment of the temple at Aegina, was created about 490 B.C. and thus brings us to the final stage in the evolution of Archaic

[illegible] The figures were [illegible] displayed [illegible] the pediment [illegible]

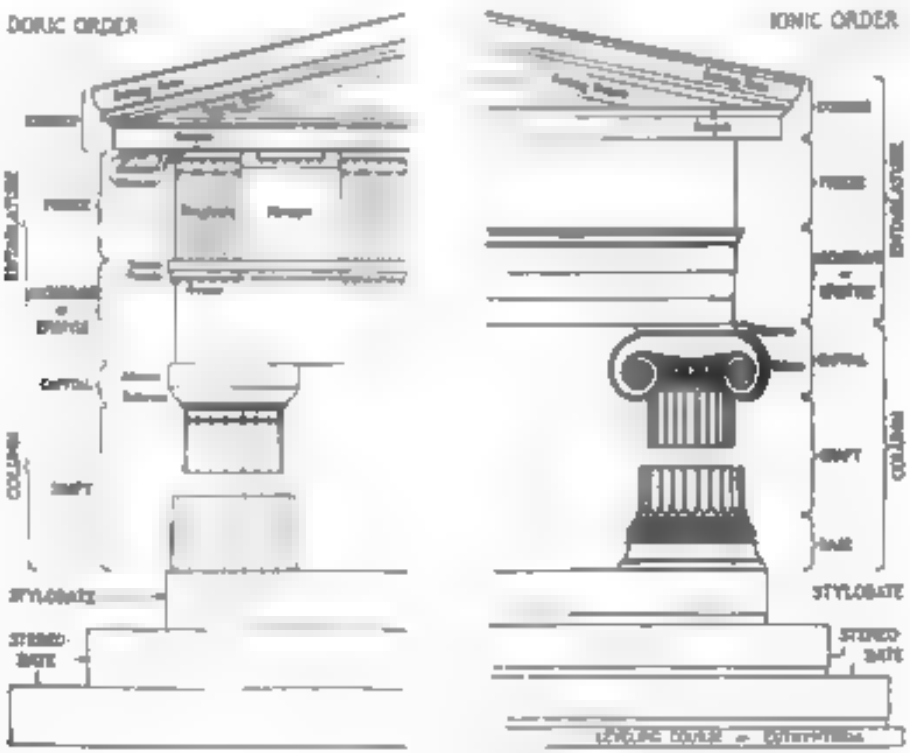
[illegible] Drawing of the East Pediment of [illegible] after Furtwängler



1.7 Ground Plan of a Typical Greek Temple (after [illegible])

ARCHITECTURE

The Greek achievement in architecture has been compared since ancient Roman times with the creation of the three classic architectural orders: the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. Actually, there are only two—the Corinthian being a variant of the Ionic. The Doric is so named because it is the Greek mainland, as we shall see, is the home of the order, since it is older and more sharply defined than the Ionic, which developed in the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor. What do we mean by "architectural order"? By common agreement, the term used for Greek architecture stands as a descendant and rightful heir to, for none of the other architectural systems known to us produced anything like it. Perhaps the simplest way to make clear the unique character of the Greek orders is this: there is no such thing as "the Egyptian temple" or "the Gothic church." The individual buildings, however much they may have in common, are so varied that we cannot distill a generalized type from them. While "the Doric temple" is a real entity that inevitably forms in our minds as we examine the monuments themselves. We must be careful, of course, not to think of this abstraction as an ideal that permits us to measure the degree of perfection of any given Doric temple; it simply means that the elements of which a Doric temple is composed are extraordinarily constant in number, in kind, and in their relation to one another. As a result of this narrow, circumscribed repertory of forms, Doric temples all belonged to the same clearly recognizable family, just as the Kouros statues do like the Kouros statues, they show an internal consistency, a mutual adjustment of parts that gives them a unique quality of wholeness and organic unity. The term "Doric order" refers to the standard parts and their sequence constituting the skeleton of any Doric temple. Its general outlines are already familiar to us from the façade of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu (fig. [illegible]), the original in organic stone, shown in detail along with the names of the parts. To be an inspection of the details of a building may seem a tiresome, pedantic, or at a good minimum, these terms have the merit of generalizing a [illegible] of architecture, or fact that [illegible] which [illegible] as well as [illegible] other buildings, [illegible] with the [illegible] the three-fold [illegible] the stepped platform [illegible] and the entablature, which includes everything that rests on the columns. The Doric [illegible] the shaft marked by shallow vertical grooves known as flutes. The capital, which is made up of the flaring cushion [illegible] and



1.18 The Doric and Ionic Orders (after Grimm)

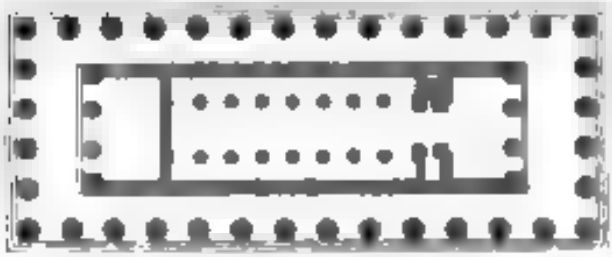
[illegible] temple [illegible] and the Basilica [illegible] Paestum, Italy

[illegible] Paestum [illegible]

[illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] sides [illegible] while the short [illegible] pediment between [illegible] and [illegible] parts [illegible] structure [illegible] built of [illegible] blocks fitted [illegible] with [illegible] mortar. The [illegible] had [illegible] be shaped with [illegible] precision to achieve [illegible] joints. Where [illegible] were fastened together by means of metal [illegible] cramps [illegible] which are rare except [illegible] emphasized [illegible] decorative [illegible] clearly [illegible] while [illegible] up [illegible] and consisted of terracotta [illegible] tiles [illegible] by wooden [illegible] and wooden beams were used [illegible] the ceiling [illegible] the threat of fire was constant.

The plans of Greek temples are not distinct [illegible] like the orders which, as we have seen, concern the [illegible] They may vary according to the size of the building or regional preferences, but their basic features are so much alike that it is useful to study them from a generalized "typical" plan (fig. [illegible]). The nucleus is the cella, or naos, the room in which the image of the deity is placed, and the porch, or pronaos, with its two columns flanked by pilasters, antae. The Siphnian Treasury shows this minimal plan (see fig. [illegible]). Often we find a second porch added behind the cella, to make the design more symmetrical. In the larger temples this central unit is surrounded by a colonnade, called the peristyle, and the structure is then known as peripteral. The very largest temples of Ionian Greece may even have a double colonnade.

41 Interior [illegible] Poseidon [illegible]



42 Plan of the Temple of Poseidon at Paestum

How and [illegible] Doric [illegible] originate? What factors shaped the rigid and precise vocabulary of the Doric order? This is an important and fascinating problem which has occupied archaeologists for many years but which even now can be answered only in part for we have hardly any remains from the time when the system was still in process of formation. The earliest stone temples known to us, such as that of Artemis at Corfu, show that the essential features of the Doric order were already well established soon after 600 B.C. How these features developed individually and in combination, why they congealed into a system as rapidly as they seem to have done, remains a puzzle to which we have few reliable clues. The early Greek builders in stone apparently drew upon three distinct sources of inspiration: Egypt, Mycenae, and pre-Archaic Greek architecture in wood and mud-brick. The Mycenaean contribution is the most tangible, although probably not the most important, of these. [illegible] the Greek temple, the cella and pro[illegible] clearly derives from the megaron, see p. 12, even though a [illegible] tradition, by way of revival, [illegible] something. Add to this the fact that the Mycenaean [illegible] had been inherited [illegible] of the Greek gods, for the entire Mycenaean era had become part of Greek mythology, as attested by the Homeric epics, and the world of Mycenaean dress, weapons, and jewelry [illegible] the world with a glamour [illegible]. The religious awe the [illegible] understandably [illegible] the great [illegible] between the [illegible] Mycenaean [illegible] temples [illegible] Mycenaean [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] Egypt [illegible] Mycenaean [illegible] Photographs [illegible] noted [illegible] before [illegible] the [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] Egypt [illegible] made [illegible] Greek [illegible] made of their [illegible] techniques [illegible] the Egyptians [illegible] and the knowledge of [illegible] temples [illegible] we can only say [illegible] how [illegible] what has survived [illegible] and attractive, although there can be little doubt that they owed more to the Egyptians than to the Mycenaeans or Mycenaeans. The problem becomes acute when we consider [illegible] what extent can the [illegible] be understood as a reflection of wooden structures. Those historians [illegible] who believe that [illegible] have pursued this line of approach a great length, especially in trying to explain the details of the entablature. Up to a point the arguments carry conviction. It seems plausible to assume that at one time the triglyphs did mask the ends of wooden beams and that the drop-like markings known as guttae

Colossal head [illegible] A[illegible] [illegible] About [illegible]
Marble height [illegible] Acropolis Museum Athens

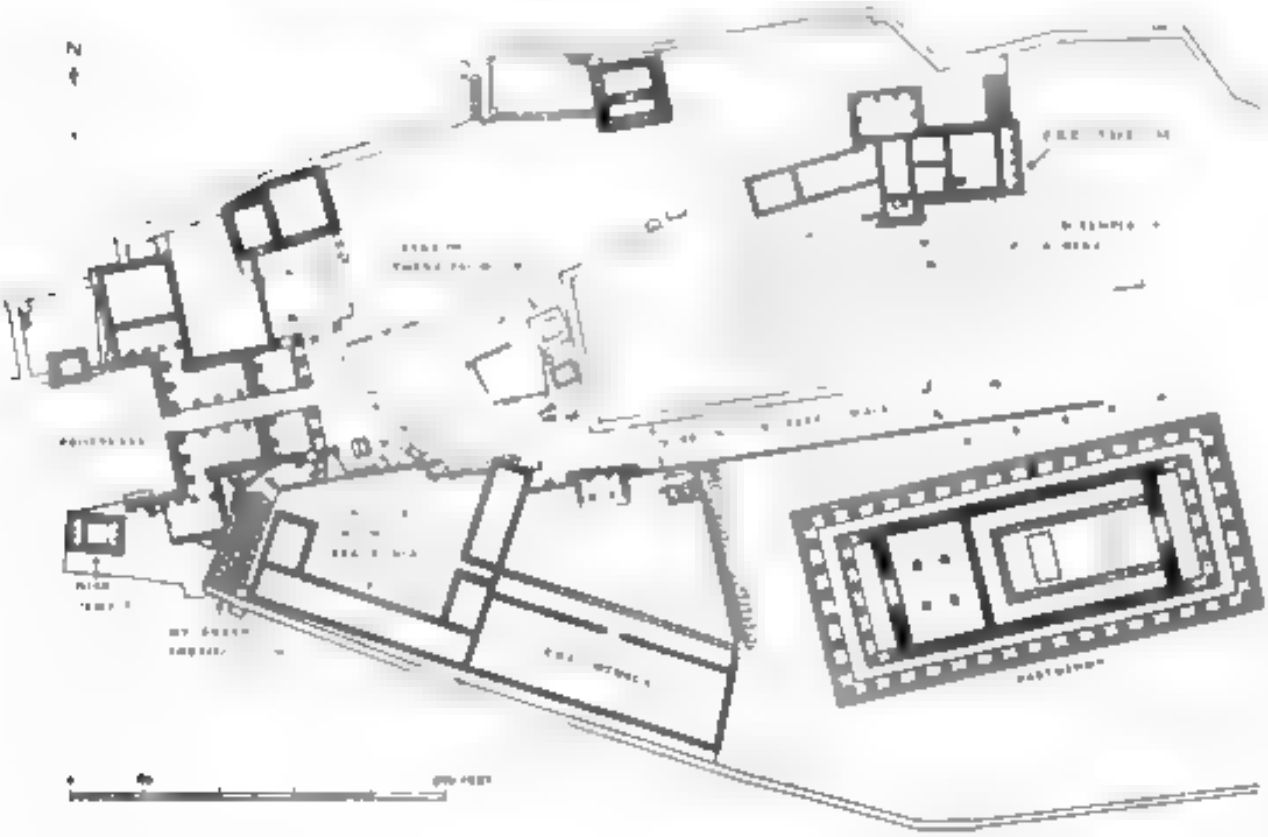
see fig. 38) are the descendants of wooden pegs. The peculiar vertical subdivisions of the triglyphs are perhaps a bit more difficult to accept as an echo of three half-round [illegible]. And when we come to the flutings of the column [illegible] doubts [illegible] were they really developed [illegible] marks on a tree trunk [illegible] the Greeks [illegible] them [illegible] ready-made from the [illegible] columns of Egypt? As a further test of the functional theory, we would have to ask how the Egyptians [illegible] flutes in their columns. The [illegible] after all, [illegible] had [illegible] translate architectural [illegible] permanent materials into stone. Perhaps it was they who turned out marks into flutes? But the predynastic [illegible] had [illegible] timber that they seem [illegible] have used [illegible] for ceilings. The rest of their buildings [illegible] mud bricks [illegible] by hundreds of reeds. And [illegible] the [illegible] column at Saqqara are not [illegible] but are attached [illegible] the flutings might [illegible] what are [illegible] hundreds of reeds [illegible] at Saqqara with [illegible] be [illegible] a bundle [illegible] to be [illegible] hand [illegible] marks [illegible] the habit [illegible] fluting [illegible] reference [illegible] other building techniques [illegible] perhaps they found a [illegible] be [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] flute [illegible] the [illegible] assembled and [illegible]

position. Be that as it may, fluting certainly enhances the expressive character of the column: a fluted shaft looks stronger, more energetic and resilient than a smooth one, and this, rather than its manner of origin, accounts for the persistence of the habit. Why, then, did we enter at such length into an argument that seems at best secondary? Mainly because it suggests the complexity and [illegible] of the technological approach to problems of architectural form. The question always is, [illegible] how [illegible] features can be explained [illegible] face us again and again [illegible] we [illegible] be fully understood if we [illegible] of style in the abstract, without considering the actual purposes of building in its original basis. But we must [illegible] be prepared [illegible] accept the purely aesthetic impulse as a [illegible]. At the very start, [illegible] architects certainly [illegible] some features of wooden temples, [illegible] because these [illegible] necessary in [illegible] of a building as a temple. When they [illegible] they did not [illegible] habit, but because the [illegible] had by [illegible] thoroughly [illegible] they were an organic part of the stone [illegible]

[illegible] problem of [illegible] more [illegible] under the best preserved sixth-century Doric [illegible] the [illegible] Basilica at Paestum in southern [illegible] neigh-

Above: 144. Porte Aliénor, Poitiers. [illegible]

Below: 145. Plan of the Acropolis at Athens in 400 B.C. (after A. W. Lawrence)



[illegible] the so-called Temple of Poseidon [illegible] which was built almost a century later. Both are Doric but we at once note striking differences in their proportion. The Basilica seems low and sprawling and not only because so much of the entablature is missing, while the Temple of Poseidon [illegible] is taller and more compact. Even the columns themselves are different: those of the Basilica taper far more emphatically, have a far [illegible] and more flaring. Why the difference? The peculiar taper of the columns of the Basilica is peculiar, has been compared to Minoan columns, has been explained as [illegible] with the proportions of [illegible] exaggerated the taper [illegible] greater [illegible] the taper [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the

147 The Propylaea
(view from the west)
and the Temple of Athena Nike
(447–444 B.C.)
Acropolis, Athens

under the leadership of Pericles during the late 5th century, when Athens was at the height of her power, was the most ambitious enterprise in the history of Greek architecture as well as its artistic climax. Individually and collectively, these structures represent the Classical phase of Greek art in its maturity. The greatest and the only one whose completion was not cut short by the Peloponnesian War, the Parthenon (figs. 143–144), dedicated to the virgin Athena, the patron deity in whose honor Athens was named, rises gleaming white marble on the most prominent site along the southern flank of the Acropolis. It dominates the environs and the surrounding countryside, a bright landmark against the backdrop of mountains and the blue sky. The history of the Parthenon is as extraordinary as its artistic significance. It is the only same-day work that has served four different faiths in succession. The architects, Ictinus and Callicrates, erected it in 448–432 B.C., an amazingly brief span of time for a project of this size. In order to meet the huge expense of building the largest and most lavish temple on the Greek mainland, Pericles delved into funds collected from states allied with Athens for mutual defense against the Persians. He may have felt that the danger was no longer a real one, and that Athens, the chief victim and victor at the climax of the Persian war in 480–479 B.C., was justified in using the money to rebuild what the Persians had destroyed. His act did weaken the position of Athens, however. Thucydides openly reproached him for allowing the city "to take a harlot with precious stones, statues and temples costing a thousand talents" and contributed to the disastrous outcome of the Peloponnesian War. In Christian times, the Virgin Mary displaced the virginal Athena: the Parthenon became first a Byzantine church, then a Catholic cathedral, and finally, under Turkish rule, a mosque. It has been a ruin since 1687, when a Venetian gunshot set the Turks had put in the Parthenon exploded during a siege. Much of the sculpture was removed during the years 1801–1803 by Lord Elgin. These Elgin Marbles are today the greatest treasure of the British Museum.

As the perfect embodiment of Classical Doric architecture, the Parthenon makes an instructive contrast with the Temple of Poseidon at Paestum. Despite its greater size, it seems far less massive. Rather, the harmonious impression it creates is one of effortless grace, which the austere architecture belies. This has been achieved by a general lightening and readjustment of the proportions: the entablature is lower in relation to the width and to the height of the columns; the stylobate projects less; and the columns themselves are a good deal more slender. The tapering and entasis are less pronounced, and the capital is smaller and less flaring, while the spacing of the columns has become wider. (If we might say that the load carried by the columns has decreased, and as a consequence the supports can fulfill

148 Aeolian Capital
from Neandria

149 Corinthian Capital,
from the Tholos at
Epidaurus, c. 390 B.C.
Museum, Epidaurus

fig. The Erechtheion
view from the east
[illegible] 406 B.C.
Acropolis, Athens

[illegible] in a new sense [illegible] the architects refer[illegible] departures from the strict geometric regularity of the design. Practical reasons are at the [illegible] [illegible] Thus the stepped [illegible] [illegible] than the eye [illegible] [illegible] the Acropolis [illegible] planned rather [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Athens with its striking Aegean orientation had shown itself hospitable to the eastern Greek style of building from the mid-6th century on, and the finest surviving examples of the Ionic order are to be found among the structures on the Acropolis. The pre-Persian development of the order is known only in very fragmentary fashion, in the huge Ionic temples that were erected in Archaic times on Samos and at Ephesus. None has survived except the plans, but its vocabulary seems to have remained fairly fluid, with strong affinities to the Near East (see page 64), so that it can hardly become an order in the strict sense until the Classical period. Even then it continued to be rather more flexible than the Doric order. Its most striking feature is the Ionic column, which differs from the Doric not only in body but also, as it were, in spirit (see fig. 48). Greatly more elaborate, it stands on a profiled base of its own; the shaft is more slender, and there is less tapering and entasis; the capital shows a large double scroll or volute between the echinus and abacus, which projects strongly beyond the width of the shaft. That these details add up to an entity very distinct from the Doric column becomes clear as soon as we turn from the diagram to an actual building (fig. 50). How shall we define it? The Ionic column is, of course, lighter and more graceful than its masculine cousin; it lacks the latter's muscular quality. Instead, it evokes the echo of a growing plant, of something like a formalized palm tree. And this vegetal analogy is not sheer fancy. For we have early ancestors of the great scrolls of the Ionic capital, that bear scrolls (fig. 48). If we were to pursue these plant-like columns all the way back to their point of origin, we would eventually find ourselves at Saqqara, where we not only encounter "proto-Doric" supports but the wonderfully graceful papyrus half-columns of figure 47, with their curved, flaring capitals. Thus we be then that the Ionic column, which had its ultimate source in Egypt, but instead of reaching Greece by sea, as we suppose the proto-Doric column did, it traveled a slow and tortuous path by land through Syria and Asia Minor.

In pre-Classical times the only Ionic structures in the Greek mainland had been the small treasuries built by eastern Greek states at Delphi in the 6th century (see fig. [illegible]). Hence the Athenians had to look up to an order about 45 [illegible] brought it at first as an alien, abstract formal system, a complete plan. Such buildings as the Temple of Athena Nike on the southwest flank of the Propylaia (fig. 49), probably built 427–424 B.C., show a design prepared in every detail by architects. Larger and more important works, the Erechtheion (fig. [illegible]) and Propylaia (fig. 49), on the other hand, show the Athenians supposed to have [illegible] perhaps by Mnesicles [illegible] the Propylaia was masterfully adapted to an irregular site. The area had [illegible] of Athens, so that the Erechtheion was placed on a northern plateau, sanctuary of the legendary king of Athens, the earth-born Erechtheus, a predecessor of Theseus. Erechtheus, or Erichthonios, was venerated as Athena Polias, Athena the city goddess, and it was also believed to be upon this spot that a contest between Athena and Poseidon was held to have taken place. Apparently there were four rooms in addition to a basement on the western side, but their exact purpose is under debate. Instead of a west facade, the Erechtheum has two porches attached to its flanks, a very large one facing north and a small one toward the Parthenon. The latter, the famous Porch of the Maidens, is roof supported by six female figures (caryatids) on a high parapet, instead of regular columns (compare fig. [illegible]). One wonders whether these statues were the reason why a Turkish governor chose the building to house his harem two thousand years later. We cannot altogether blame him, for here the exquisite refinement of the Ionic order does indeed convey a feminine (though not effeminate) quality compared with the masculinity of the Parthenon across the way. Apart from the caryatids, sculptural decoration on the Erechtheum was confined to the frieze (of which very little survives). The pediments remained bare, perhaps for lack of funds at the end of the Peloponnesian War. However, the or-

namental carving on the bases and capitals of the columns and on the frames of doorways and windows is extraordinarily delicate and rich. Its cost, according to the accounts inscribed on the building, was higher than that of figure sculpture.

Such emphasis on ornament seems characteristic of the late fifth century. It was at this time that the Corinthian capital was invented, as an elaborate substitute for the simple shape of a bud of an inverted bell covered with the leafy shoots and leaves of the acanthus plant, which seem to spring up from the top of the column shaft. Corinthian capitals were used [illegible] Nearly a century after [illegible] the Corinthian capital was [illegible] in the [illegible] The earliest examples [illegible] development [illegible] but an elaborate support [illegible] The [illegible] is a miniature version of a building type [illegible] of which several classic examples are known [illegible] have existed. The columns are engaged [illegible] make [illegible] Now after the [illegible] the [illegible] Roman [illegible] standard [illegible]

During the three centuries between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the Roman conquest, Greek architecture [illegible] development. It can be set in the [illegible] Greek cities of Asia Minor, where we can [illegible] of a new [illegible] influence such as the Sage [illegible] Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (see page [illegible]), the Pergamon Altar (see page [illegible]). Town plan [illegible] rectangular grid pattern first introduced in Miletus in the mid-fifth century, assumed new importance [illegible] the municipal [illegible] the market places where the civic and commercial life of Greek towns was centered. Private houses, too, became larger and more ornate than before. Yet the architectural vocabulary, aesthetically as well as technically, remained essentially that of the temples of the late fifth century. The basic repertoire of Greek architecture was increased in one respect [illegible] the theater achieved a regular defined shape. Like the [illegible] century, the auditorium had usually been a natural slope, preferably curved, equipped with stone benches [illegible] the hillside was provided with [illegible] and with [illegible] aisles at regular intervals [illegible] pattern [illegible] At the center of the orchestra, where most of the action took place. At [illegible] time [illegible] the remaining [illegible] building that [illegible] the backdrop and supported the scenery [illegible] the fact that Greek architecture [illegible] significantly beyond the stage it had reached [illegible] the time of the Peloponnesian War.* After all, [illegible] the work of sculptors and painters, the main tendency was for richness during the last three hundred years of Greek civilization. Are we perhaps [illegible] the architectural achievements after [illegible] were [illegible] that pre[illegible] Greek architecture from continuing the pace of development [illegible] maintained [illegible] and Issaurian [illegible] A number of such [illegible] mind, the [illegible] with monumental extents at the expense of in[illegible] space, [illegible] effort in temples of one particular type [illegible] each [illegible] exceed [illegible] any structural system [illegible] had the post and lintel upright supporting [illegible] beams [illegible] the late fifth century there had all been [illegible] advantages without them the great masterpieces of [illegible] Periclean age would have been unthinkable. But the possibilities of the traditional Doric temple were nearly exhausted by them, as indicated by the [illegible] on expensive refinements. What Greek architecture needed after the Peloponnesian War was a breakthrough, a revival of the experimental spirit [illegible] the sixth century, which would create an inter

152 The Theater, Epidaurus, c. 340 B.C.

141 *Standing Youth* (*The Kritios Boy*)
c. 480 B.C. Marble, height 34
Acropolis Museum, Athens

est in new building materials, vaulting, and interior space. What prevented the breakthrough? Could it have been the architectural orders, or rather the cast of mind that produced them? The suspicion will not down that it was the very coherence and rigidity of these orders which made it impossible for Greek architects to depart from the established pattern. What had been their great strength in earlier days now became a tyranny. It remained for later ages to adapt the Greek orders to brick and concrete, to arched and vaulted construction, for such adaptation necessitated doing a certain amount of violence to the original character of the orders, and the Greeks, it seems, were incapable of this.

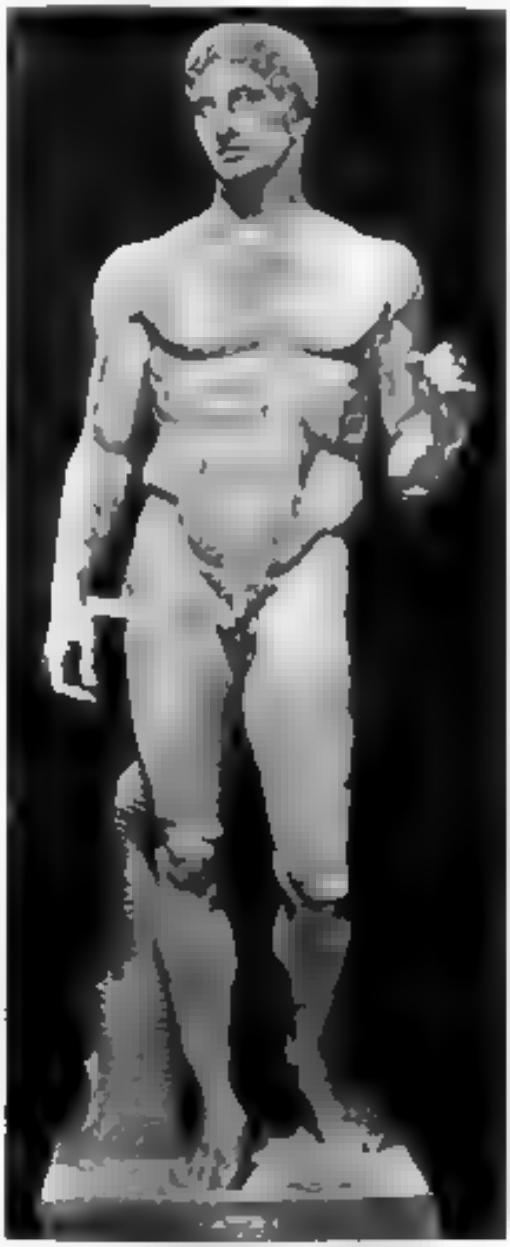
CLASSICAL SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Among the statues excavated from the debris the Persians had left behind on the Acropolis there is one Kouros (fig. 141) that stands apart from the rest. It must have been carved very shortly before the fateful year 480 B.C. This remarkable work, which some have attributed to the Athenian sculptor Kritios and which therefore has come to be known as the *Kritios Boy*, suffers subtly but importantly from the Archaic Kouros figures we discussed above (figs. 124–[illegible]). It is the first statue we know that stands in the full sense of the word. Of course, the earlier figures also stand, but only in the sense that they are in an upright position and are not reclining, sitting, kneeling, or running. Their static stance is an arrested walk with the weight on the body resting equally on both legs. The *Kritios Boy* instead has one leg placed forward, so we note a weight shift, an instant in the swinging step. Why this was not obvious at first glance is clear when we compare the left and right half of his body. If we then discover that the strict symmetry of the Archaic Kouros has now given way to a calculated nonsymmetry, the knee of the forward leg is lower than the other, the right hip is pushed down and forward, the left hip pulled up and backward, and if we trace the axis of the body, we realize that it is not a straight vertical line but a faint S-like curve (or, to be exact, a reversed S-curve). Taken together, all these small departures from symmetry tell us that the weight of the body rests mainly on the left leg, and that the right leg plays the role of an elastic prop or buttress to make sure that the body keeps its balance. The *Kritios Boy* then not only stands, he stands at ease. And the artist has masterfully observed the balanced nonsymmetry of this relaxed, natural stance. To describe it, we use the Italian word *contrapposto* (counterpoise): the leg that carries the main weight is commonly called the engaged leg, the other the free leg. These terms are a useful shorthand, for from now on we shall have frequent occasion to mention *contrapposto*. It was a very basic discovery. Only by learning how to represent the body at rest could the Greek sculptor gain the freedom to show it in motion. But is there not plenty of motion in Archaic art? There is indeed (see figs. 130, 132–

36 but of a somewhat mechanical and inflexible kind we read it from the poses without really feeling it. In the *Kouros Boston* on the other hand we sense for the first time not only a new repose but an animation of the body structure that evokes the experience we have of our own bodies. Life now suffuses the entire figure; hence the Archaic smile, the sign of life, is no longer needed. It has given way to a serious, pensive expression in character with the early phase of Classical sculpture (or as it is often called the Severe Style).

The new articulation of the body that appears in the *Kouros Boston* was to reach its full development within half a century in the mature Classical style of the Periclean era.

34. *Discobolus* (*Spear Thrower*). Roman copy after an original of [illegible] Marble, height [illegible] Museo Nazionale, Rome.



35. Charioteer from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, c. 470 B.C. Bronze, height 5 ft. Museum, Delphi.

The most famous [illegible] of this time, the *Doryphoros* (*Spear-Bearer*) by Polykleitos (fig. [illegible]), is known to us only through Roman copies whose hard, dry forms convey little of the beauty of the original. Still, it makes an instructive comparison with the *Artemis Box*. The *contrapposto* with the engaged leg and the forward position has now become much more emphatic; the difference between the left and right halves of the body can be seen in every muscle, and the turn of the head hardly hints at that of the *Artemis Box* sculpture's pronounced. This sculpture's precise [illegible] and [illegible] as well as the harmonious proportions of the figure made the *Doryphoros* seem what was the standard embodiment of the classical ideal of human beauty. According to one ancient writer, it was known simply as the Canon, rule, measure, so great was its authority.

But let us return to the Severe Style. The reason why this term was chosen to describe the character of Greek sculpture during the years between c. 480 and 450 B.C. becomes clear to us as we look at the splendid *Charioteer* from Delphi (fig. [illegible]), the earliest surviving large bronze statue. A Greek artist must have been made aware of a dis-

146. *Apollo* (*portion*), from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, c. 460 B.C. Marble, over life-size. Museum, Olympia

ade after than the *Artemis Box* as a votive offering after a race. The young victor originally stood on a chariot drawn by four horses. Despite the long, heavy garment we sense a hint of *contrapposto* in the body. The feet are carefully differentiated so as to inform us that the left leg is the engaged one, and the shoulders and head turn slightly to the right. The garment is severely simple; yet compared with Archaic drapery the folds seem softer and more pliable: we feel, probably for the first time in the history of sculpture, that they reflect the behavior of real cloth. Not only the body but the drapery, too, has been transformed by a new understanding of [illegible] relationships so that every fold is shaped by the forces which act upon it: the downward pull of gravity, the shape of the body underneath, and the horizontal straps that constrict its flow. The face has the poise of something far away, such as we saw in the *Artemis Box*, but the color inlay of the eyes, lips, and nipples present, in this instance, as well as the slightly parted lips, give it a more earnest, pained expression. The bearing of the young figure conveys the solemnity of the event, imminent and [illegible] serious and [illegible] interests at that time were [illegible] not spontaneous, as in the Archaic sense.

The greatest sculptural ensemble of the Severe Style is the pediment from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, [illegible] c. 460 B.C., and now reassembled in the local museum. In the west pediment, the [illegible] Lapiths, we see the wedding of the Lapith king, Peirithoos, and the Centaurs under the aegis of Apollo, who [illegible] the center of the composition. The standing figure is placed in frame and set above [illegible] the right [illegible] the strong turn of the head, [illegible] the will, the victory but a belated goal, since [illegible] achieve. Severe Style [illegible] here as a [illegible] a gathering of forces [illegible] powerful [illegible] make [illegible] impressive. The [illegible] themselves are massive and simple, with broad contours and undulating, continuous surfaces. Apollo's glance is directed at a centaur who has seized Deidamia, the bride of the king of the Lapiths (fig. [illegible]). Here we witness another achievement of the Severe Style: the passionate struggle is expressed not only through action and gesture but through the emotions mirrored in the faces: revulsion on the face of the girl, pain and desperate effort on the face of the Centaur. Not would an Archaic artist have known how to combine the two figures into a group so compact, so full of interlocking movements.

Strenuous action had already been explored in pedimental sculpture of the Late Archaic period (see figs. 135–36). Such figures, however, although technically carved in the round, are not free-standing: they represent rather a kind of super-relief, since they are designed to be seen against a background and from one direction only. To infuse the same freedom of movement into genuinely free-standing statues was a far greater challenge: not only did it run counter to an age-old tradition that denied mobility to these figures, but the unfreezing had to be

done in such a way as to safeguard their all-around balance and self-sufficiency. The problem could not really be tackled until the concept of *contrapposto* had been established, but once this was done the solution no longer presented serious difficulties. Large free-standing statues in bronze are the most important achievement of the Severe Style. The finest figure of this kind was recovered from the sea near the coast of Greece some thirty years ago (fig. 158), a magnificent nude bronze Poseidon (or Zeus) almost seven feet tall, in the act of hurling his trident thunderbolt. The pose is that of an athletic yet [illegible] as the arrested phase of a violent movement, but it has an awe-inspiring gesture [illegible] the power of the god. Hurling a weapon is a [illegible] here rather than a specific part of a particular adversary. Some years after [illegible] about 450 B.C., Myron created his famous bronze statue of the [illegible] a reputation comparable [illegible] like the [illegible] known [illegible] the [illegible] a sequence of [illegible] a single [illegible] much more complex [illegible] being the [illegible] the artist [illegible] the same [illegible] the [illegible] wondered whether he [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

left 159. *Discobolus, Discus Thrower.* Roman marble copy after a bronze original of c. 450 B.C. by Myron. Lifesize. Museo delle Terme, Rome.

below 160. *Dying Niobid.* c. 450–440 B.C. Marble, height 59". Museo delle Terme, Rome.

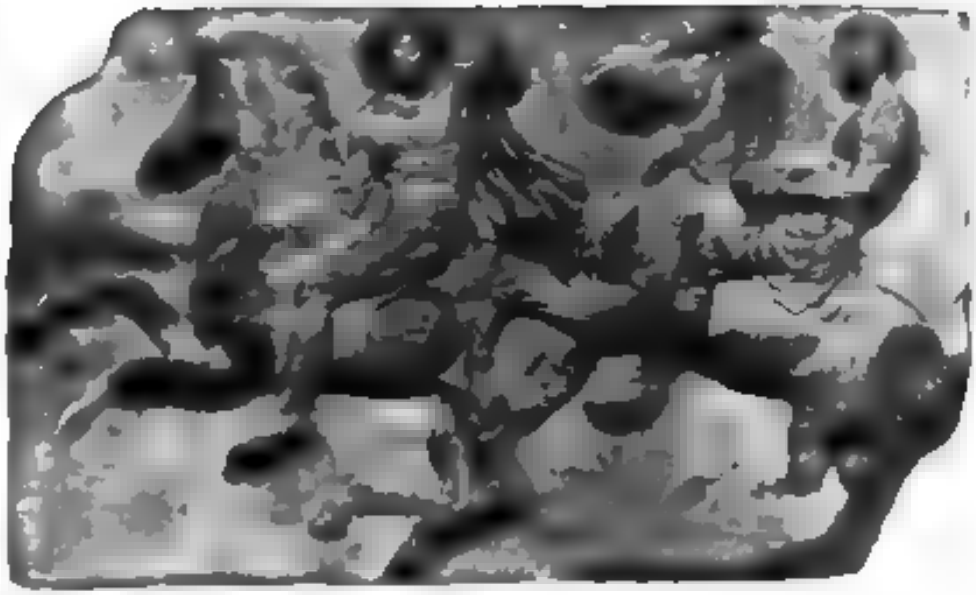
Aegina (fig. 158) will show us how very differently the agony of death had been conceived only half a century before. What separates the *Niobid* from the world of Archaic art is a quality summed up in the Greek word *pathos*, which means suffering, but particularly suffering conveyed with nobility and restraint so that it touches rather than horrifies us. Late Archaic art may approach it now and then, as in the Eos and Memnon group (fig. 122), yet the full force of *pathos* can be felt only in Classical works such as the *Niobid*. Perhaps in order to measure the astonishing development we have witnessed since the beginnings of Greek monumental sculpture less than two centuries before, we ought to compare the *Niobid* with the earliest pedimental figure we came to know, the Gorgon from Corfu (fig. 10), and as we do so, we suddenly realize that these two, worlds apart as they may be, belong to the same artistic tradition, for the *Niobid*, too, shows the pinwheel stance, even though its meaning has been radically reinterpreted. Once we recognize the ancient origin of her pose, we understand better than before why the Niobid, despite her suffering, remains so monumentally self-contained.

The largest, as well as the greatest, body of Classical sculpture at our disposal consists of the remains of the plastic decoration of the Parthenon, most of them, unfortunately, in battered and fragmentary condition. The centers of both pediments are gone completely, and of the figures in the corners only those from the east pediment are sufficiently well preserved to convey something of the quality of the ensemble. They represent various deities, most in sitting or reclining poses, witnessing the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (figs. 161–162). Here, even more than in the case of the *Niobid*, we marvel at the spaciousness, the complete ease of movement of these statues. There is neither violence nor pathos in them.

161 *Dionysus*, from the east pediment of the Parthenon, c. 438–433 B.C. Marble, over lifesize. British Museum, London

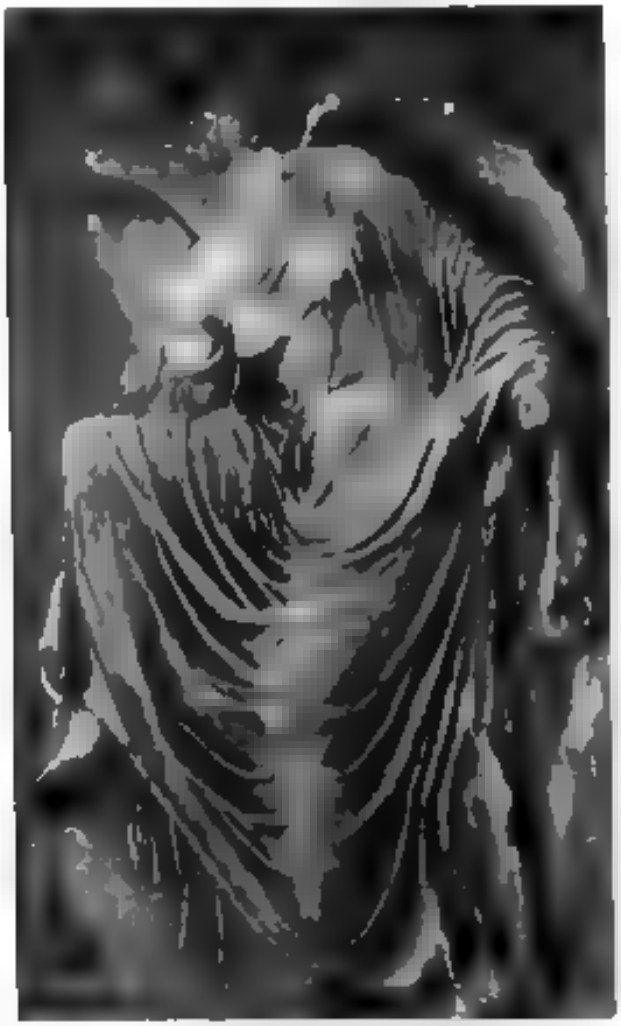
[illegible] specific [illegible] pieces of being. We [illegible] quality of the marble [illegible] of Dionysus and in the soft [illegible] ness of the three goddesses enveloped in their drapery that seems to share the qualities of a liquid substance [illegible] flows and recedes [illegible] the flesh underneath. The figures are [illegible] depth that they create their own [illegible] were [illegible] under [illegible] shape [illegible] a pediment. Might they not have [illegible] but incongruous, as if they had been merely [illegible] here. The great master who designed them [illegible] something of the sort for the composition as a whole suggests that he refused to accept the triangular [illegible] as more than a purely physical limit. In the sharp angles [illegible] corners at the feet of Dionysus and the reclining goddesses he has placed two horses' heads. They are [illegible] represent the chariots of the rising sun and the waning moon, rising and dipping below the pediment space, but usually the heads are merely two fragments arbitrarily cut off by the frame. Clearly we

162 *Three Goddesses*, from the east pediment of the Parthenon, c. 438–433 B.C. Marble, over lifesize. British Museum, London



Right: [illegible] the Parthenon [illegible] Marble, height [illegible] British Museum, London [illegible]

Relief [illegible] Nike from the Balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike [illegible] Marble, height [illegible] Acropolis Museum, Athens



approaching the moment when the pediments will be repeated altogether as the focal point of Greek architectural sculpture.

The frieze of the Parthenon, a continuous band [illegible] in length, shows the procession of the Great Panathenaia, a festival in honor of Athena. It is [illegible] the same height as the pediment sculptures. In a somewhat different way, it has been [illegible] collected [illegible] sculptures [illegible] to the architectural setting [illegible] must have been [illegible] difficult to see [illegible] place as it was intended [illegible] viewing. The depth [illegible] viewing and the [illegible] accent radically different [illegible] the frieze [illegible] the Siphnian Treasury [illegible] through the illusion [illegible] space and of a rounded form [illegible] sovereign case. The most remarkable qualities of the Parthenon frieze are its rhythmic grace [illegible] design, particularly striking in the spirited movement of the groups of horsemen [illegible].

Who was responsible for this magnificent array of sculptures? They have long been associated with the name of Phidias, the chief overseer of all artistic enterprises sponsored by Pericles. According to ancient writers, Phidias was particularly famous for a huge ivory-and-gold statue of Athena he made for the cella of the Parthenon, a colossal Zeus in the same technique for the temple of that god in Olympia, and an equally large bronze statue of Athena that stood on the Acropolis facing the Propylaea. Some of these survive, and small-scale representations of them in later times are utterly inadequate to convey anything of the artist's style. It is, in any event, hard to imagine that enormous statues of this sort, burdened with the requirements of cult images and the demands of a difficult technique, shared the vitality of the Elgin Marbles. The admiration they elicited could have been due in large part to their size, the preciousness of the materials,

[illegible]
Marble, height [illegible] National Museum, Athens

[illegible] Attic white-ground lekythos, [illegible] Private collection

[illegible] surprising that the Phidian style should have dominated Athenian sculpture at the end of the fifth century and beyond, even though large scale sculpture enterprises gradually came to a halt because of the Peloponnesian War. The area where this was the last trade existed around the small temple of Athena Nike (fig. 63) [illegible] like the Parthenon frieze, it shows a festive procession, but the participants are winged Nike figures—personifications of victory rather than citizens of Athens. One Nike (fig. 64) is taking off her sandals, in conformity with an age-old tradition, indicating that she is about to step on holy ground (see page 361). Her wings—one open, the other closed—are effectively employed to help her keep her balance so that she performs with consummate elegance of movement what is ordinarily a rather awkward act. Her figure is more strongly detached from the relief ground than are those on the Parthenon frieze, and her garments, with their deeply cut folds, hang like those of women who were wet. One have seen a certain phase of this treatment of drapery in the three goddesses of the Parthenon (fig. 162). Phidian, too, and also from the last years of the century, is the beautiful *grave stele of Hegeso* (fig. 165). Memorials of this kind were produced in large numbers by Athenian sculptors, and the export trade may have helped to spread the Phidian style throughout the Greek world. Few of them, however, can match the harmonious design and the gentle melancholy of our example. The deceased is represented in a simple domestic scene: she has picked a necklace from the box held by the girl servant and seems to be contemplating it as if it were a keepsake. The delicacy of the carving can be seen especially well in the forms farthest removed from the beholder, such as the servant's left arm supporting the lid of the jewel box, or the veil behind Hegeso's right shoulder. Here the relief merges almost imperceptibly with the background, so that the

167 The Achilles Painter
Peleus and Thetis, detail of a Faliscan vase, 5th century B.C.
Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome

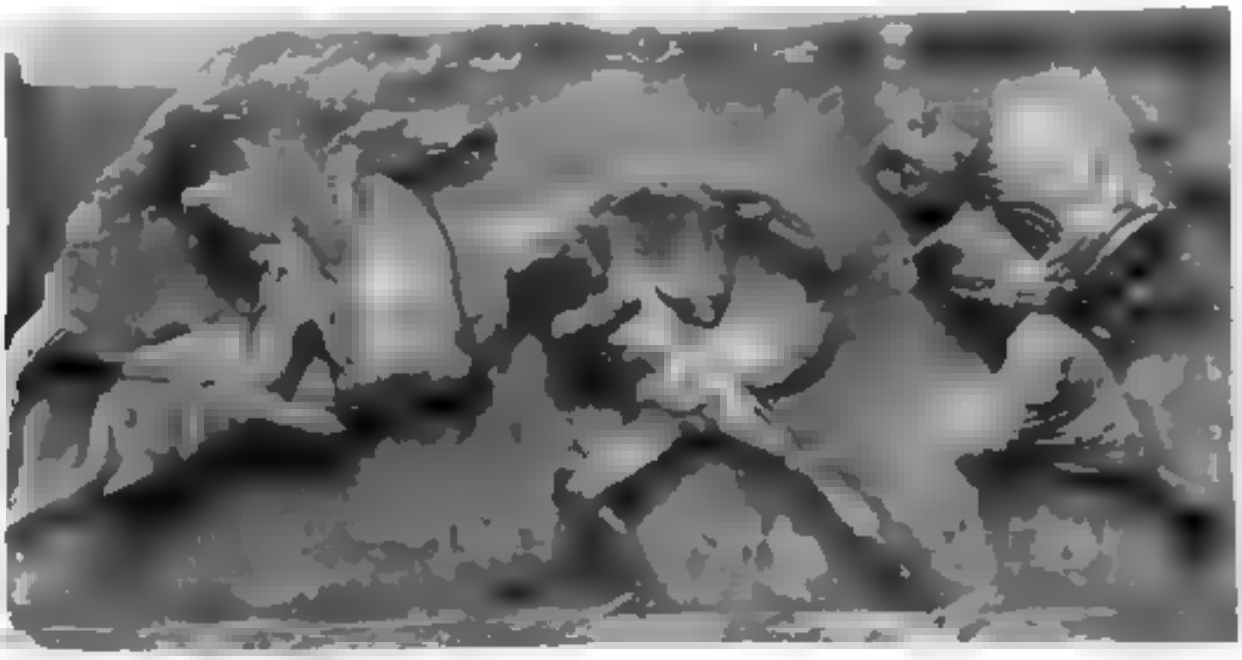
ground no longer appears as a solid surface but assumes something of the transparency of empty space. This novel effect was probably inspired by the painters of the period who, according to the literary sources, had achieved a great breakthrough in mastering illusionistic space. Unhappily, we have no murals or panels to verify this claim, and vase painting by its very nature could echo the new concept of pictorial space only in roundabout fashion. Still, there are vessels that form an exception to this general rule: we bring them now in a special class, vases, the lekythoi, sometimes used as funerary offerings. These had a white coating on which the painter could draw as freely, and with the same spatial effect, as his modern successor using pen and paper. The white ground in both cases is treated as empty space from which the sketched forms seem to emerge as the draughtsman knows how achieve this. Not many lekythos painters were capable of bringing off the illusion. Foremost among them is the unknown artist nicknamed the "Achilles Painter," who drew the young woman in figure 166. Although some twenty-five years older than the Hegeso Stele, this vase shows exactly the same scene: here too a standing maidservant holds a box from which the deceased has just taken a piece of jewelry. There is the same mood of Phidian reverie, and even the chairs match almost exactly. This scene, then, was a standard subject for painted or sculptured memorials of young women.

Of chief interest, however, is the masterly draughtsmanship with which the painter sure, fast, and fluid, the pen not only creates a three-dimensional figure but reveals the body beneath the drapery as well. How does he manage to persuade us that these shapes exist in depth in the space behind the surface? [illegible] by the demands of fresh rendering. But the internal dynamics of the pen are equally important: the swelling and ebbing which make some contours stand out boldly while others merge with the ground or disappear into the white ground. However, we must not assume that the carver of the Hegeso Stele actually knew such lekythoi, more likely they both derive from a common ancestor, which may have been a marble stele like that of Hegeso but with a painted representation of the jewel-box scene.

Considering its artistic advantages, we might expect the white-ground technique to be more generally adopted. Such, however, was not the case. Instead, from the mid-fifth century on, the impact of monumental painting gradually transformed vase painting as a whole into a satellite art that tried to reproduce large-scale compositions in a kind of shorthand dictated by its own limited technique. The result, more often than not, was spotty and overcrowded. Even the finest examples suffer from this defect, as we can see in figure 167, which is taken from a vase produced in central Italy, probably by a Greek master, not very long after 400 B.C. It shows Thetis

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
About [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Museum Athens

Reconstruction Drawing of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (after F. Kreischer)



Below 170 Mausolus from the Mausoleum Halicarnassus 349 [illegible] Marble height [illegible] British Museum London

Right [illegible] Marble height [illegible] British Museum London

[illegible] as best we can, always keeping in mind the present accompanying of the third phase we are about to examine.

The contrast between Classical and pre-Hellenistic is strikingly demonstrated by the only project of the fourth century that corresponds to the Parthenon in size and ambition. It is not a temple but a huge tomb so huge in fact that its name Mausoleum, has become a generic term for all monumental funerary monuments. It was erected at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor in the years just before and after 350 by Mausolus, who ruled the area as a satrap of the Persians and by his widow Artemisia. The structure itself is completely destroyed but its dimensions and general appearance can be reconstructed on the basis of ancient descriptions and the fragments (including a good deal of sculpture) excavated a hundred years ago. The drawing in figure 168 does not pretend to be exact in detail it probably shows fewer statues than were actually there. We do know, however, that the building rose in three stages to a height of about 160 feet. A tall rectangular base 117 feet wide and 82 feet deep supported a col-

[illegible]nade of Ionic columns 40 feet tall and above this rose a pyramid crowned by a chariot with statues of the deceased. The sculptural program consisted of three friezes showing Lapiths battling Centaurs, Greeks fighting Amazons, and chariot races; the combined length was more than that of the Parthenon frieze. There were also [illegible] guardian lions and an unknown number of large statues depicting portraits of the deceased and their ancestors. The commemorative and representative character of the monument, based on the idea of human [illegible] a glorious struggle or chariot race, [illegible] Greek [illegible] we immediately notice the [illegible] Greek was [illegible] has been [illegible]. The huge size [illegible] the [illegible] also [illegible] the pyramid derived [illegible] Egypt [illegible] and [illegible] of the ruler far beyond [illegible] human [illegible] which the gods may have been [illegible]. Apparently Mausolus [illegible] himself [illegible] served [illegible] the Persians, which in turn [illegible] the Assyrians and Egyptians, although [illegible] would have wanted [illegible] but [illegible] as much as [illegible] high [illegible] embodying these ambitions must have [illegible] importance

as impressive and monstrous at the same time, with its multiple friezes and the receding faces of a pyramid in place of pediments above the colonnade.

According to ancient sources, the sculpture on each of the four sides of the monument was entrusted to a different master chosen from among the best of the time. Scopas, the most famous, did the main side, the one [illegible] the east. His dynamic style has been recognized in some portions of the Amazon frieze, such as the portion in figure 4a. The Parthenon tradition is still be[illegible] here. So, there [illegible] a decidedly un-classical violence, physical as well as [illegible] [illegible] though strained [illegible] seem [illegible] expressions [illegible] deep [illegible] are a hallmark of [illegible] style. As a consequence, we [illegible] find the rhythmic flow of the Parthenon figures [illegible] and harmony have been sacrificed [illegible] figure may have greater scope for sweeping impulse, gesture, exactness, the extent of direct clashes such as that between the terrified horse and the equally terrified [illegible] [illegible] we are [illegible] do justice [illegible] explosive energetic style we must not judge it by Classical standards.

[illegible] after an [illegible]

[illegible] Phaedra [illegible] Hippolytus [illegible] height [illegible]

Left: 2.3a. *The Apollo Belvedere*. Roman marble copy, probably after a Greek original of the late 4th–early 3rd centuries B.C. Height 7'4". Vatican Museums, Rome.

Below right: 2.3b. *Apollo Belvedere*. Roman marble copy, probably after a bronze original of c. 350 B.C. by Leochares. Height 7'4". Vatican Museums, Rome.

The pre-Hellenistic Greek sculptor presumably did the portrait statue presumed to represent Mausolus himself (fig. 2.2). The colossal figure must be the work of a man younger than Scopas and even less encumbered by classical standards, probably Bryaxis, the master of the north side. We know, through Roman copies, some Greek portraits of earlier times, but these seem to represent types rather than individuals, whereas the *Mausolus* is both the earliest Greek portrait we have survived in the original and the first one to show a clear sense of personal character. This very act took place with the future rather than the past, for individual likenesses were to play an important part in Hellenistic times. Nor is it merely the head, with its heavy jaws and small, sensuous mouth, that records the sitter's appearance; the thick neck and the broad, fleshy body seem equally individual. The massiveness of the forms is further emphasized by the sharp-edged and stiff-textured drapery, which might be said to *encase* rather than merely clothe the body. The great volumes of folds across the abdomen and below the left arm seem designed for picturesque effect more than for functional clarity.

Some of the features of the Mausoleum sculpture reappear in other important works of the period. Foremost among these is the wonderful seated figure of Demeter from the temple of the goddess at Cnidus (fig. 2.4), a work of a slightly later date than the *Mausolus*. Here again the drapery, though more finely textured, has an impressive volume of its own, and motifs such as the S-curve of folds across the chest form an effective counterpoint to the shape of the body beneath. The deep-set eyes gaze into the distance with an intensity that suggests the influence of Scopas. The modeling of the head, on the other hand, has a veiled softness that points to an altogether different source. Praxiteles, the master of feminine grace and sensuous evocation of flesh. As it happens, his most accomplished statue, an Aphrodite, was likewise made for Cnidus, although probably some years later than the *Demeter*. But his reputation was well established even earlier, so that the unknown sculptor who carved the *Demeter* would have had no difficulty incorporating some Praxiteleian qualities into his own work. The Cnidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles achieved such proverbial fame that she is often referred to in ancient

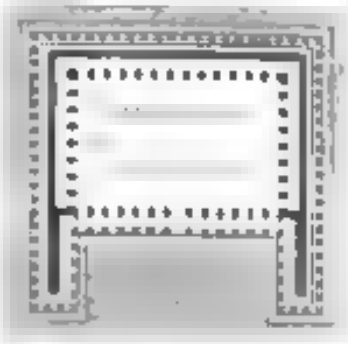
literature as a synonym for absolute perfection. To what extent her renown was based on her beauty or on the fact that she was, so far as we know, the first completely nude cult image of the goddess is difficult to say. For the statue, known to us only through Roman copies, can be no more than pallid reflection [illegible] 7.1). She was to have a timeless [illegible] in the Renaissance and Roman art. A more [illegible] embodiment of Praxiteleian beauty is the group of [illegible] in the Glyptothek at Munich [illegible]

[illegible] Munich

[illegible] *Dying Gaul*. Roman copy after a bronze original of c. 230–220 B.C. [illegible] Pergamum. Marble. Museo delle Terme, Rome

left 178 The West Front of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum (restored) State Museums, Berlin

below 179 Plan of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum (after J. Schrammen)



[illegible] *Be* [illegible] a message for [illegible]

Besides Scopas and Praxiteles there is yet another great name in pre-Hellenistic sculpture: Lysippus, whose long career may have begun as early as [illegible] and continued to the end of the century. The main features of his personal style, however, are more difficult to grasp than those of his contemporaries, because of the contradictory evidence: the Roman copies that are assumed to reproduce his work. Ancient authors praised him for replacing the canon of Polyclitus with a new set of proportions that produced a more slender body and a smaller head. His reaction was proverbial: he would have had no master other than nature itself. But these statements describe little more than a general trend toward the end of the fourth century. Certainly he produced [illegible] Praxiteles' statues are Lysippus rather than Polyclitus? Could Lysippus have been the only artist of his time to conquer new aspects of reality? Even in the case of the Apoxyomenos, the statue most insistently linked with his name, the evidence is far from conclusive. Fig. 176 shows a young athlete cleaning himself with a scraper, a motif often represented in Greek art from Classical times on, but very few of which only a single copy has turned up so far. It is distinguished from all the others by the fact that the arms are horizontally extended in front of the body. This bold thrust into space at the cost of obstructing the view of the torso is a noteworthy feat, whether or not we credit it to Lysippus. It endows the figure with a new capacity for spontaneous three-dimensional movement. A similar freedom is suggested by the diagonal line of the free leg. Even the unruly hair reflects the new trend toward spontaneity.

Of the artistic enterprises sponsored by Alexander the Great, such as the numerous portraits of the great conqueror by Lysippus, no direct evidence survives. In fact, we know very little of the development of Greek sculpture as a whole during the first hundred years of the Hellenistic era. In general, that we have few fixed points of reference, the large number of works [illegible] only a small fraction can be securely [illegible] date and place of origin. Moreover, Greek sculpture was now being produced throughout a vast [illegible] the interplay of local and international [illegible] must have formed a complex pattern [illegible] which we can trace only some isolated strands. One of these represents by the bronze groups dedicated by Attalus I of Pergamum, mainly in Asia Minor, between [illegible] and 200 B.C. [illegible] celebrated victories over the Gauls. The Gauls were a Celtic tribe that entered Asia Minor and kept raiding the Greek states there until Attalus forced them to settle down. We meet them a few centuries later as the Galatians in St. Paul's Epistle. The statues commemorating these victories were reproduced in marble for the Romans, who may have had a special interest in them because of their affinities with Celtic tribes in northwestern Europe, and a number of these copies have survived, including the famous *Dying Gaul* (fig. 177). The sculptor who conceived the figure must have known the Gauls well, for he has carefully renovated the ethnic type in the facial structure and in the bristly shock of hair. The torque around the neck is another characteristically Celtic feature. Otherwise, however, the Gaul shares the heroic nudity of Greek warriors, such as those on the Aegina pediments (see fig. 136), and if his agony seems infinitely more realistic in comparison, it still has considerable dignity and *pathos*. Clearly, the Gauls were not considered unworthy foes. "They knew how to die, barbarians though they were," is the thought conveyed by the statue. Yet we also sense something else: an animal quality that had never before been part of the Greek image of man. Death, as we witness it here, is a very concrete physical process: no longer able to move his legs, the Gaul puts all his waning strength into his arms, as if

Athena and Alcyoneus from the east side of the Great Frieze of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum, c. 180 B.C. Marble, height [illegible] ft. State Museums, Berlin

[illegible] tremendous [illegible] against the ground. [illegible] responses may be seen in the [illegible] figures, which are highly [illegible] [illegible] stamping [illegible] deep [illegible] breathing [illegible] gesture [illegible]

[illegible] Marble, height [illegible] ft. [illegible] Paris

[illegible] passionate, [illegible] dream [illegible] again we witness a [illegible] upon [illegible] bodies and minds [illegible] less persuasive [illegible]

[illegible] decades [illegible] sculpture style [illegible] at Pergamum. [illegible] had a mighty altar erected in a [illegible] but gather [illegible] has been recovered by [illegible] west front of the altar has been [illegible] Berlin. [illegible] an impressive [illegible] the center of [illegible] by an Ionic colonnade [illegible] square, a monumental flight [illegible] leads up the south side to the west side. [illegible] great [illegible] have been [illegible] Athenian [illegible] but the Pergamum Altar [illegible] of [illegible] as well as the [illegible] of which considerable portions have survived. The boldest feature of the great frieze covering the base [illegible] and between [illegible] and [illegible] feet tall. The [illegible] such a depth that they are almost detached from the background, have the scale and weight of free-standing statues without the confining rectangular [illegible] a unique compound of [illegible] traditions [illegible] represents a mounting climax in the development of Greek architectural sculpture (fig. [illegible]). The subject, the battle of gods and giants, is a traditional one for Ionic friezes; we saw it before on the Siphnian Treasury (compare fig. [illegible]). At Pergamum however [illegible] of significance since the victories of the gods is meant to symbolize the victories of Attalus. Such a translation of history into mythology had been an established device in Greek art for a long time: victories over the Persians were habitually represented in terms of Lapiths battling Centaurs or Greeks fighting Amazons. But to place Attalus' in analogy with the gods themselves implies an

183 ALEXANDER ATHENODOROS and POLYDOROS of RHODES
The Laocoön group (present state, former restorations removed), late 2nd century B.C. Marble, height 8'
Vatican Museums, Rome

[illegible] *Apollo*
Bronze statuette, height [illegible]
Collection of Walters Baker, New York

exaltation of the spirit that is oriental rather than Greek in origin. Since the time of Mausolos, who may have been the first to commission such a work, the cult of divine kingship had been adopted by Alexander the Great and continued to flourish among the successor states ruled by his realm, such as the kingdom of Pergamum. The carving of the frieze, although not very subtle in detail, has remained as dramatic as ever: the heavy muscular bodies rushing at each other, the strong accents of light and dark, the billowing wings and wind-blown garments are almost overwhelming in their dynamism. A whirling movement pervades the entire design, down to the last lock of hair, linking the victors and the vanquished in a single continuous rhythm. It is this sense of unity that disciplines the physical and emotional violence of the struggle and thus keeps it, but just barely, from exploding in a crude melodrama.

Equally dramatic in its impact is another great victory monument of the early second century B.C., the statue of *Samothrace* (fig. 184). The goddess has just descended upon the prow of a ship; her great wings spread wide, she is still partly airborne by the powerful head wind against which she advances. This invisible force of an rushing air here becomes a tangible reality: it not only balances the forward movement of the figure but also shapes every fold of the wonderfully animated drapery. As a result, there is an active relationship, indeed, an interdependence, between the statue and the space that encloses it, such as we have never seen before. Nor shall we see it again for a long time. The Nike of Samothrace deserves her place as one of the greatest masterpieces of Hellenistic sculpture.

[illegible] the time of its erection, a mere a hundred years ago, the most admired work of the Hellenistic century has been a group showing the death of Laocoön and his sons (fig. 183). It had been found in Rome as early as 1506 and had made a tremendous impression on Michelangelo and countless others. The history of its fame is rather like that of the *Apollo Belvedere*: the two were treated as complementary, the *Apollo* exemplifying harmonious beauty, the *Laocoön* sublime tragedy. Today we tend to find the pathos of the group somewhat calculated and rhetorical, its meticulous surface finish strikes us as a display of virtuoso technique. Yet, as a Greek original according to ancient sources, by Agesander, Athenodoros, and Polydoros of Rhodes, it carries a good deal more conviction than the bronze *Apollo*. Its style, including the relief-like spread of the three figures, clearly descends from the Pergamum frieze, although its dynamism has now become uncomfortably self-conscious. On this basis we may assign it to the end of the second century. The Romans, we may assume, imported the group because the subject held a special meaning for them: the divine punishment meted out to Laocoön and his sons forewarned Aeneas of the fall of Troy and caused him to flee the city in time. Since Aeneas was believed to

have come to Italy and to have been the ancestor of Romulus and Remus, the death of Laocoon could be viewed as the first link in a chain of events that ultimately led to the founding of Rome.

Portraiture was an important branch of Greek sculpture since the fourth century [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

186 *Apollo*, silver coin, Sicilian, c. 4.5–400 B.C. Diameter [illegible]. British Museum, London

continuous series with the place and date of almost every item we establish they reflect this development more fully on some repects than do the works of monumental art.

Characteristic even of the finest coins of Archaic and Classical Greece were usually produced not by the most powerful states such as Athens, Corinth, or Sparta but by the less ones along the peripheries of the Greek world. Our first example (fig. 185) from the Aegean island of Peparethos reflects the origin of coinage: a square die deeply embedded in a rather shapeless pellet like an impression in sealing wax. The winged god has pointed heel stance so perfectly adapted to the frame as a summary interpretation of Archaic art, yet it has the ubiquitous smile. On the coin from the island of Naxos (fig. 185) almost half a century later, the die fills the entire area of the coin. The drinking Silenus fits as tightly as if he were squatting inside a barrel. An astonishingly monumental figure, he shows the articulation and organic vitality of the Severe Style. Our third coin (fig. 186) was struck in the Sicilian town of Catana toward the end of the Peloponnesian War. It is signed with the name of its maker, Herakleidas, and it well deserves to be, for it is one of the true masterpieces of Greek coinage. Who would have thought it possible to endow the full-face view of a head in low relief with such plasticity? This radiant image of Apollo has all the swelling roundness of the mature Classical style. Its grandeur completely transcends the limitations of the tiny scale of a coin.

From the time of Alexander the Great onward coins began to show profile portraits of rulers. The successors of Alexander at first put his features on their coins, to emphasize their link with the deified conqueror. Such a piece is shown in figure 187. Alexander here displays the horns identifying him with the ram-headed Egyptian god Amun. The inspired expression conveyed by the half-open mouth and the upward glance of the eyes is as characteristic of the emotionalism of Hellenistic art as the fluid modeling of the features and the agitated snake-like hair. As a likeness, the head can have no more tenuous relation to the way Alexander actually looked, yet this idealized image of the conquering genius projects the flavor of the new and more eloquent than do the large-scale portraits of Alexander. Since the Hellenistic rulers started putting their faces on the coins, the likenesses became more individual. Perhaps the most astonishing of these depictions is the head of Antimachos of Bactria (present-day Afghanistan), which stands at the opposite end of the scale from the Alexander-Amun coin. Its mobile features show a mixture of sharp intelligence and wit, a bit of cynicism, perhaps about himself and others, and in any event without any trace of glorification. This penetrating human portrait seems to point the way to the bronze head from Delos (colorplate 5) a hundred years later. It has no counterpart in the monumental sculpture of its own time, and thus helps to fill an important gap in our knowledge of Hellenistic portraiture.

Far left: 187 *Alexander the Great with Amun Horns*, four-drachma silver coin issued by Lysimachus, c. 300 B.C. Diameter [illegible].

Left: 188 *Antimachos of Bactria*, silver coin, c. 185 B.C. Diameter [illegible]. British Museum, London

6. Etruscan Art

[illegible] Italian peninsula did not emerge into the light of history until fairly late. The bronze age came to an end here in the eighth century B.C., about the time the Greeks began to settle along the southern shores [illegible] and in Sicily. Even earlier, if we are to believe the classical writers, the Italian peninsula and other areas had taken place. The Etruscans had left the vicinity of Lydia in Asia Minor and settled in the area between Florence and Rome which is today known as Tuscany. The Tuscans, or Etruscans, [illegible] Asia Minor. Strange as it may seem, [illegible] the Etruscans [illegible] Rome [illegible] the eighth century. But the [illegible] which [illegible] Mediterranean [illegible] Etruscan [illegible] Mediterranean [illegible] Rome [illegible] the Romans [illegible] the wooden [illegible] powerful groups [illegible] interesting [illegible] such a hypothesis [illegible] the Romans [illegible] the Etruscans had been [illegible] see page [illegible] [illegible] Was this perhaps an Etruscan story which the Romans later made their own, along with a great many other things they took from their predecessors?

What the Etruscans themselves believed about the origin we do not know. The only Etruscan writing that has come down to us are brief funerary inscriptions and a few somewhat longer texts relating to religion. Although Roman authorities do have a rich Etruscan literature once existed. We would, in fact, know practically nothing about the Etruscans at first hand were it not for their elaborate tombs, which the Romans did not molest when they destroyed or rebuilt Etruscan cities and which therefore have survived intact until modern times. Italian bronze-age burials had been of the modest sort found elsewhere in prehistoric Europe: the remains of the deceased, contained in a pottery vessel or urn, were placed in a simple pit along with the equipment they required in after life: weapons for men, jewelry and household [illegible] In Mycenaean Greece this primitive cult of the dead had been elaborated under Egyptian influence as shown by the monumental beehive tombs. Something very similar happened in Italy, centuries later in Tuscany. Tomb [illegible] Tuscan [illegible] began to imitate [illegible] the superstructure of actual dwellings covered by great [illegible] mounds of earth; they could be sealed by [illegible] stamping [illegible] as well as the treasure of Atreus at Mycenae. [illegible] Asia [illegible] the same time the pottery [illegible] grew [illegible] the head [illegible] and horse trappings appear [illegible] which [illegible] be placed on a [illegible] indicate high rank [illegible] Alongside [illegible] beginning of funerary sculpture we find [illegible] great wealth [illegible] of exquisite [illegible] decorated with motifs adapted from the contemporary Greek vases of the same period and

[illegible] Wall painting [illegible] and fishing [illegible]

[illegible] with precious objects [illegible] ancient Near East. [illegible] saw [illegible] power. [illegible] the western Mediterranean [illegible] Greeks and Phoenicians [illegible] as far as Naples in the south and [illegible] Rome [illegible] was ruled by [illegible] kings [illegible] about [illegible] years after the establishing [illegible] Republic [illegible]. The kings threw the first stones [illegible] the swamps [illegible] and built the city [illegible] out of what had been [illegible] than a group [illegible] years before. [illegible] like the Greeks [illegible] federation [illegible]

[illegible] Greek [illegible] Phoenicians [illegible] Greek [illegible] Phoenicians [illegible] Greek [illegible] Phoenicians [illegible] Greek [illegible] Phoenicians [illegible]

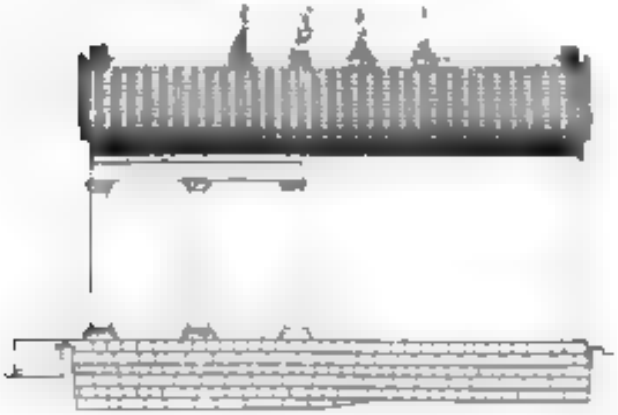
the Etruscan cult of the dead were under Greek influence but that was by no means the case. On the contrary, the tombs and the equipment grew more elaborate as the capacities of the sculptors and painters expanded. The deceased themselves could now be represented full-length, reclining on the lids of sarcophagi shaped like couches. [illegible] were painted [illegible] repertoire. An Archaic [illegible] example [illegible] shows a husband and wife [illegible] gaily and [illegible] the same time. The [illegible] [illegible] sculptors [illegible] [illegible] figures [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the influence of classical Greek art which pervades the stylistic [illegible] group. At the same time however a new mood of uncertainty and regret is reflected: man's destiny is in the hands of inexorable supernatural forces; death is the great leveler rather than a continuation in a better or a different plane of life on earth. In a tomb, the terrors of death gain an ever more fearful aspect. Other more terrifying demons enter the scene, often battling against benevolent spirits for possession of the soul of the deceased. One of these demons appears on the corner figure of a tomb of the third century B.C. [illegible] associated with stubborn rebels rather than passengers. The entire chamber, cut into the live rock, closely imitates the interior of a house, including the beams of the roof. The sturdy pilasters inside the capitals, which retain the Aeolian type from Asia Minor (fig. 48), as well as the wall surfaces between the niches are covered with the exact reproductions of weapons, armor, household implements, small domestic animals, and busts of the deceased. In such a setting, the snaky-legged demon and his three headed hound, whom we recognize as Cerberus, the guardian of the dead, seem particularly disquieting.

Only the stone foundations of Etruscan temples have survived, since the buildings themselves were of wood. Apparently the Etruscans, although they were masters of masonry, used it only for the purposes [illegible] For religious reasons the use of stone in temple architecture. The design of the sanctuaries bears a general resemblance to the simpler Greek temples but with several distinctive features, some of which were to be perpetuated by the Romans. The entire structure rests on a tall base or podium that is [illegible] wider than the cella and has steps only on the front side. These carry a deep porch supported by two rows of four columns each and to the cella beyond. The cella is generally subdivided into three compartments, for Etruscan religion was dominated by a triad of gods, the predecessors of the Roman Juno, Jupiter, and Minerva. The Etruscan temple, then, must have been of a squat, squarish shape compared to the graceful Greek sanctuaries, and more closely linked with domestic architecture. Needless to say, [illegible] provided no place for stone sculpture; the plastic decoration usually consisted of terracotta plaques covering the architrave and the edges of the roof. Only after 400 B.C. do we occasionally find large-scale terracotta groups designed to fill the pediment above the porch. We know, however, of one earlier attempt, and an astonishingly bold one, to find a place for monumental sculpture on the exterior of an Etruscan temple. The so-called Temple of Apollo at Veii, not very far north of Rome, a structure of standard type in

194. Reconstruction Drawing of the Temple of Apollo at Veii (after Stefani)



every other respect, had four lifesize terracotta statues on the ridge of its roof, as shown in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 194). They formed a dramatic group of the sort we might expect in Greek pedimental sculpture: the contest of Hercules and Apollo for the sacred hind in the presence of other deities. The best preserved of these figures, the *Apollo* (fig. 195), has long been acknowledged as the masterpiece of Etruscan Archaic sculpture. His massive body, completely revealed beneath the ornamental striations of the drapery, the sinews, muscular legs, the hurried, purposeful stride—all these betray an expressive power that has no counterpart in free-standing Greek statues of the same date. That Veii was indeed a sculpture center at the end of the sixth century seems to be confirmed by the Roman tradition that the last of the Etruscan rulers of the city valued one master from Veii to make the terracotta image of Jupiter for the temple on his Capitoline Hill. This image has disappeared, but an even more famous symbol of Rome, the bronze group of the she-wolf that nourished Romulus and Remus, is still in existence (fig. 196). The twin babies are Renaissance additions, and the early history of the statue is obscure. Some scholars here have even suspected it of being a modern work. Nevertheless, it almost suffices as an Etruscan Archaic masterpiece of the wonderful expressive power, the latent physical power of the body and the grave, [illegible] same sweet-sour quality we sense in the *Apollo*. In any event, the she-wolf, as the totemic animal of Rome, has the strongest bias with Etruscan myth, in which it seems to have played an important part from very early times.

The Etruscan concern with afterlife, the desire to get lasting expression and capture the individual for posterity, [illegible] the funerary images as these figures [illegible] are extremely impressive. It was only toward the end, under the influence of Greek portraiture, that individual likenesses began to appear in Etruscan sculpture. The finest of them are not funerary portraits, which tend to be rather crude and perfunctory, but the heads of bronze statues. That of a boy (fig. 197) is a real masterpiece of [illegible] the firmness of the modeling lends a special poignancy to the sensitive mouth and the gentle, melancholy eyes. No less impressive is the very high quality of the casting and finishing, which bears out the ancient fame of the Etruscans as master craftsmen in metal. Their ability in this respect was of very long standing, for the wealth of Etruria was founded on the exploitation of copper and iron deposits. From the sixth century on, they produced vast quantities of bronze statuettes, mirrors, and such, both for export and domestic consumption. The charm of these small pieces is well displayed by the engraved design on the back of a mirror done soon after 400 B.C. (fig. 198). Within an undulating wreath of vines, we see a winged old man, identified as Chaichas, examining a strange object. The draughtsmanship is so beautifully balanced and assured that we are tempted to assume that Classical Greek art was the direct

[illegible] *Apollo*, from Veii, [illegible] Etr., height 6[illegible]
Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome

source of inspiration. So far as the style of our piece is concerned, this may well be the case, but the subject is uniquely Etruscan for the winged genius is gazing at the liver of a sacrificial animal. He exemplifies a practice that seemed as large in the eyes of the Etruscans as care of the dead: the search for omens or portents. The Etruscans believed that the will of the gods manifested itself through signs in the natural world, such as thunderstorms or the flight of birds, and that by reading them man could find out whether the gods smiled or frowned upon his enterprises. The priests who knew the secret language of these signs enjoyed enormous prestige

[illegible]
Bronze sculpture
[illegible] Museum, Rome

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
Bronze head [illegible] Museum, Florence

[illegible] and the Etruscans [illegible] Romans [illegible] Etruscan [illegible] Romans [illegible] Etruscan [illegible] Romans [illegible] Etruscan

in these fields. The only truly impressive surviving monument is the Porta Augusta in Perugia, a fortified city gate of the second century B.C. (fig. 99). The gate itself, recessed between two massive towers, is not a mere gateway but an architectural façade. The tall opening is spanned by a semicircular arch, framed by a moulding. Above it is a balustrade of dwarf pilasters alternating with round shields, a pattern obviously derived from the triglyphs and metopes of the Doric frieze. It supports a second arched opening, now blocked, flanked by two larger pilasters. The arches here are true, which means they are constructed of wedge-shaped bricks called voussoirs, pointing toward the center of the semicircular opening. Such an arch is strong and self-sustaining. It is not the false arch composed of horizontal courses of masonry or brickwork, as in the opening above the lion of the Lion Gate at Mycenae (fig. [illegible]). The true arch and its extension, the barrel vault, had been discovered in Egypt as early as [illegible] but the Egyptians had used it mainly in underground tombs or structures on a small scale, never in temples. Apparently they thought it unsuitable for monumental architecture. In Mesopotamia, the true arch was used for city gates, see fig. 8, and tombs, and perhaps elsewhere as well, to what extent we cannot determine, in lack of preserved examples. The Greeks knew the principle from the fifth century on, but they kept the girder and combined the use of the true arch in underground structures, for example gateways, or using it in combination with the elements of the architectural orders. And herein lies the importance of the Porta Augusta. It is the first instance we know in which arches were integrated with the vocabulary of the Greek orders into a monumental whole. The Romans were to develop this combination in a thousand ways, but the merit of having invented it, or of having made the arch respectable, seems to belong to the Etruscans.

[illegible] Engraved Back of a Mirror, [illegible] Bronze, diameter 6 [illegible]. Vatican Museums, Rome

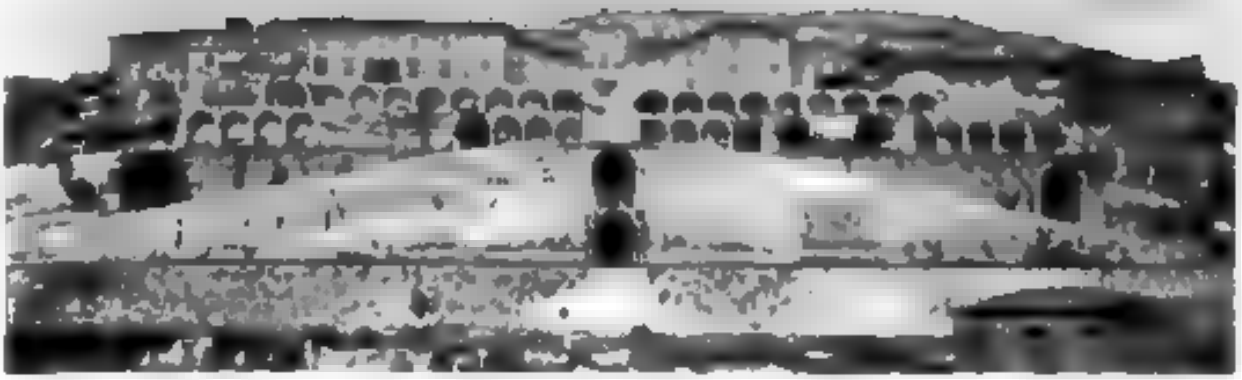
[illegible] Porta Augusta, Perugia, [illegible]

7. Roman Art

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible] Sanctuary [illegible] Fortuna Primigenia, Praeneste, Palestrina [illegible] second century B.C.

[illegible] Greek [illegible] Roman [illegible] the Greek names of these [illegible] most of the artists of [illegible] were [illegible] The Empire was a [illegible] society [illegible] were soon absorbed [illegible] Roman [illegible] Roman [illegible] Greek [illegible] sages [illegible] Roman [illegible] Greek [illegible] Near [illegible] complex and open society homogeneous [illegible] the same title. The sanctuary [illegible] design [illegible] Roman society [illegible] Persian [illegible] but he had long since become a Roman citizen and his sanctuary throughout and unique Roman [illegible] an be matched by hundreds of others throughout the Empire.

Under such conditions [illegible] would be little short of a miracle if Roman art were to show a consistent style such as we found in Egypt [illegible] the clear-cut evolution that distinguishes the art of Greece [illegible] its development [illegible] the extent that we understand it today [illegible] might be likened to a counterpoint of divergent tendencies that may exist side by side even within a single monument and none of which ever emerges as overwhelmingly dominant. The Romanness of Roman art must be found in this complex [illegible] than in a single and consistent quality [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Roman sculpture and painting has [illegible] Roman architecture [illegible] reflects a specific [illegible] Roman [illegible] Greek [illegible] Etruscan [illegible] Roman [illegible] Republican [illegible] Temple of Fortuna [illegible] sanctuary seems [illegible] the Roman [illegible] temples we preserved example of [illegible] Roman [illegible] second century [illegible] suggests [illegible] the wave of Greek influence [illegible] Roman conquest of Greece. Still it is [illegible] a Greek temple [illegible] we recognize a [illegible] high podium, the deep [illegible] which engages the columns [illegible] on the other hand, the cella is no longer [illegible] compartments as had been [illegible] Etruscan [illegible] encloses a single unified space. The Romans needed spacious temple interiors [illegible] they used them not only for the image of the deity but also [illegible] the display of trophies, statues, weapons [illegible] brought back by their conquering armies. The Temple of Fortuna [illegible] thus represents a well-integrated new type of temple designed for Roman requirements, not a haphazard scene of Etruscan and Greek elements. [illegible] have a long life; numerous examples of it, usually larger and with Corinthian columns, can be found as late as the second century A.D. both in Italy and in the provincial capitals of the Empire.

Another type of Republican temple may be seen in the

203 Reconstruction Model of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (Palestrina) Archaeological Museum, Palestrina

so-called Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli (fig. 201) erected a few decades later than the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. It also was the result of the merging of two separate traditions. Its original ancestor was a structure in the center of Rome in which the sacred flame of the city was kept. This building at first had the shape of the traditional round peasant huts in the Roman countryside. Later on it was redesigned in stone under the influence of Greek structures of the hut type (see page [illegible]) and thus became the model for the round temples of late Republican times. Here again we find the high podium with steps only opposite the entrance and a graceful Greek-inspired exterior. As we look closely at the cella however, we notice that while the door and window frames are of cut stone, the walls are built in a technique we have not encountered before. They are made of concrete—a mixture of mortar and gravel with rubble (that is, small pieces of building stone, brick, etc.) and in this instance faced with small, flat pieces of stone. This mode of construction had been invented in the Near East more than a thousand years earlier but had been used mainly for fortifications. It was the Romans who developed its potentialities until it became their chief building technique. Its advantages are obvious: strong, cheap, and flexible, it alone made possible the vast architectural enterprises that are still the chief mementos of "the grandeur that was Rome." The Romans knew how to hide the unattractive concrete surface behind a facing of brick, stone, or marble, or by covering it with smooth plaster. Today this decorative skin has disappeared from the remains of most Roman buildings, leaving the concrete core exposed and thus depriving these ruins of the appeal that Greek ruins have for us. They speak to us in other ways, through massive size and boldness of conception.

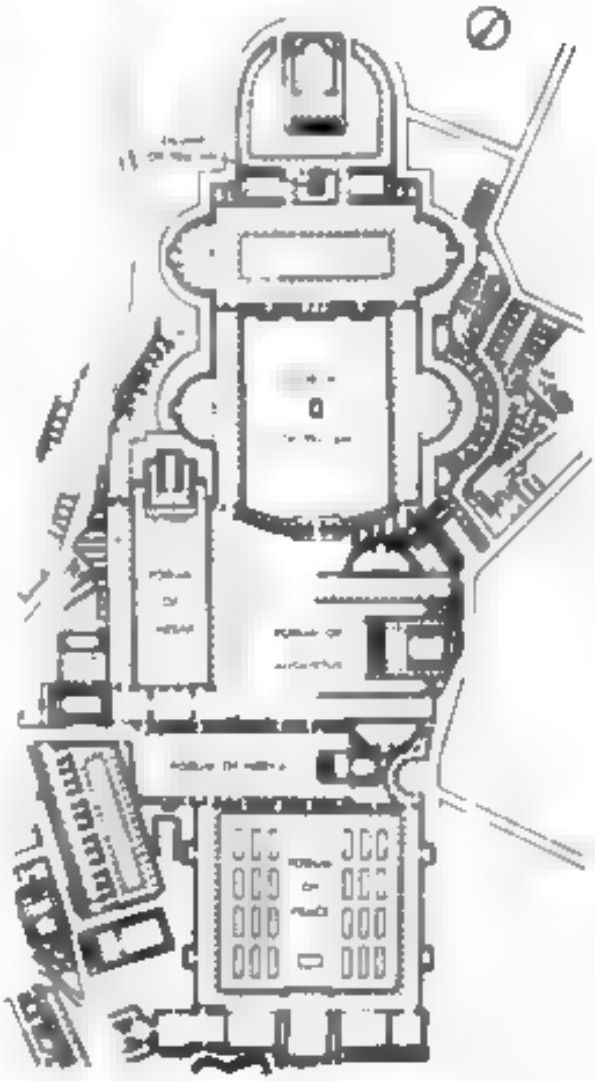
The oldest monument in which these qualities are fully in evidence is the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, in the foothills of the Apennines east of Rome. Here, in what had once been an important Etruscan stronghold, a strange cult had been established since early times, dedicated to Fortuna Dea, as a mother deity, and combined with a famous oracle. The Roman sanctuary dates from the early first century B.C. Its size and shape were almost completely hidden by the medieval town that had been built over it until a bombing attack in 1944 destroyed most of the houses and huts. Today the remains of the huge ancient temple precinct, which has been thoroughly explored during the past decade, A series of ramps and terraces, clearly visible in fig. 202, lead up to a great colonnaded court (top), which we ascend on a flight of steps arranged like the seats of a Greek theater, to the semicircular colonnade that crowned the entire structure (compare fig. 203). Arched openings, framed by engaged columns and entablatures, play an important part in the elevation, just as semicircular recesses do in the plan. One of the latter appears in our view of the lower terrace (fig. 204); it is covered by a barrel vault—another characteristic feature of the Roman architectural vocabulary. Except for the columns and architraves, all the surfaces now visible are of concrete, like the cella of the round temple at Tivoli, and it is indeed hard to imagine how a complex as vast as this could have been constructed otherwise. What makes the sanctuary of Palestrina so imposing, however, is not merely its scale but the superb way it fits the site. An entire hillside, comparable to the Acropolis of Athens in its commanding position, has been transformed and articulated so that the architectural forms seem to grow out of the rock, as if man had simply completed a design laid out by nature herself. Such a molding of great open spaces had never been possible—or even desired—in the

204. Portion of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (Palestrina)

[illegible] Greek [illegible] the [illegible] Hatshepsut [illegible] Nevertheless, the express desire of the Roman Republic [illegible] sanctuary date [illegible] the time of Sulla, whose absolute dictatorship [illegible] marked the [illegible] from Republican [illegible] Sulla had won a great victory [illegible] Praeneste [illegible] assume the prophets had ordered the [illegible] both a [illegible] and as a monument [illegible] Palestrina [illegible] Julius Caesar, who [illegible] the end of his life sponsored a project planned in a similar [illegible] in Rome itself: the Forum Julium, a great architectural [illegible] framed square [illegible] the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the mythical ancestress of Caesar's family. Here the merging of religious cult and personal glory is even more overt. That [illegible] of Caesar set the pattern for all the later Imperial forums, which were [illegible] by a common major axis (fig. 206), forming the most magnificent architecture [illegible] of the Roman world. Unfortunately, nothing is left of the forums today but a stubbly field of ruins that conveys little of their original splendor.

The arch and vault, which we encountered at Palestrina as an essential part of Roman monumental architecture, also formed the basis of construction projects such as sewers, bridges, and aqueducts, designed for efficiency rather than beauty. The first enterprises of this kind were built to serve the city of Rome as early as the end of the fourth century B.C.; only traces of them survive today. There are, however, numerous others of later date throughout the Empire, such as the exceptionally well-preserved aqueduct at Nîmes in southern France known as the Pont du Gard (fig. 206). Its rugged, clean

206. Plan of the Forums of Rome



[illegible]

lines which span the wide gaps are a tribute not only to the high state of Roman engineering but also to the sense of order and permanence that inspired these efforts. The [illegible] again in the [illegible] sculpture [illegible] a grand architectural game [illegible] the [illegible] completed in [illegible] was one of the largest single buildings anywhere when it was [illegible] accommodated more than 5[illegible] spectators. The concrete core with its [illegible] and [illegible] was a masterpiece of engineering efficiency [illegible] the flow of traffic to and from the arena [illegible] the familiar barrel vault and a more complex form, the groined vault, essentially [illegible] from the intersection of two barrel vaults at right angles. The exterior of the [illegible] arches and [illegible] the structure but [illegible] and [illegible] stone. There is a fine balance between [illegible] and horizontal elements in the rather [illegible] engaged columns and entablatures that [illegible] the series of arches. The three classical orders are [illegible] in a hierarchy of weight [illegible] the sturdy and severe Doric on the ground floor, the slender Ionic and Corinthian above, lightening [illegible] the proportions by [illegible] barely noticeable. The orders in their Roman adaptation are almost a kind of structural [illegible] have become ghosts of the aesthetic [illegible] companions [illegible] although them that the monumental scale becomes related to the human scale.

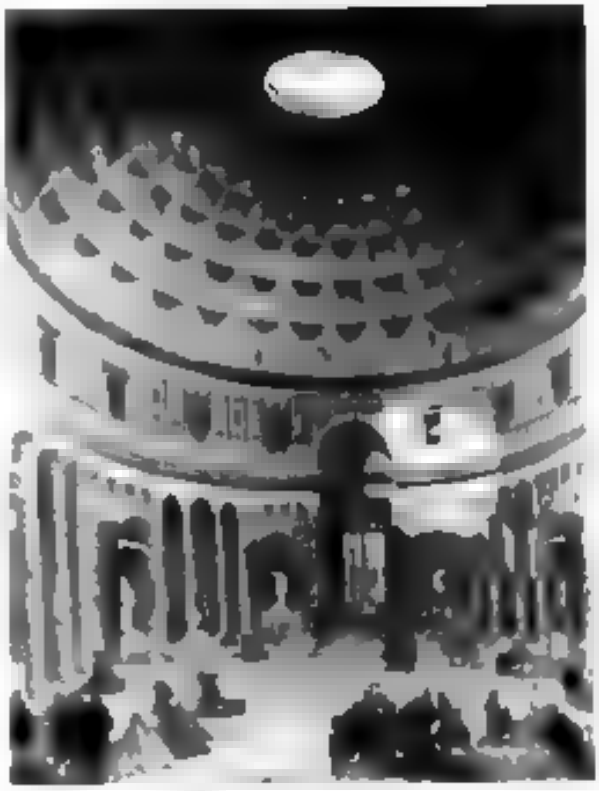
Arches, vaults and the use of concrete permitted the Romans for the first time in the history of architecture to create vast interior spaces. These were explored especially in the great baths or thermae which had become important centers of social life in Imperial Rome. The experience gained there could then be applied to other more traditional types of buildings, sometimes with revolutionary results. Perhaps the most striking example of this process is the famous Pantheon in Rome, a very large round temple of the early second century A.D. whose interior is the best preserved as well as the most impressive of any surviving Roman structure (figs. 2[illegible]0–211). There had been round temples long before that time, but their shape, well represented by the "Temple of the Sibyl" (fig. 20[illegible]), is quite different from that of the Pantheon. The latter could not possibly have been derived from them. On the outside the cella of the Pantheon appears

fig. 20[illegible] The Colosseum (aerial view), Rome, 72–80 A.D.

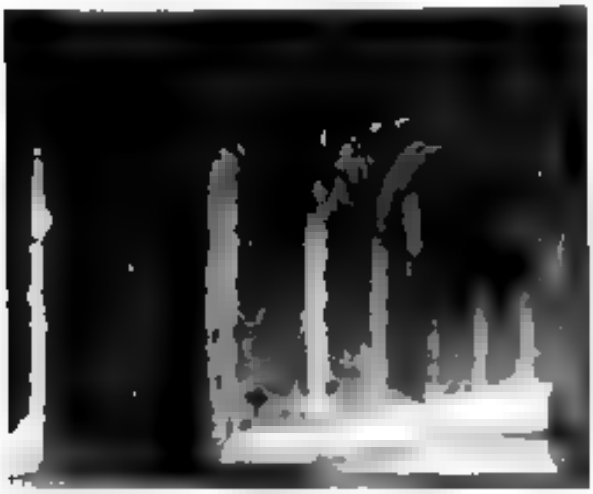
above: 208. View of the Outer Wall of the Colosseum

right: 209. Interior, second floor, of the Colosseum

as an unadorned cylindrical drum surmounted by a gently curved dome; the entrance is emphasized by a deep porch of the kind familiar to us from Roman temples of the standard type (see fig. 200). The junction of these two elements seems rather abrupt, but we must remember that we no longer see the building as it was meant to be seen. First of all, the level of the surrounding streets is a good deal higher than it was in antiquity, so that the steps leading up to the porch are submerged today; moreover, the porch was designed to form part of a rectangular colonnaded forecourt, which must have eased the effect of detaching it from the rotunda. So far as the cella is concerned, therefore, the architect apparently succeeded in the effect he intended of putting at the emperor's disposal a domed space that opens before us with dramatic suddenness as we step through the entrance. The impact of this magnificent, awe-inspiring and harmonious space is at the same time so impossible to convey even by photographs, even by the best of them, that seeing it for oneself is an important experience. It is quite different from what we have been led to expect. The dome is not shallow, but a true hemisphere, and the circular opening in its center admits an ample and wonderfully even light. The eye is at once attracted to the floor, and this is due to the diameter of the circle, which is that of the dome and, by happy coincidence, equal to its height. In the exterior, this balance could not be achieved. For the dome alone, the architect had to be satisfied by making the base of the drum so high that the height of the dome increases from a little more than half the diameter to about two-thirds of the diameter. Another surprise awaits the visitor who has been led to believe that the weight of the dome rests on the thick walls of the drum, but is concentrated on eight points. The niches in these walls are closed in back, but since they are screened by columns they give the effect of openings that lead to adjoining rooms and thus prevent us from feeling confined inside the Pantheon. The columns, the colored marble paneling of the wall surfaces, and the floor remain essentially as they were in Roman times. The recessed coffers of the dome, however, are gone, but the gilt bronze [illegible]

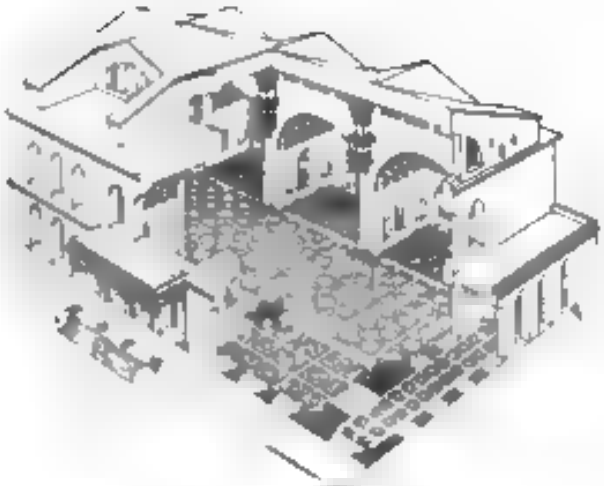


[illegible] The Interior of the Pantheon, etching
by Giovanni Paolo Panini, [illegible]
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Rosenwald Collection)



As its name suggests, the Pantheon was dedicated to all the gods, or, more precisely, to the seven planetary gods (there are seven niches). It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the golden dome had a symbolic meaning, that it represented the Dome of Heaven. Yet this scheme and splendid structure grew from rather humble antecedents. The Roman architect Vitruvius, writing more than a century earlier, describes the domed steam chamber of a bathing establishment that anticipates (undoubtedly on a much smaller scale) the essential features

[illegible] Rome



2.3 Reconstruction Drawing of the Basilica of Constantine after Huelsen

of the Pantheon, a hemispherical dome, a proportional relationship of height and width, and the circular opening in the center, which could be closed by a bronze shutter to balance and vary the temperature of the steam room.

The Basilica of Constantine of the early Fourth century A.D. offers a similar example. Unlike other basilicas, which we shall speak later, it derives its shape from the main hall of the public baths built by two previous emperors, Caracalla and Diocletian, but is built on an even vaster scale. It must have been the largest covered interior in all of Rome. Today only the north aisle, three huge barrel vaulted compartments, is still standing (fig. 2.12).

The center vault of nave is covered by three groined vaults (see fig. 2.13) rise a good deal higher. Since a groined vault resembles a canopy with all the weight and thrust concentrated at the four corners, the upper walls of the nave, called the clerestory, could be pierced by large windows so that the interior of the Basilica must have had a light and airy quality despite its enormous size. We shall meet echoes of many later buildings, from churches to railway stations.

Basilicas, long halls serving a variety of civic purposes, had first been developed in Hellenistic Greece. Under the Romans, they became a standard feature of every major town, where one of their chief functions was to provide a dignified setting for the courts of law, that dispensed justice in the name of the Emperor. Rome itself had a number of basilicas, but very little remains of them today. These in the provinces have fared somewhat better. An outstanding example is that at Leptis Magna in North Africa (figs. 2.14, 2.15), which has most of the characteristics of the standard type. The long nave terminates in a semi-circular niche, called an apse, behind it, with a crest in colonnades that give access to the side aisles. These are generally lower than the nave, to permit clerestory windows in the upper part of the nave wall. These basilicas had wooden ceilings instead of masonry vaults. For reasons of convenience and tradition rather than technical necessity. They were thus subject to destruction by fire. The one at Leptis Magna, sadly ruined though it is, counts among the best-preserved examples. The Basilica of Constantine in Rome was a daring attempt to create a novel vaulted

left 2.14 Basilica, Leptis Magna, Libya. Early 3rd century A.D.

below 2.15 Plan of the Basilica at Leptis Magna

type, but the design seems to have met little public favor; it had no direct successors. Perhaps people felt that it lacked dignity because of its obvious resemblance to the public baths. In any event, the Christian basilicas of the fourth century were modeled on the older wooden-roofed type (see page 59). Not until seven hundred years later did vaulted basilican churches become common in Western Europe.

One of the delights in studying Roman architecture is that it includes not only great public edifices but also a vast variety of residential dwellings, from imperial palaces to the quarters of the urban poor. If we disregard the extremes of this scale, we are left with two basic types that account for most of the domestic architecture that has survived. The *domus*, a single-family house based on ancient Italic tradition, its distinguishing feature is the atrium, a square or oblong entrance hall, lighted by an opening in the roof around which the other rooms were grouped. In Etruscan times it had been a rural farmhouse, but the Romans made it the central and substantial part of the typical home of the wealthy. Many examples, at various stages of development, have come down to us. Herculaneum and Pompeii, the two famous towns near Naples that were buried under volcanic ash during an eruption [illegible] AD 79, [illegible] in every detail, the so-called House of the Silver Wedding [illegible]. The view in figure [illegible] is taken from the vestibule along the main axis of the *domus*. Here the atrium has been [illegible] impressive [illegible] the four main columns at the corners of the opening in the roof gave something of the quality of an enclosed courtyard, which would have in the center a catch basin for water (the *impluvium*). The atrium was the family's place of keeping portrait images of the ancestors of the family. At the far end we see a recess, the *tablinum*, and beyond it the garden, surrounded by a colonnade, the peristyle. In addition to the chambers grouped around the atrium, there may be other rooms attached to the back of the house. The entire establishment is shut off from the street by windowless walls; inside, privacy and self-sufficiency were important to the wealthy Roman.

Less elegant than the *domus* and decidedly urban from the very start is the *insula* or city block, which we find mainly in Rome itself and in Ostia, the ancient port of Rome near the mouth of the Tiber. The *insula* anticipates many features of the modern apartment house: it is a large concrete-and-brick building, or a chain of such buildings, around a small central court, with shops and taverns open to the street on the ground floor and living quarters for numerous families above. Some *insulae* had as many as five stories, with balconies above the second floor (see fig. 2133). The daily life of the craftsmen and shopkeepers who inhabited such an *insula* was oriented toward the street, as it still is to a large extent in modern Italy. The privacy of the *domus* was reserved for the minority that could afford it.

In discussing the new forms based on arched, vaulted, and domed construction, we have noted the Roman architect's continued allegiance to the Classical Greek orders. If he no longer relied on them in the structural sense, he remained faithful to their spirit, acknowledging the aesthetic authority of the post-and-lintel system as an organizing and articulating principle. Column, architrave, and pediment might be merely superimposed on a vaulted brick-and-concrete core, but their shape as well as their relationship to each other was still determined by the original grammar of the orders. This orthodox, reverential attitude toward the architectural

[illegible] the Silver Wedding, Pompeii
[illegible]

[illegible]

Right: 219. The Market Gate from Miletus, restored, c. 160 A.D. State Museums, Berlin

Below: 220. Temple of Venus, Baalbek, Lebanon. Early 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

Bottom: 220. Peristyle, Palace of Diocletian, Split, Yugoslavia, c. 300 A.D.

[illegible] Greek [illegible] generally speaking from the Roman conquest [illegible] the end of the first century A.D. After [illegible] increasing evidence [illegible] a tendency [illegible] a taste [illegible] magnificence [illegible] manifestations of the Greek vocabulary [illegible] which and where it began [illegible] dispute there [illegible] was go back [illegible] hellenistic times in the Near East. [illegible] was most pronounced in Syria and African provinces of the Empire. A characteristic example is the Market Gate from Miletus [illegible] now [illegible] in the State Museums, Berlin (fig. 219). [illegible] might call a piece [illegible] display architecture [illegible] in terms of [illegible] and [illegible] ancestry from the picturesque facade with its receding recesses and projections, letters from the architectural stage backgrounds of the Roman theater. The continuous entablature of the [illegible] has even seized the pediment above the central doorway, breaking it into three parts. Equally astonishing is the small Temple of Venus at Baalbek, probably built in the early second century A.D. and refurbished in the third (fig. 219). Here the convex curve of the cella is effectively counterbalanced by the concave niches and the scooped-out base and entablature, introducing a new play of forces into the conventional ingredients of the round temple (compare fig. 201). By the end of the third century, unorthodox ideas such as these had become so well established that the traditional grammar of the Greek orders was in process of dissolution everywhere. In the peristyle of the Palace of Diocletian (fig. 220) at Split (Spalato), the architrave between the two center columns is curved, echoing the arch of the doorway below, and on the left we see an even more revolutionary device: a series of arches resting directly on columns. A few isolated instances of such an arcade can be found earlier, but it was only now, on the eve of the victory of Christianity, that the marriage of

arch and column became fully legitimate. The union indispensable to the future development of architecture seems so natural to us that we can hardly understand why it was ever opposed.

SCULPTURE

The dispute over the question "Is there such a thing as a Roman style?" has centered largely on the field of sculpture and for quite understandable reasons. Even we disciples of the wholesale importing and copying of Greek originals, the reputation of the Romans as [illegible] seems borne out by an quantities of works [illegible] [illegible] adaptations [illegible] Greek [illegible] period. While the Roman demand [illegible] sculpture was tremendous, a great [illegible] [illegible] and a taste [illegible] There are thus whole categories of sculpture produced under Roman auspices [illegible] be classified as [illegible] echoes of Greek creations emptied [illegible] meaning and restored [illegible] the status of high refined works of [illegible] craftsmanship. A [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] [illegible] Egyptian

[illegible] Roman [illegible] Roman

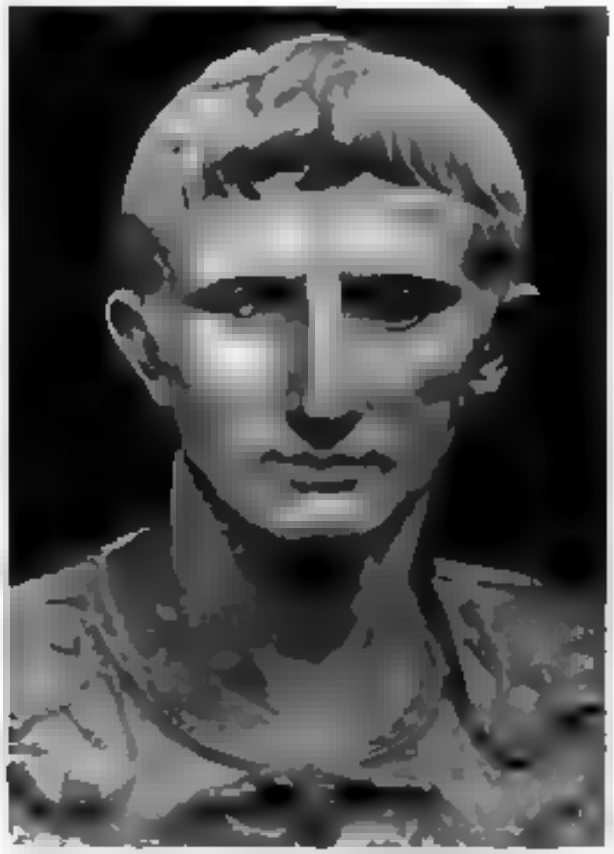
[illegible] Rome [illegible] [illegible] sculpture [illegible] [illegible] Roman [illegible] represent the [illegible] sculpture [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Roman sculpture that are [illegible]

[illegible] early Roman [illegible] [illegible] works were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

tele Augus Mete us [illegible] presumably the name of the person represented. He must have been a Roman or at least a Roman appointed official. The workmanship is evidently Etruscan, as indicated by the inscription, but the gesture, which denotes both address and salutation, recurs in hundreds of Roman statues [illegible] the same [illegible] and the [illegible] Roman [illegible] an early kind of [illegible]. One suspects therefore that [illegible] sculptor tried to conform to an established Roman type of portrait statue [illegible] not in their externals but in style as well. For we find very little here of the Hellenistic flavor characteristic of the [illegible] Etruscan fashion. What makes the figure so remarkable is its serious, practically [illegible] quality, down [illegible] the heavy [illegible] shoulders. The term "uninspired" suggests itself not as a criticism but as a way to describe the basic attitude [illegible] the artist [illegible] contrast [illegible] the attitudes of Greek or Etruscan portraitists.

That this attitude was [illegible] for as a positive value becomes clear when we familiarize ourselves with Roman portrait heads of the years around 55 B.C., which show it in its most pronounced form. Apparently the creation of a monumental, unmistakably Roman portrait style was achieved only in the time of Sulla, when Roman architecture [illegible] came of age (see page 133). We see it at its most impressive perhaps in the features of the unknown Roman [illegible]

A Roman Patrician with Busts of His Ancestors
c. 30 B.C.
Marble, life-size
Capitoline Museum
Rome



potary with the fine Hellenistic portrait from Delos in colorplate 1. A more telling contrast could hardly be imagined: both are extremely persuasive likenesses, yet they seem worlds apart. Whereas the Hellenistic head impresses us with its subtle grasp of the sitter's psychology, the Roman may strike us at first glance as nothing but a detailed record of facial topography, the sitter's character emerges only incidentally, as it were. And yet this is not really the case. The wrinkles are true to life, no doubt, but the artist has nevertheless treated them with a selective emphasis designed to bring out a specifically Roman persona: a stern, aggressive, tough-minded, in the devotion to duty. It is a father-image of high-minded authority, and the minutely observed accidentals are individual biographical data that differentiate this father-image from others. Its peculiar flavor reflects a Roman custom of considerable antiquity: at the death of the head of the family a waxen image was made of him, one which was then preserved in a special shrine of the family. At funerals these ancestral images were carried in the procession. We have seen the use of this custom in Etruscan painted tombs; compare the portrait-busts of the ancestors of Roman nobles, which were of superior quality. The images were, of course, records rather than works of art, and because the portrait-bust was thus probably do not vary from a few decades. Thus the faces could have been replicated in marble, seem natural enough, yet the sitter's personality is not at issue. The earliest extant [illegible] perhaps in part as a reflection of the family's pride in its ancestral lineage, encouraged wealthy families to make a great public display of their ancestors as a way of emphasizing the ancient lineage. That certainly is the purpose of the relief (figure 2.3) carved about half a century after the last previous example. It shows an unknown Roman holding two busts of his ancestors, presumably his father and grandfather. The work has some distinction, yet the "father-image" spirit can be felt even here. Needless to say, this quality was not present in the wax images themselves; it came to the fore when they were translated into marble, a process that not only made the ancestral images permanent but monumentalized them in the spiritual sense as well. Nevertheless, the marble heads retained the character of records or visual documents, which means that they could be freely duplicated; what mattered was not the artistic less, not the "handwriting" of the artist who executed it. The impressive head in figure 2.2, which is made some fifty years later than the last-mentioned, shows a [illegible] ancestors in figure 2.3; differences in [illegible] and in the shape of the bust indicate that the original of the head on the left is about thirty years older than the [illegible] companion. Perhaps this Roman [illegible] feeling of the uniqueness of the original, understandable enough in the context of the ancestral cult, helps to explain why they developed a [illegible] appetite for copies of famous Greek [illegible].

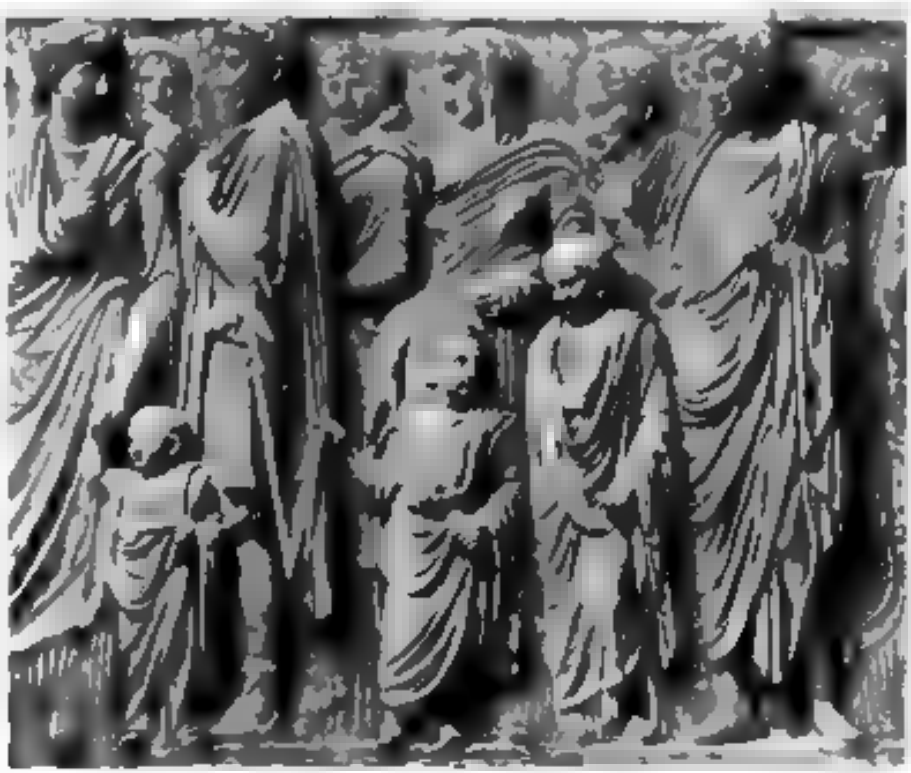
As we approach the reign of the Emperor Augustus [illegible], we find a new trend in Roman portraiture that reaches a climax in the images of Augustus himself. As an example, in the splendid statue from Prima Porta (figure 2.4). At first glance we may well be uncertain whether represents a godlike human being, and this double [illegible] appropriate for the figure is meant to be both [illegible] in Roman soil we meet a conception [illegible] from Egypt and the ancient Near East, that [illegible] the divine ruler, [illegible] that entered the Greek world in the fourth century (see page [illegible]). Alexander the Great had made it his own, and so did his successors, who made themselves after him. The latter in turn [illegible] Caesar and the Roman emperors, who at first encouraged the worship of themselves only in the eastern provinces, where belief in a divine ruler was a long-established tradition. The idea of attributing

228 The Ara Pacis, Rome
(13 B.C.)

superhuman stature [illegible] the emp[illegible] and his enhancing his authority [illegible] became [illegible] policy and while Augustus [illegible] as far as his successors the Primaporta statue [illegible] inspire [illegible] idealized [illegible] the statue has [illegible] mistakable Roman [illegible] pe[illegible] gesture [illegible] the legat[illegible] as Mercury and [illegible] the [illegible] sculpture [illegible] surface [illegible] and leather [illegible] idealized [illegible]

recognized immediately for he knew it from coins and [illegible] other representations. In fact the Emperor's image [illegible] came [illegible] acquire the symbolic significance of a national flag. As a consequence of such mass produc[illegible] artistic quality was rarely very high, except when portraits were produced under the ruler's direct patron age. That must have been true of the Primaporta statue, which was found in the villa of Augustus's wife Livia.

[illegible] emperor's art however was not confined to portraiture. The emperors also commemorated their outstanding achievements in natural reliefs on monumental altars, triumphal arches and columns. Similar scenes are fam[illegible] from the ancient Near East [illegible] pp. 78–82, but [illegible] in Greece. It [illegible] exempt that [illegible] events which [illegible] occurred only once at a specific time and in a particular place had not been [illegible] in Classical Greek sculpture. [illegible] Persians was be commemorated [illegible] would be represented indirectly [illegible] combat of Lapiths and Centaurs or Greeks and Amazons [illegible] quite as [illegible] Pergamon [illegible] were [illegible] rather [illegible] particular battle [illegible] such as the battle of Na[illegible] [illegible] pictures were [illegible] Romans [illegible] Alexandria [illegible]



Above 27. Fragment of the East frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Marble, height 41. The Louvre, Paris

Right 28. *Imperial Procession*, portion of the frieze of the Ara Pacis. Marble, height 61

famous mosaic from Pompeii (see fig. 141). In Rome [illegible] historic events had been depicted from the third century B.C. on: a victorious military leader would have his exploits painted on panels that were carried in his triumphal procession, or he would show such panels in public places. These pictures seem to have had the fleeting nature of posters advertising the hero's achievements. None have survived. Sometime during the late years of the Republic—we do not know exactly when—the contemporary representation of such events began to assume more monumental and permanent form in longer panels in high relief carved and painted. Most of these were intended for [illegible] buildings. They were, for a reason [illegible] the great [illegible] imperial [illegible] and the emperors had in [illegible] use them on a large scale.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] from the *Temple of Jerusalem* relief on the Arch of Titus, Rome. [illegible] Marble, height [illegible]

[illegible] landscape setting [illegible] water [illegible] and the blank background and clearly [illegible] the essential [illegible] Whether this pictorial tradition [illegible] space [illegible] the construction of Roman interiors remains a matter [illegible] dispute. [illegible] there can be no question however about the Hellenistic work [illegible] the [illegible] representations which thus represent not only a different level of reality but also a different and [illegible] distinctly Roman style from the imperial processions. The acanthus ornament on the pilasters and the lower part of the wall on the other hand has a [illegible] Greek art although the acanthus motif ultimately derives from Greece. The plant forms are wonderfully graceful and [illegible] yet the design as a whole with its emphasis on bilateral symmetry never [illegible] the discipline [illegible] surface decoration and thus serves as an effective setting for the spatially [illegible] events above.

Much the same [illegible] flatness and depth [illegible] on the successful decoration of a Roman house, a casual but enchanting product of the Augustan era (fig. 229). The modeling as befits the material is delicate and sketchy throughout but the meaning of the blank surfaces [illegible] which [illegible] appear [illegible] a great deal [illegible] the [illegible] strip of [illegible]

plain ornament [illegible] depth [illegible] are thus eschewed [illegible] this [illegible] the [illegible] Arch [illegible] which [illegible] being framed [illegible] can [illegible] be described as a picture painted in relief [illegible] an idyllic landscape of great charm and full of atmospheric depth despite the fact that the space is merely suggested rather than clearly defined. The whole effect echoes that of painted room decoration (see fig. 245).

The spatial qualities of the Ara Pacis reliefs reach the most complete or elaborate [illegible] in the two large marble panels on the triumphal arch erected in honor of Titus [illegible] commemorating the victories of the emperor. Titus [illegible] (fig. 232) shows part of the triumphal procession celebrating the conquest of Jerusalem. The booty displayed includes the seven branched candlestick and other sacred objects. Despite the [illegible] surface [illegible] movement of a [illegible] figures in depth still appears striking and successful. At the right the procession turns away from us and disappears through a triumphal arch placed obliquely to the background plane so that only the nearer half actually emerges from the background, a [illegible] but effective device. The companion panel (fig. [illegible]) [illegible] such experiments, although the number of

232 *Triumph of Titus* relief on the Arch of Titus

layers of relief is equally great here. We also sense that its design has an odd, static quality, despite the fact that this is simply another part of the same procession. The difference must be due to the subject, which is the Emperor himself. In his chariot, he would be the winged Victory behind him. Apparently the sculptor's time-frame was not to play his self-image rather than to keep the procession moving. Once we have read the image as that, and the surrounding [illegible] we become aware how strange [illegible] the spatial relationships are. [illegible] the Emperor's right [illegible] the panel, that he [illegible] right [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

left 234 *Portrait of a Lady* c. 90 A.D. Marble life-size
Capitoline Museums, Rome

below 235 *Vespasian* c. 75 A.D. Marble life-size
Museo delle Terme, Rome

Trajan was a new ab[illegible] narra[illegible] which inspi[illegible] upon [illegible] sculpt[illegible] sculptures the pi[illegible] had to be as explicit a[illegible] as possible, which meant that the spa[illegible] of each episode [illegible] with grea[illegible] care [illegible] preserved with[illegible] stating the [illegible] of the [illegible] scenes and the [illegible] than [illegible] in the Ara [illegible] Titus other wise, he sha[illegible] by the protecting parts would make the scenes unreadable [illegible] artist has solved these problems with consummate success but at the cost [illegible] but the most remarkable special feat[illegible] landscape and architecture are reduced to shallow stage sets, and the ground on which the figures stand [illegible] upward. All these devices had already been employed in Assyrian narrative reliefs; here they assert [illegible] once more against the tradition of fresh [illegible] and perspective space. In another two hundred years the [illegible] become dominant and we shall find ourselves a [illegible] threshold of medieval art. In this respect the relief band on the Column of Trajan is curiously prophetic [illegible] the end of one era and the beginning of the next.

The Ara Pacis, the Arch of Titus, and the Column of Trajan are monuments of key importance for the art of Imperial Rome at the height [illegible] power. To single out equally significant works among the portraits of the same period is very much more difficult: their production was vast and the diversity of types and styles mirrors the ever more complex character of Roman society. If we regard the Republic as a [illegible] image [illegible] and the Greek inspired Augustus [illegible] as opposite ends of the scale, we can find a [illegible] variety of interbreeding between the two. The bust head of the Emperor Vespasian [illegible] a case in point (fig. 235): he was the first of the Flavian emperors, a military man who came to power after the Julio-Claudian and Augustan line had died out and who must have viewed the idea of emperor worship with considerable skepticism. When he was dying, he is reported to have said: "I seems I am about to become a god." His humble origin and simple tastes may be reflected in the anti-Augustan, Republican flavor of his portrait. The soft-veined quality of the carving, on the [illegible] hand, with its emphasis on the texture of skin and hair, is Greek; but it immediately recalls the seductive marble technique of Praxiteles and his school. A similar refinement can be felt in the surfaces of the slightly later bust of a lady (fig. 234), probably the subtlest portrait of a woman in all of Roman sculpture. The graceful tilt of the head and the gaze of the large eyes convey a mood of gentle reverie, and how effectively the silky soft-

ness of skin and lips is set off by the corkscrew curls of the fashionable coiffure. The wonderful head of Trajan (fig. 2.61), of c. 100 A.D., is another masterpiece of portraiture. Its firm, rounded forms recall the Augustus of Prima Porta, as does the commanding look of the eyes, dramatized by the strongly projecting brows. The face radiates a strange emotional intensity that is difficult to define: a kind of Greek pathos transmuted into Roman nobility of character.

Trajan still conformed to the age-old Roman custom of being clean-shaven. His successors, in a vain attempt to adopt the Greek fashion of wearing beards as an outward sign of a common bond of the Hellenic heritage, found themselves having therefore to find a strong new Augustan conception of the image of a personality [illegible] the second half of the seventh century A.D., especially during the reigns of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Both the respective emperors represented in Greek philosophy [illegible] an active life in the request and bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius [illegible] which is remarkable not [illegible] as the [illegible] but as [illegible] of the Low Roman [illegible] that remained in public [illegible] throughout the Middle Ages. The equestrian image [illegible] the emperor [illegible] as the [illegible] ruler [illegible] the [illegible] head [illegible] established [illegible]

2.61 Trajan [illegible] Marble. Ideale Museum, Ostia

2.62 *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius* 161–180 A.D. Bronze, over life-size. Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome

[illegible] 44–49 A.D.
Marble relief [illegible] Museum, Rome

[illegible] Philippus
[illegible] Marble relief. Museum, Ostia

[illegible] Marcus Aurelius [illegible] the emperor as victor [illegible] the horse according to medieval [illegible] touched a female figure [illegible] barbarian chieftain. The wounded spirit and power of the horse expresses his martial spirit. [illegible] without weapons or armour, presents a picture of a conqueror, a bringer of peace rather than a military hero. And so indeed he saw himself [illegible]

It was the [illegible] between the [illegible]. The third century saw the Empire in almost perpetual crisis. Barbarians endangered its frontiers (see page 66), while internal conflicts underlined the weakness of the imperial office. To hold the throne became a matter of naked force: succession by murder and regular habit, the soldier emperors were mercenaries [illegible] the fluctuating fortunes of the realm [illegible] brief intervals. The portraits of some of these men, such as Philippus the Arab (fig. 238), who reigned [illegible] 244–49 A.D., are among the most powerful likenesses in the entire history of art. Their facial realism is as uncompromising as that of Republican portraiture, but its aim is expressive rather than documentary: all the dark passions of the human mind – fear, suspicion, cruelty – suddenly stand revealed here, with a directness that is almost unbelievable. The face of Philippus mirrors all the violence of the time. Yet in a strange way [illegible] psychological nakedness [illegible] and [illegible] Caesar, the apotheosis of Roman world was not only physical but spiritual. That Roman art should have [illegible] mind [illegible] Let us note the new place [illegible] the impact of these portraits [illegible] the eyes, which seem to gaze at some unseen but powerful threat. The engraved [illegible] devices [illegible] portrait [illegible] direction of the glance. The hair [illegible] thoroughly [illegible] Classical [illegible] the fashionable tousled cap and the beard has been replaced by a peculiar unshaven look that results from roughing up the surface over the lower parts of the face with short chisel strokes.

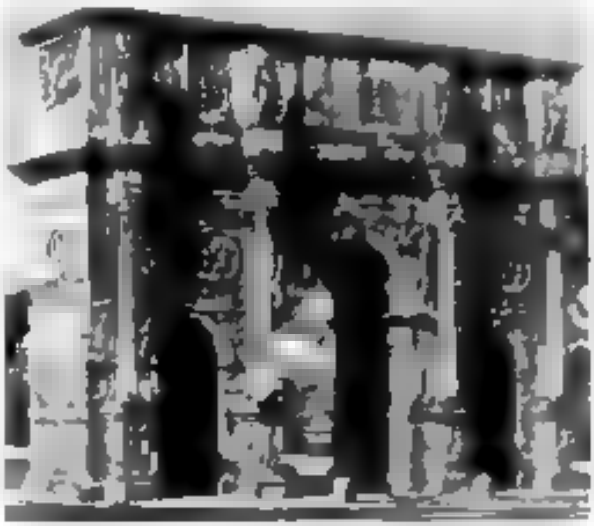
A somewhat later portrait, probably that of the late Greek philosopher Plotinus, suggests a different aspect of the 3rd-century crisis (fig. 239). Plotinus's thinking, abstract, speculative and strongly tinged with mysticism, marked a retreat from contact with the outer world that seems closer to the Middle Ages than to the Classical tradition of Greek philosophy. It sprang from the same mood which, on a more popular level, expressed itself in the spread of Oriental mystery cults throughout the Roman Empire. How trustworthy a likeness our head represents is hard to say. The ascetic features, the intense

eyes and tall brow [illegible] portray inner qualities more accurately than outward appearance. According to his biographer, Plotinus was so contemptuous of the imperfections of the physical world that he refused to have any portrait made of himself. The [illegible] he maintained was an awkward enough [illegible] was [illegible] he [illegible] awkwardness [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Constantine [illegible] Rome

[illegible] The Arch of [illegible] Rome [illegible]



[illegible] as [illegible] lateral [illegible] these shows [illegible] new [illegible] style in [illegible] of figure 242 [illegible] immediately be [illegible] that [illegible] seem [illegible] belong [illegible] Constantine [illegible] addressing [illegible] people [illegible] Forum. The [illegible] being [illegible] the [illegible] numbers [illegible] since the [illegible] hours [illegible] [illegible] figures [illegible] movement [illegible] the [illegible] structure has been flattened [illegible] background [illegible] but becomes [illegible] impenetrable [illegible]. The [illegible] and [illegible] people [illegible] beside [illegible] second equally shallow [illegible] the second [illegible] figures appears simply as a [illegible] heads [illegible] the first. The figures themselves have an [illegible] quality: the heads are very large, while the bodies seem not only dwarfish because of the thick stubby legs but also lacking in articulation. The mechanism of *contrapposto* has disappeared completely, so that these figures no longer stand freely and by their own muscular effort; rather, they seem to dangle from an

visible strings. All the characteristics we have described so far are essentially negative when judged from the classical point of view: they represent the loss of hard-won gains, a throwback to earlier, more primitive levels of expression. Yet such an approach does not really advance our understanding of the new style. Constantinian panegyric cannot be explained as the result of a lack of ability, for it is fully consistent with the style. It cannot be regarded as no more than a clumsy attempt to imitate earlier Roman reliefs. Nor can it be viewed as a conscious Art-Nouveau style, since there is nothing in preclassical times that looks like it. No, the Constantinian sculptor may have had a purpose, a new purpose, in his mind. Perhaps we can approach it best by assessing one of our features: our relief has a sense of scale, with the scene set in the available area, and it is clear from the way the background buildings are made to fit the same height but only suggest, so that some goes behind the frame, is carefully avoided. It is as if he had asked himself: How can I get *all* this complex ceremonial event into my panel? In order to do so he has imposed an abstract order upon the world of appearances. The middle third of the strip is given over to the stream of humanity and the buildings, but strictly speaking the rest, the onlookers and the buildings, are irrelevant. The Roman state, as the scene of the action, does not quite recognizable, even though their scale and proportions have been drastically adjusted. The symmetrical design also serves to make clear the unique status of the emperor: he and he alone occupies the exact center. The sculptor wanted his head, unfortunately, has been knocked off, which is the other figures, into the heads, which express their dependent relationship. That the frontal pose is indeed a position of majesty reserved for sovereigns, human or divine, is nicely demonstrated by the seated figures at the corners of the rostrum, the only ones besides Constantine to face us directly. These figures are statues of emperors, the same good emperors we met elsewhere on the arch: Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Looked at in this way, our relief reveals itself as a bold and original creation, as the harbinger of a new vision that will become basic to the development of Christian art.

LAST NOTE

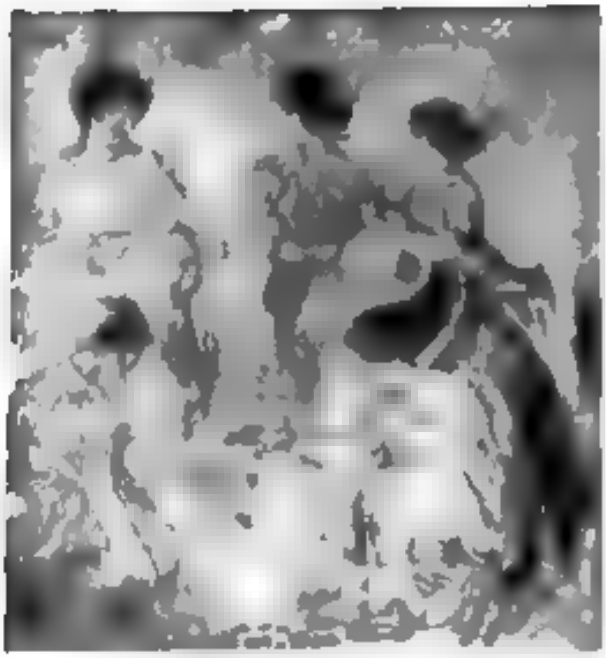
The modern beholder, whether expert or amateur, is apt to find painting the most exciting as well as the most baffling aspect of art under Roman rule, exciting because it represents the only large body of ancient painting subsequent to the Classical mode, and because much of it, having come to light in modern times, has lit the hearts of the amateur building because we know so little about it, that we know about Roman architecture, sculpture, the decorative arts with very few exceptions, but we know very little about painting. Most of what we do know consists of wall paintings and the great mass of these come from Pompeii, destroyed and then sealed and buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Pompeii and Herculaneum had fallen on a spiritless, two hundred years after the time of the Antonines, a century and a half before the date of our relief. What happened before is a little less a matter of guesswork. Apart from the Hellenistic

243 *The Defeated Persians under Darius, from the Battle of Issus*
Mosaic copy of a Hellenistic painting. Width of portion shown c. 10 ft.
National Museum, Naples

wall paintings the number [illegible] of Roman women as against the Greek [illegible] more [illegible] than in sculpture or in literature.

The [illegible] was [illegible] Greek [illegible] that Greek paintings as well as pictures were imported, [illegible] copied. But the number of instances in which it can be demonstrated is still [illegible] consider [illegible] of these. An earlier point we mentioned is a reference to a Greek picture [illegible] representing [illegible] see page 4. The same [illegible] Alexander's [illegible] battle. Alexander's [illegible] an excellent [illegible] and technique [illegible] pushed [illegible] from a [illegible] of the first century [illegible] Pompeii (Figure 243) [illegible] the centre and right [illegible] and the fleeing Persians [illegible] with the figure of Alexander is badly damaged. While there is no good reason to think his models were [illegible] we can hardly doubt that [illegible] and are in strikingly present [illegible] of a Hellenistic painting that a Hellenistic painting of what date. The [illegible] the air of frantic excitement, the powerfully modelled and foreshortened forms, the precise cast shadows, when and all these qualities reach this particular stage of development? We do not know, for even the great [illegible] of Pergamum seems restrained in comparison. Our second instance is the very opposite of the first. A small marble panel from Herculaneum painted in a delicate [illegible] style shows a group of five women, two of them engaged in a game of knuckle bones (fig. 244). An inscription [illegible] that Alexandros of Athens painted this. The style quite obviously recalls that of the late fifth century B.C. (compare the Attic lekythos of the Achilles Painter, fig. 66), yet the execution seems so much weaker than the conception that it must be a copy or, better perhaps, an imitation in the Classical manner, comparable to the copies or adaptations of Classical Greek statues manufactured for the Roman market. [illegible] a special class of collectors [illegible] the [illegible] representative of Roman painting as a whole than the Alexander mosaic. We wonder, moreover, whether anything as old-fashioned as this actually existed in classical Athenian art. Was it perhaps a late neo-Attic [illegible] meant to satisfy the taste of a certain group of Roman connoisseurs?

The earliest phase of Roman wall painting known from a few examples in the second century B.C. does show a clear [illegible] with the Hellenistic world, since it has also been found in the eastern Mediterranean. Unfortunately [illegible] of it must be for us as it consists entirely of [illegible] colored marble paneling. About [illegible] this so-called First Style began to be displaced by a far more ambitious and elaborate style that sought to push back [illegible] open up the flat surface of the wall by means of [illegible] architectural perspectives and window effects, including landscapes and figures. These phases of the more elaborate style have been distinguished, known as the Second, Third, and Fourth Styles, but the differences between them are not always clear, and there seems to have been considerable overlapping in their sequence, so that we can largely disregard this classification here. The Fourth Style, which persisted at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., is the most intricate of all. Our example, a corner of the Black Room in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (fig. 245), combines imitation marble paneling, conspicuous framed mythological scenes intended to give the effect of panel pictures set into the wall, and fantastic architectural vistas seen through make-believe windows. This architecture has a strangely unreal and picturesque quality that is believed to reflect the architectural backdrops of the theaters of the time. It often anticipates effects such as that of the Market Gate of Miletus (see fig. 219). The architectural vistas of the Second Style, as represented by our figure 246, are a good deal more



substance and the [illegible] a bet[illegible] the [illegible] Roman painter [illegible] their breakthroughs. He [illegible] a [illegible] ing and [illegible] the [illegible] framing the [illegible] the [illegible] decorated [illegible] the [illegible] the mask [illegible] [illegible] messing reality [illegible] the [illegible] view of building [illegible] sense [illegible] perfect [illegible] the individual structures [illegible] each other [illegible] remain [illegible] grasp of spatial depth that has perhaps haphazard and [illegible] never intended us to enter the space he has created [illegible] and it remains forever beyond us.

Which landscape takes the place of [illegible] exact foreshortening becomes less important and the virtues of the Roman painter's approach outweigh his limitations. This is strikingly demonstrated by the famous Odyssey Landscapes [illegible] stretch of landscape subdivided into eight compartments by a framework of pilasters. Each section illustrates an episode of the adventures of Odysseus [illegible] one of the adventures with the Lestrygonians is reproduced [illegible] plate 9. It has recently been suggested that [illegible] and not in another [illegible] The [illegible] brushstrokes create a wonderful [illegible] atmosphere [illegible] space that [illegible] and binds together [illegible] within this warm Mediterranean [illegible] the human figures [illegible] plane [illegible] than [illegible] upon [illegible] the illusion of [illegible] mapping his landscape [illegible] as the [illegible] perspective [illegible] but [illegible] figures [illegible]

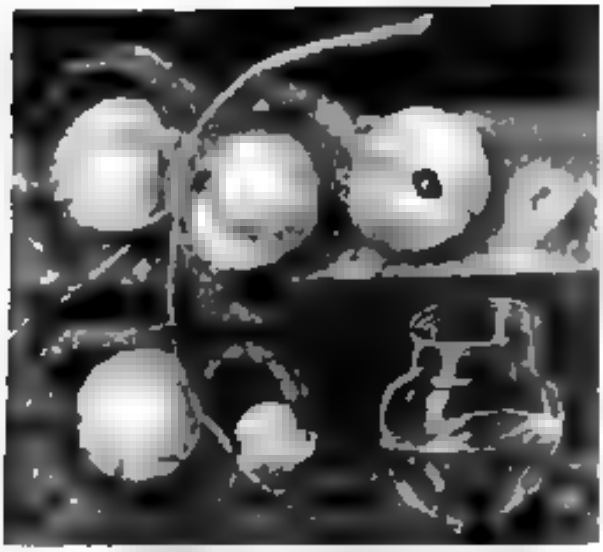
The Odyssey landscapes [illegible] another [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

mental hatchet which differentiates Roman painting from that of the Renaissance [illegible] modern times.

The [illegible] tendencies that gained the upper hand in Roman [illegible] during the first centuries [illegible] may have been anticipated [illegible] Hellenistic painters [illegible] we know [illegible] they were [illegible] be a [illegible] Roman [illegible] against the repe- [illegible] we have examined before [illegible] the [illegible] painters [illegible] Hel- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

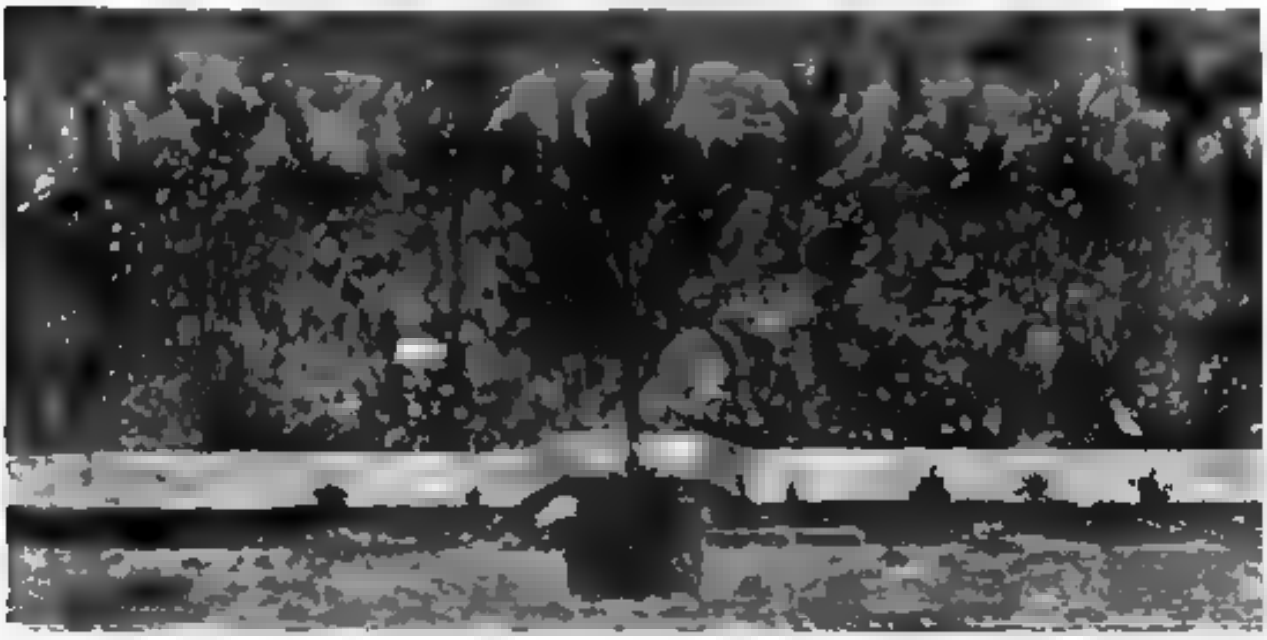


147 [illegible] Colosseum [illegible] National Museum [illegible]

have [illegible] heat and expression in the [illegible] of bodies and drapery, the rapt intensity with which the participants in the drama of the [illegible] Mists [illegible] poses and gestures are taken from the repertory [illegible] Hellenistic Greek [illegible] they lack the [illegible] classicism. An artist of exceptional greatness [illegible] fused these forms with new life. Whatever [illegible] the famous masters [illegible] Greek painting whose works are [illegible] never he was the [illegible] in the same sense that the finest Latin poets of the Augustan age were the legitimate heirs [illegible] Greek poetic [illegible].

Portrait painting [illegible] according to Pliny was an established custom in Republican Rome, serving the ancestor cult as did the portrait busts discussed earlier (see pages 40-4). None of these panels has survived, and the few portraits found in the walls of Roman houses in Pompeii may well derive from a different Hellenistic tradition. The only coherent group of painted portraits at our disposal, strangely enough, comes from the Fayum district in Lower Egypt. The earliest of them found so far seem to date from the second century A.D. We owe them to the survival, or revival, of an ancient Egyptian custom, the practice of attaching a portrait of the deceased to his wrapped, mummified body. Originally these portraits had been sculptured (compare [illegible]), but in Roman times they came to be replaced by painted ones such as the very fine and well-preserved wooden panel reproduced in [illegible] plate [illegible]. The amazing freshness of colours is due to the fact that it was done in a technique of great durability called encaustic, which means that the pigments are suspended in hot wax. The mixture can be opaque and creamy like oil paint or thin and transparent. At their best these portraits [illegible] accuracy and sureness of touch that [illegible] have been surpassed. The dark-haired boy is [illegible] sparkling and life-like as a piece of reality as anyone might wish [illegible] the style of the picture [illegible] and it does have style, otherwise we could not tell [illegible] from a snapshot, [illegible] apparent only [illegible] we compare it with the Fayum portraits. Since they were produced quickly and in large numbers, they tend to have many elements in common, such as the emphasis on the eyes, the placing of the highlights and shadows, the angle from which the face is seen, [illegible] other characteristics. These conventional elements soften [illegible] and [illegible] a fleshy [illegible] which [illegible] cast the individual [illegible]. Whether [illegible] this style Roman or [illegible] is a question. We do know, however, that [illegible] confined to Egypt since [illegible] can be linked with some portrait [illegible] in glass apparently done in Italy during the third century A.D. The finest of them, a [illegible] in the Museo Nazionale, shows a [illegible] enlarged head [illegible] its power of characterization superior to that of any Fayum portrait, represents the same comrade of Roman portraiture that produced the marble bust of Philippus the Arab (see page 48).

148 [illegible] Museo Nazionale, Rome



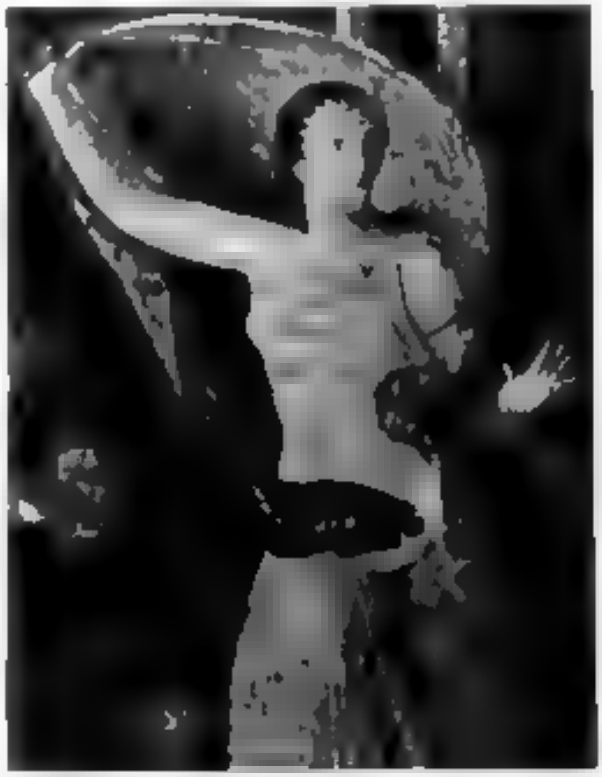
In discussing the crisis of the Roman world in the three centuries A.D. (see page 48) we mentioned as characteristic of the mood of the times the spread of Oriental mystery religions. They were of various origins: Egyptian, Persian, Semitic, and their early development naturally centered in their homelands, the whole vast expanse of provinces and border regions of the Roman Empire. Although based on traditions of differing belief, the [illegible] of these ancient lands by Alexander the Great [illegible] had been [illegible] influences [illegible] Greek ideas [illegible] period [illegible] and Greek elements [illegible] appeal. The names [illegible] are [illegible] remembered [illegible] special [illegible] religions were [illegible] the Sea [illegible] was a [illegible] Mithras [illegible] had been [illegible] a dazzling number of [illegible] in character [illegible] Most [illegible] as an [illegible] revealed [illegible] through [illegible] initiation [illegible] baptism [illegible] Greek [illegible] the [illegible] Near Eastern [illegible] success [illegible] astounding [illegible] which [illegible] the entire [illegible] (see page 56).

[illegible] under [illegible] orders of [illegible] have [illegible] tangible [illegible] Besides [illegible] the area where [illegible] place [illegible] was and destitute [illegible] times the [illegible] religions [illegible] had [illegible] ordered [illegible] birth [illegible] a new [illegible] that [illegible] resulted [illegible] from a [illegible] of races, [illegible] man and [illegible] religions [illegible] the [illegible] who struggled with [illegible] the [illegible] magnificent express the [illegible] these faiths were [illegible] among [illegible] of [illegible] time they were [illegible] craftsmen [illegible] ambition who grew upon whatever [illegible] happened [illegible] adapting, combining, and reshaping [illegible] as best [illegible] hand. These efforts are [illegible] where we find the beginnings of a tradition which was [illegible] of basic importance for the development of Medieval art. The most telling examples [illegible] new composite style have been found in the [illegible] of Dura-Europos on the upper Euphrates, a Roman frontier station that was captured by the resurgent Persians under Shapur I about 256 A.D. and abandoned by its population soon after. Its ruins have yielded the remains of sanctuaries of several religions decorated with murals which all show essentially the same Graeco-Oriental character. The best

[illegible] painting from [illegible] Museum, Naples

preserved are those from the assembly hall of a synagogue. [illegible] show [illegible] of best numerous compartments [illegible] one representing the consecration of the tabernacle (colorplate [illegible]). It is characteristic of the mixed pagan conditions described before that

[illegible] (colorplate 10)

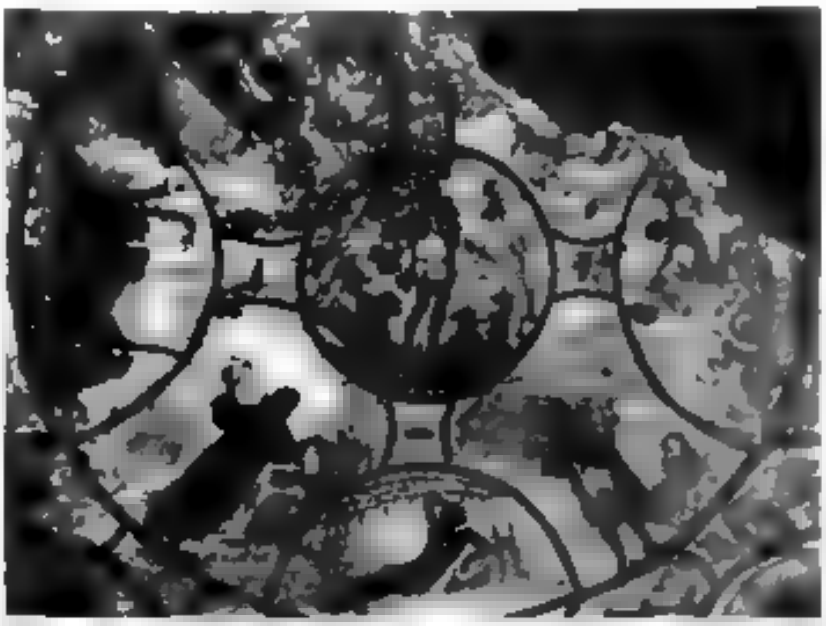


251 *Portrait of a Man*
250 A.D.
Glass diameter 6.7
Archaeological Museum
Arezzo

even Judaism should have been allowed to live. Momentarily at least the age-old taboo against images was relaxed so that he was able to the assembly hall could be covered with a [illegible] usual amount of the histories of the [illegible] people and their covenant with the Lord. The new attitude seems to have been taken with a tenderness [illegible] from a [illegible] and a [illegible] faith by [illegible] Jewish [illegible] on the mural [illegible] Art [illegible] are part [illegible] artists who designed these pictures [illegible] lines ask [illegible] the painters [illegible] the earliest Christian [illegible] visible Given what had [illegible] been expressed [illegible] look at [illegible] the legend [illegible] human being [illegible] trouble but the [illegible] Christian [illegible] There [illegible] assembly [illegible] we will be able to establish the proper [illegible] between them. The [illegible] in the [illegible] Museum presents a [illegible] here [illegible] the beholder is supposed to [illegible] set at [illegible] as an [illegible] puzzling [illegible] The figures have an elegance [illegible] expression that makes them meaningful [illegible] though we may not understand the [illegible] of the scene. The synagogue painter [illegible] he equally persuasive [illegible] we [illegible] but [illegible] with [illegible] competence [illegible] there [illegible] reason as well. The question rather [illegible] we raised when discussing the Constantinian [illegible] figure [illegible] which resembles the Dura [illegible] of [illegible] in a number of ways. The synagogue painter exhibits the same sense of [illegible] sufficiency of condensation [illegible] the sense of completeness but his subject [illegible] more demanding. He had to represent a historical event of vast religious importance—the consecration of the tabernacle and its priests—which began the reconciliation of man and God as described in detail in the Holy Scriptures and he had to represent it in such a way as to suggest that it was also a timeless, recurrent ritual. Thus his picture is burdened with a wealth of significance far greater and more rigidly defined than that of the Dionysiac frieze or the Constantinian relief. Nor did he have a well-established tradition of Jewish religious painting at his disposal to help him visualize the tabernacle and the consecration ceremony. No wonder he has fallen back on a sort of synthetic shorthand composed of images borrowed from older traditions. The tabernacle, for instance, is shown as a Classical temple simply because our artist could not imagine it in accordance with the biblical description as a tent of [illegible] of poles and goat's hair curtains. The attendant [illegible] the lower left hand corner are [illegible] by Roman scenes of animal sacrifice; hence the show remains [illegible] nothing among the other figures [illegible] echoes of Roman painting appear [illegible] the [illegible] of the altar while [illegible] the [illegible] of Aaron [illegible] perhaps [illegible] here and there and [illegible] the [illegible] are cast shadows around [illegible] of the figures. [illegible] understand the purpose of these shadows [illegible] they seem [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] the Roman [illegible] [illegible] sequence [illegible] conflicts [illegible] contribution [illegible] artists [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] space. And [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] because [illegible] be a tendency [illegible] enough are [illegible] of the old [illegible] but [illegible] possible [illegible] influence [illegible]

The synagogue [illegible] contributes in some [illegible] considerable [illegible] of formulaic elements whose [illegible] denominator is the religious message [illegible] In the hands of a great artist this message [illegible] have been a strange and [illegible] force, but even in the [illegible] and [illegible] would have been [illegible] than a humble, imperfect [illegible] of the spiritual [illegible] it was meant to serve. It is surely [illegible] he authorities who supervised the execution of the mural cycle and [illegible] its program. The essential [illegible] of these pictures can no longer be understood in the framework of [illegible] art; they express an attitude that seems far closer to the Middle Ages. If we were to sum up their purpose in a single phrase, we could hardly do better than to quote a famous dictum justifying the pictorial representation of Christian themes: *Quod legentibus scripturae hoc idiotis pictura*—to translate freely: painting conveys the Word of God to the unlettered.

8. Early Christian and Byzantine Art



Painted Ceiling early 4th century A.D.
Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, Rome

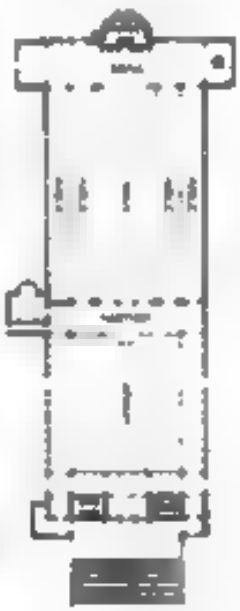
the development [illegible] art in the Roman Empire under a single heading [illegible] Christian does not strictly speaking designate a style [illegible] refers rather to an [illegible] Christians during the [illegible] Byzantine art [illegible] Roman Empire [illegible] Since [illegible] grew [illegible] tendencies [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Eastern [illegible] Byzantine art [illegible] succeeded [illegible] the [illegible] monuments [illegible] may be viewed as [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] which [illegible] the political [illegible] between East and West [illegible] Western Europe [illegible] peoples [illegible] antiquity [illegible] Christian [illegible] been a [illegible] that of the Middle Ages. The [illegible] contrast experienced [illegible] break [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] antiquity [illegible] although [illegible] Roman [illegible] Asia [illegible] consequence Byzantine [illegible] Byzantine which is medieval. The Roman [illegible] has been [illegible] the history [illegible] has been [illegible] but [illegible] remained [illegible] the end. The same sense of [illegible] with the past determines the development of Byzantine art. We can understand it best, therefore, if we see it in the context of the final Christian phase of antiquity rather than in the context of the Middle Ages.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

When and where the first Christian works of art were produced remains a matter of conjecture. Of the surviving monuments none can be dated earlier than about [illegible] therefore we lack a direct knowledge of art in the service of Christianity before that time. In the [illegible] there [illegible] we know for certain about Christian art [illegible] we reach the reign of Constantine the Great, because the [illegible] centuries [illegible] represented. The period of [illegible] by the [illegible] Christian [illegible] are the [illegible] size and [illegible] but these [illegible] more [illegible] possible [illegible] Between [illegible] Christian [illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] shelf [illegible] and [illegible] great [illegible] New [illegible] such as Alexandria and Antioch [illegible] separate art [illegible] synagogue [illegible] suggest [illegible] Palestine [illegible] Christian [illegible] Alexandria [illegible] and [illegible] during [illegible] have [illegible]

[illegible] Rome
Begun [illegible]

254 Plan of
Old St. Peter's, Rome
Begun [illegible]



[illegible] to that of Pompeian murals. We meet echoes of such scenes in Christian art later on, but we cannot be sure when or where they originated—or by what paths they entered the Christian tradition.

[illegible] the dearth of material from the eastern provinces of the Empire makes it difficult to judge the position of the catacomb paintings within the early development of Christian art. They nevertheless tell us a great deal about the spirit of the communities that sponsored them. The care and the safeguarding of the tomb were of a concern to the early Christian who sought to protect the soul's eternal [illegible] in the images of the [illegible] faith, as can be seen in the [illegible] standing figure [illegible] expresses the [illegible] although [illegible] are [illegible] Christian [illegible] Thus we recognize the [illegible] of the setting [illegible] and highly [illegible] [illegible] at home, as on Pompeian [illegible] and the modeling of the figures [illegible] as he [illegible] the same [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

The Christian basilica was [illegible] a long, longitudinal [illegible] [illegible] of the basilica of Egyptian temples [illegible] [illegible]. Before entering the church proper we have [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] page [illegible] the far [illegible] which [illegible] at entrance [illegible] the narthex. [illegible] which we [illegible] the nave proper we gain the view presented in figure [illegible]. The steady rhythm of the nave [illegible] the great arch as the eastern end [illegible] the triumphal arch which frames the altar and the vaulted apse beyond. As we come closer we realize that the altar actually stands in a separate compartment—a space placed at right angles to the nave and aisles, the hemicycle concept for the lesser basilican churches. This feature is frequently omitted.

One essential [illegible] which [illegible] an [illegible] architecture has not yet emerged from our discussion: the contrast between exterior and interior. It is strikingly [illegible] in a sixth-century church at S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna which still [illegible] its original appearance [illegible]. The plain brick exterior [illegible] has been [illegible] unadorned [illegible] merely a shell which [illegible] reflects the interior space [illegible] [illegible] basilica [illegible] the narthex but [illegible] the atrium which was [illegible] a long time ago [illegible] a medieval addition. This [illegible] [illegible] the exterior [illegible] as we enter [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Mosaic, detail [illegible] Saint George, Salonica

[illegible]

[illegible] gradations [illegible] but only [illegible] The same [illegible] are made of tinted glass. These [illegible] unknown [illegible] the Romans [illegible] greater range of intensity than [illegible] gold, but [illegible] the fine gra[illegible] painted pictures. [illegible] glass [illegible] effects so that the overall effect [illegible] shimmer or screen rather than of a solid continuous surface. As these quarter-made glass mosaics, the ideal complement of the new architectural aesthetic that confronts us in Early Christian basilicas. The guiding principle of Greco-Roman architecture we recall, had been to express a balance of opposing forces, rather like the balance within the *contrapposto* of classical statue: a muscular physical display of active and passive, supporting and supported members, whether

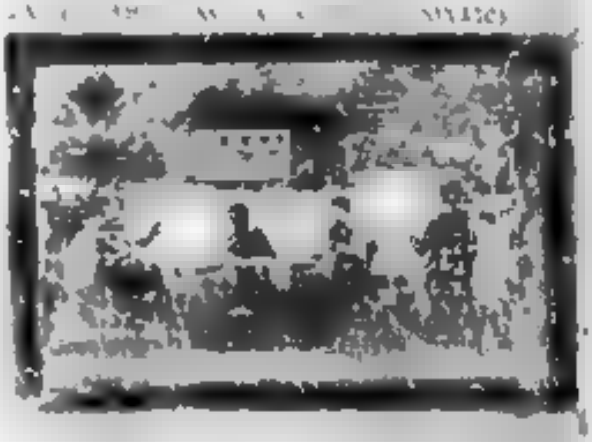
The Pasing [illegible] and Abraham
[illegible] Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

[illegible] were struck in any real or literal sense superimposed on a concrete [illegible] viewed through them. Early Christian architecture is strangely ambiguous [illegible] and [illegible]. The tangible material structure has become subservient [illegible] the creation and delineation of immaterial space. [illegible] and walls [illegible] the [illegible] of weightless shells. The actual thickness and [illegible] of the material have been emphasized as [illegible] the [illegible] brought [illegible] and [illegible] space of weightless [illegible] the [illegible] generated a [illegible] order of the images [illegible] such [illegible] S. Apollinare in [illegible] [illegible] perspective [illegible] that Early Christian and Byzantine churches demand, in [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] sculpture.

Roman mural painting has developed a [illegible] suggestive scales beyond the surface of the wall. Roman mosaics also denied the flatness of the wall surface but [illegible] the purpose of achieving [illegible] people by giving them a [illegible] realm. The difference in [illegible] becomes particularly [illegible] when these mosaics make use of the [illegible] space [illegible] Nor is the [illegible] which [illegible] of the magnificent [illegible] in the church of St. George at Salonika [illegible] fourth century. The saints, their hands raised in prayer, are against a background that clearly [illegible] descent from the perspective vistas of stage architecture and Pompeian painting. The foreshortening in the [illegible] seems somewhat awkward but a surprising amount of [illegible] is at [illegible]. Even so, the structure no longer seems real [illegible] lacks a physical substance. Its bodies consist [illegible] the same gold as the background. Other colors, mainly purple, blue and green, are used only in the shaded portions and the ornament, so that the entire building becomes translucent. This is not a stage set but a piece of symbolic, other world's architecture meant [illegible] such concepts as the Heavenly Jerusalem [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] narrative scenes [illegible] we can watch the illusionistic tradition [illegible] ancient painting being [illegible] by the new content. Long sequences of them [illegible] from the Old and New Testaments adorned the nave walls of Early Christian basilicas. *The Passing [illegible] and Abraham* [illegible] is taken from the most [illegible] cycle of [illegible] executed about [illegible] in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. Abraham, [illegible] his boy Isaac and the rest [illegible] family, occupy [illegible] of the composition [illegible] and [illegible] daughters [illegible] toward the city of [illegible]. The task of the artist was assigned [illegible] that [illegible] the scope [illegible] [illegible] condense [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] such as [illegible] grape [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] appeared [illegible] Sta. Maria Maggiore [illegible] [illegible] that appear [illegible] of the pagan world [illegible]

[illegible] Vatican Library, Rome

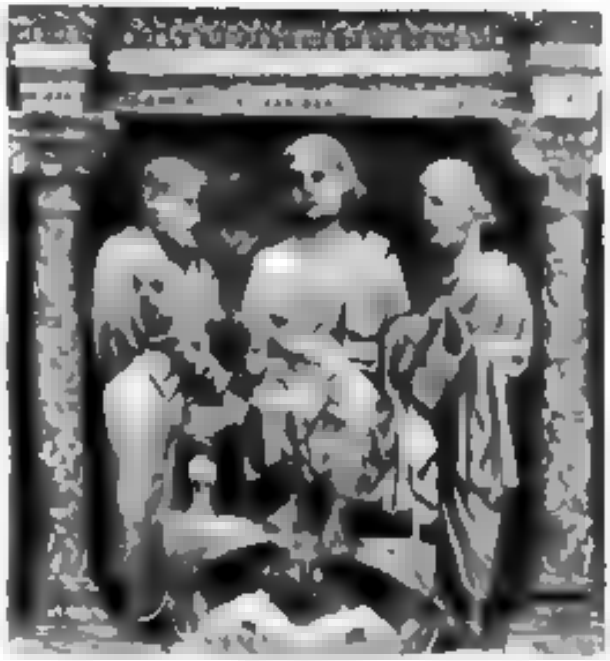


is what happened in Genesis. We are expected to know that already, but "Behold the working of the Lord's will." Hence the artist need not clothe the scene with the concrete detail of historic narrative; glances and gestures are becoming more important to him than dramatic movement or three-dimensional form. The symmetrical composition, with its cleavage in the center, makes clear the symbolic significance of this parting: the way of Abraham, which is that of righteousness and the Law, as against the way of [illegible] destined for divine vengeance. And the contrasting facial [illegible] of the two groups are further emphasized by the juxtaposition of [illegible] and the daughters of Lot, whose whole [illegible] are [illegible]

[illegible] what source did the designers of narrative [illegible] such as that in Sta. Maria Maggiore derive their compositions? Were they [illegible] from the Bible [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

right 161 Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus
c. 359 A.D. Marble 3 ft 10 in × 8 ft
Vatican Grottoes, Rome

below 162 *Christ Enthroned*
(detail of fig. 161)



g and a through the quality of the marble [illegible] inspired (fig. 26). The picture, separated from the rest of the page by a heavy frame, has the effect of a window, and in the landscape we find remnants of deep space perspective and the play of light and shade.

The oldest illustrated Bible manuscripts so far as covered apparently belong to the early sixth century, except for one fragment of five leaves that seems related to the Vatican Virgil. They [illegible] the Hellenistic-Roman style in various stages of adaptation to religious narrative, often with a Near Eastern flavor, but at times recalling the Dura murals, see [illegible] place. The most important example, the *Vienna Genesis*, is a far more striking work than the earlier same [illegible]. Written in silver on purple, bordered by [illegible] people, seasons and animals with [illegible] and [illegible] architectural features, it achieves a sumptuous effect not unlike that of the mosaics we have examined. Figure 26 shows a part of the story of Jacob. In the foreground we see him wrestling with the angel and receiving the angel's benediction. The picture then does not show a single event but a whole sequence, strung out along a single U-shaped path so that progression in space becomes progression in time. This method, known as continuous narration, has a complex and much debated history, going back as far as ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Its appearance in manuscripts such as ours may reflect earlier illustrations made for books in roll form. Our picture certainly looks like a frieze turned back upon itself. For manuscript illustration, the continuous method offers the advantage of spatial economy, it permits the painter to pack a maximum of narrative content into the area at his disposal. Our artist apparently thought of his picture as a running account to be read like so many lines of text rather than as a window demanding a frame. The painted forms are placed directly on the purple background that holds the letters, emphasizing the primary importance of the page as a unified field.

Compared to painting and architecture, sculpture played a secondary role in early Christian art. The biblical prohibition of graven images was thought to apply with particular force to large cult statues, the idols worshiped in pagan temples, so that religious sculpture, in order to avoid the taint of idolatry, had to eschew life-size representations of the human figure. It thus developed from the very start in an antimonumental direction, away from the spatial depth and massive scale of Graeco-Roman sculpture toward shallow, small-scale forms and jacket-like surface decoration. The earliest works of Christian sculpture are marble sarcophagi, which were produced from the middle of the third century on for the more important members of the Church. Before the time

of Constantine their decoration consisted mostly of the same limited repertory of themes familiar from catacomb murals—the Good Shepherd, Jonah and the Whale, and so forth—but within a framework borrowed from pagan sarcophagi. Not until a century later do we find a significantly broader range of subject matter and [illegible]. A rare example for those years is the richly carved sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, a prefect of Rome who died in [illegible] (fig. 26[illegible]—264). Its colonnaded front, divided into [illegible] square compartments, shows a mixture of old and new testament scenes. In the upper [illegible] right, the sacrifice of Isaac; St. Peter Taken Prisoner [illegible] between SS. Peter and Paul [illegible] lower compartments, [illegible] the Miser[illegible] the Fa[illegible] Man Cheated [illegible] Jerusalem [illegible] Daniel and St. Paul [illegible] Martyrdom [illegible] somewhat [illegible] the [illegible] Christian was [illegible] death are [illegible] appeal before [illegible] apostles [illegible] the perse[illegible]

After [illegible] Constantine [illegible] had a [illegible] sarcophagus [illegible] Junius Bassus seems [illegible] figures in their [illegible] expressed in this better [illegible] to capture the stalwart [illegible] beneath this superimposed quality we sense a basic [illegible] the Constantinian style in the [illegible] bodies, the large heads, the souls became more passive and [illegible] scenes [illegible] for dramatic action. The events and personages confronting us are no longer intended to [illegible] their [illegible] physically or emotionally but to call [illegible] a higher symbolic meaning that binds them together. Classicizing tendencies of this sort seem to have been a recurrent phenomenon in Early Christian sculpture from the mid-fourth to the early sixth century. Their causes have been explained in various ways. On the one hand during this period paganism still had many important adherents who may have fostered such revivals as a kind of rear-guard action; recent converts, such as Junius Bassus himself, who was baptized shortly before his death, often retained a strong allegiance to the values of the past, artistic and otherwise; there were also important leaders of the Church who favored a reconciliation of

The Princess of Bucchus
leaf of a diptych
[illegible] 400 A.D.
[illegible]
Victoria & Albert Museum, London
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Christianity with the heritage of Classical antiquity, and the imperial courts in both East and West, always remained aware of their traditional links with pre-Christian times, and could thus become centers for revivalist impulses. Whatever its roots in any given instance, classicism had its virtues in this age of transition: for it preserved, and thus helped to transmit to the future, a treasury of forms and an ideal of beauty that might have been irretrievably lost without it. As this holds true particularly for a class of objects whose artistic importance far exceeds their physical size—the ivory panels and other small-scale reliefs in precious materials designed for private ownership and meant to be enjoyed at close range—they often mirror a collector's taste, a refined aesthetic sensibility not found among the large official enterprises sponsored by Church or State. Such a piece is the ivory leaf (fig. 265) forming the right half of a hinged diptych that was carved about 390–400, probably on the occasion of a wedding among the Nicomachi and Sym-

206. *The* [illegible] *Museum* [illegible] *ivory* [illegible] *early* [illegible] *century* [illegible] *British Museum, London*

207. *Portrait of* [illegible] *as* [illegible] *Marble, height* [illegible] *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*

much, two aristocratic Roman families. Their conservative outlook is reflected not only in the pagan subject (a priestess of Bacchus and her assistant before an altar of Jupiter) but also in the design, which harks back to the era of Augustus (compare fig. 128). At first glance, we might well mistake it for a much earlier work, until we realize, from small spatial incongruities such as the priestess's right foot overlapping the frame, that these forms are quotations, reproduced with loving care but no longer fully understood. Significantly enough, the pagan theme did not prevent our panel from being incorporated in the shrine of a saint many centuries later. Its consummate perfection had an appeal for the Middle Ages as well. But second in city (fig. 207), done soon after 500, the Eastern Roman Empire shows a classicism that has become an eloquent vehicle of Christian content. The majestic archangel is clearly a descendant of the winged Victories of Greece. Roman art, down to the richly articulated drapery. Yet the power he heralds is not of this world, nor does he inhabit an earthly space. The architectural niche against which he appears has lost its three-dimensional reality; its relationship to him is purely symbolic and ornamental, so that he seems to hover rather than to stand (notice the position of the feet on the steps). It is this disembodied quality, conveyed through classically harmonious forms, that gives him so compelling a presence.

Monumental statuary was discouraged by the Church. It retained, for a while at least, the patronage of the State. Emperors, consuls, and high officials continued the old custom of erecting portrait statues of themselves in public places as late as the reign of Justinian, and sometimes later (the last recorded instance is in the late eighth century). Here, too, we find retrospective tendencies during the latter half of the fourth century and the

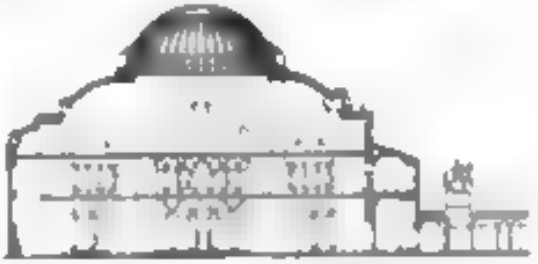
early years of the fifth, with a revival of pre-Constantinian types and a renewed interest in individual characterization. From about 450 on, however, the outward zeal gives way to the image of a spiritual idea, sometimes intensely expressive but increasingly impersonal, the [illegible] more poetic [illegible] Roman sense of the term. For almost a thousand years [illegible] The process is strikingly exemplified by the head [illegible] phesus [illegible] 26[illegible] [illegible] memorable [illegible] It makes us think of the strange [illegible] usual features of the [illegible] [illegible] head of [illegible] both [illegible] have a physical [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

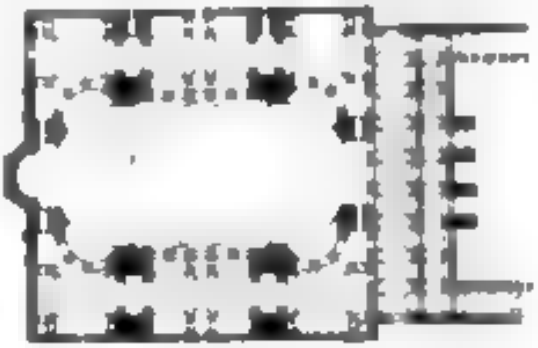
270 Interior view from the apse, S. Vitale, Ravenna

new and intimate way. The site, too, has been given a sense and story: the galleries were reserved for women. A new emphasis on the conditions in the auditorium perhaps arose with the consecration, which fill of the church with light. We find only the merest remnants of the hangings and a sense of the Lady Christian hall as a cross-vaulted compartment (in the usual basilica) by an apse to the east and a narthex at the other, but this old and symmetrical placement has never been [illegible] for. Remembering St Apollinare in Classe, but [illegible] same. The [illegible] particularly struck by the alien character of S. Vitale. How did it happen that the East favored a type of church building (as distinct from baptisteries and mausoleums) so radically different from the basilica and, from the Western point of view, so unadapted to Christian ritual? After all, had not the design of the basilica been backed by the authorities of Constantine himself? Many different reasons have been suggested: practical, religious, political. All of them may be relevant, yet if the truth be told they fall short of a really persuasive explanation. In any event, from the time of Justinian, limited central-plan churches were to dominate the world of Orthodox Christianity as thoroughly as the basilica had dominated the architecture of the medieval West. As for S. Vitale, it is linked with the Byzantine court, as evidenced by the two famous mosaics flanking the altar, right and left, and [illegible] place, as whose design must have come from the Imperial workshop. Here Justinian and his empress [illegible]. The icons are [illegible] by the [illegible] and ladies-in-waiting attend her. [illegible] were a panel [illegible] [illegible] the square [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and Theodora as analogous to Christ and the Virgin. The scene: Theodora's mantle, not shown [illegible] is inscriptions embroidered with the three Magi arriving bearing gifts to Mary and the newborn King, and [illegible] flanked by twelve companions. The imperial [illegible] of the twelve apostles [illegible] of them are soldiers [illegible] these mosaics [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] shares [illegible] and [illegible] neighbors were [illegible] witnesses [illegible] Archbishop Ma[illegible] [illegible] Hagia [illegible]

[illegible] circular niches with open arcades, almost to those in S. Vitale, one might say then that the dome of Hagia Sophia has been inserted between the two halves of a central plan church. The dome rests on four arches that carry its weight to the great piers at the corners of the square. [illegible] arches are not supported [illegible] the square [illegible] the circular form of the dome is achieved by [illegible] triangles called pendentives, hence we speak of the dome as a dome on pendentives. [illegible] the construction of a taller [illegible] domes than the older methods were [illegible] and S. Vitale) [illegible] the dome on a square or polygonal base. Where or when the use of pendentives was invented we do not





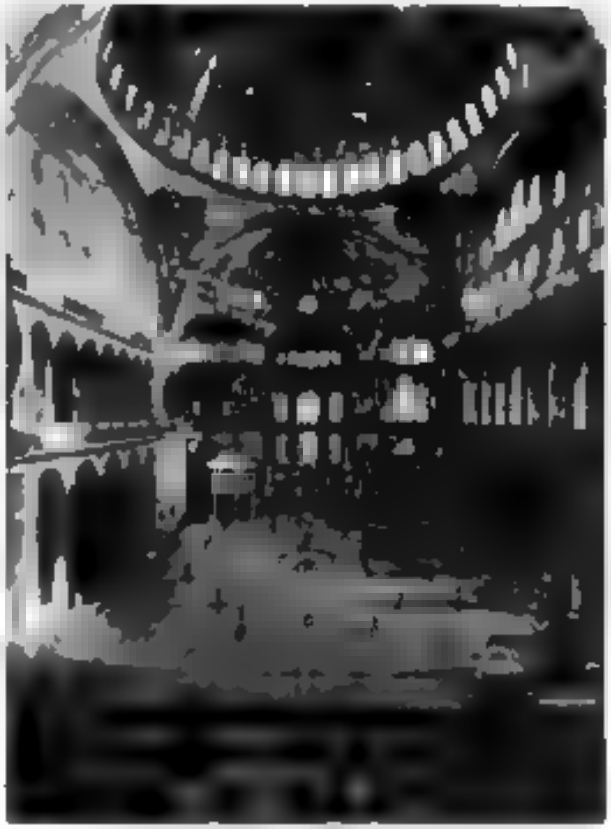
[illegible] Section of Hagia Sophia (after Gurlitt)

above [illegible] Plan of Hagia Sophia after v. Sybel

left [illegible] Architects in Tears and Turmoil or Miracles, Hagia Sophia Istanbul [illegible]

left: 275. Capital, Hagia Sophia

below: 276. Interior, Hagia Sophia



know. Hagia Sophia is the earliest example we have of its use on a monumental scale, and it must have been an example of epoch-making importance. Ever from now on the dome on pendentives became a basic feature of Byzantine architecture and, somewhat later, of Western architecture as well. There is one element, however, that interested us in the design of Hagia Sophia. The plan, the buttressing of the main piers, and the vast wave-like whole recall the Basilica of Constantine (fig. 211), the most ambitious architectural achievement of imperial Roman vaulted architecture, and the greater monument associated with a ruler in whom Justinian had particular admiration. Hagia Sophia thus unites East and West, past and future, in a single, empowering synthesis. Its massive exterior, firmly planted upon the earth, has a great mass that suggests a height of 184 feet, a foot higher than the Pantheon, and therefore the dome, although somewhat smaller, its diameter 115 feet, stands out far more vividly. Once we are within, a sense of weight disappears as the material solid aspects of the structure have been banished. On the outside, nothing remains but an expanding space that inflates like a balloon, saw the apsidal recesses, the pendentives, and the dome itself. Here the architectural aesthetic we saw taking shape in Early Christian architecture (see page [illegible]) has achieved a new magnificent dimension. Light more than previously plays a key role. The dome seems to float, like the radiant heavens, as one ancient contemporary description of the building. Because it rests upon a series of spaced ribs and windows, and the nave walls are pierced by so many openings, the walls have the transparency of lace curtains. The golden glitter of the mosaics must have completed the illusion of unreality. We can sense the new aesthetic even in ornamental details such as moldings and capitals (fig. 275). The motifs, scrolls, acanthus foliage, and such, are derived from classical architecture, but their effect is radically different. Instead of actively cushioning the impact of heavy weight upon the shaft of the column, the capital has become a sort of open work basket, whose delicate pattern [illegible] as the strength and solidity of the stone.

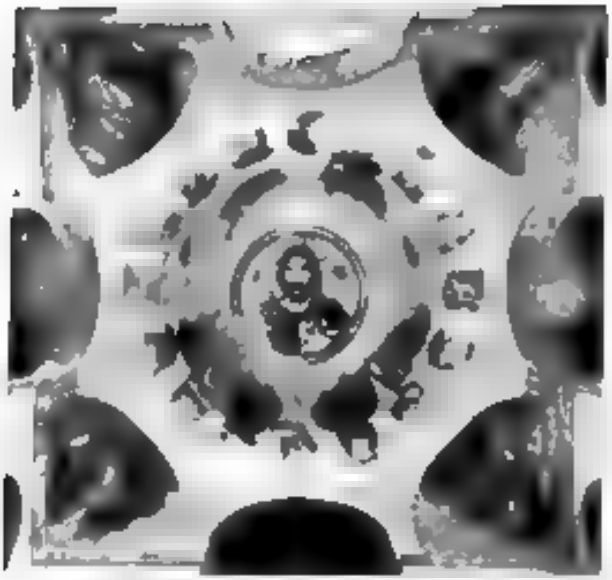
Byzantine architecture never produced another structure to match Hagia Sophia. The churches of the Second Golden Age, from the late ninth to the eleventh centuries, and after, were modest in scale and monastic rather than imperial in spirit. The usual plan is that of a Greek cross, that is, a cross with arms of equal length, inscribed in a square, with a narthex added on one side and an apse sometimes with flanking chapels on the other. The central structure is a dome on a square base, often resting on a clerestory drum with tall windows which raises it high above the rest of the building, as in the two churches of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Greece (fig. 277). These also illustrate two other characteristics of later Byzantine architecture: a tendency toward more ornate exteriors, in contrast to the extreme severity we observed earlier (compare fig. 269), and a preference for elongated proportions. The full impact of this verticality, however, strikes us only when we enter the church (fig. 278 shows the interior of the Katholikon, which appears on the left in fig. 277). Here the tall, narrow space compartments produce a sense of crowdedness, almost of compression, which is dramatically relieved as we raise our glance to-

left 299. Churches of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas (St. Luke of Stiris), Phocis, Greece. Early 11th century

below 98. Interior, Katholikon, Hosios Loukas

ward the [illegible] space beneath the dome. Figure 299 shows this view as it presents itself to us in the Greek monastery church of Daphné, where the pictorial decoration of the dome is better preserved than in the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas. Staring down from the center of the dome is an awesome mosaic image of Christ the Pantocrator, the Ruler of the universe, against a gold background, its huge scale emphasized by the much smaller figures of the sixteen Old Testament prophets between the windows. In the corners, we see four scenes revealing the divine and human natures of Christ—the Annunciation, bottom left, followed in counterclockwise order by the Birth, Baptism, and Transfiguration. The entire cycle represents a theological program so perfectly in harmony with the geometric relationship of the images that we cannot say whether the architecture has been shaped by the program or vice versa. A similar [illegible] runs the [illegible] subjects through the rest of the church.

[illegible] and most lavishly decorated church of the Second Golden Age is [illegible] St. Mark's in Venice, begun in [illegible]. The structures had long been under Byzantine influence and remained architecturally dependent on the Eastern city. Here they had become a political and commercial power in their own right. St. Mark's [illegible] shows the Greek cross plan inscribed within a square, but the [illegible] emphasized by a dome of its own. [illegible] are raised on drums [illegible] they have been encased in bulbous wooden helmets covered by gilded copper sheeting and topped by ornate lanterns [illegible] make them appear taller and more [illegible] at a distance. They make a splendid landmark for the seafarer. The space was interior famous for its mosaics, shows that it was meant to receive the citizens of a large metropolis and not just a small monastic community as at Daphné or Hosios Loukas. During the Second Golden Age Byzantine architecture also spread to Russia, along with the Orthodox faith. There the basic type of the Byzantine church underwent an amazing transformation through the use of wood as a structural material. The most famous product of this native trend is the Cathedral of St. Basil, adjoining the Kremlin in Moscow (fig. 284). Built during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, it seems as unmistakably Russian as this extraordinary ruler. The domes, growing in numbers profusion, have become fantastic tower-like structures whose vividly patterned helmets may resemble anything from mushrooms and berries to Oriental turbans. These huge ice-cream cones have the gay unreality of a fairy tale, yet their total effect is oddly impressive. Keyed as they are to the imagination of simple peasant folk (who must have



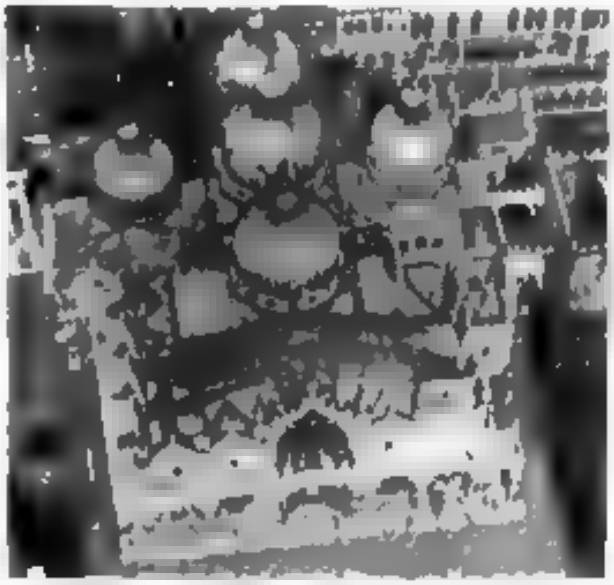
279 Iconic Mosaics, 11th century, Monastery Church, Daphni, Greece

stated a them in open-mouthed wonder in their rare visits to the capital. They nevertheless conveyed a sense of the miraculous derived from the more austere miracles of Byzantine architecture.

The development of Byzantine painting and sculpture after the age of Justinian was disrupted by the iconoclasm Controversy which began with an imperial edict of 726 prohibiting religious images. It raged for more than a hundred years, dividing the population into two hostile groups. The image destroyers, mainly supported by the emperors and supported mainly in the eastern provinces of the realm, insisted on a literal interpretation of the biblical ban against graven images as conducive to idolatry. They wanted to restrict religious art to abstract symbols and plant and animal forms. Their opponents, the iconophiles, were [illegible] in the Italian and western provinces [illegible]

effective for the most part. The roots of the conflict went very deep: on the plane of theology they involved the basic issue of the relationship of the human and divine in the person of Christ, while socially and politically they reflected a power struggle between State and Church. The Controversy also marked the final break between Catholicism and the Orthodox Faith.

Had the edict been enforceable throughout the Empire it might well have done Byzantine religious art a fatal harm. It did succeed in reducing the production of sacred images very greatly, but failed to wipe it out altogether so that there was a fairly rapid recovery after the victory of the iconophiles in 843. While we know very little for certain about how the Byzantine artistic tradition managed to survive from the early eighth to the mid-ninth century



above 280 St Mark's (aerial view), Venice Begun 1063

left 281 Interior St Mark's, Venice

[illegible] conciliarism seems to have brought about a renewed interest in secular art, which was not affected by the ban. This may help to explain the astonishing reappearance of late Classical motifs in the art of the Second Golden Age as in the scene of David composing the Psalms from the so-called *Paris Psalter* [illegible] was probably [illegible] nated also of God through the temptation [illegible] arrest his [illegible] we find a landscape [illegible] Pompeian mural. The figures [illegible] Orpheus charming the beasts with his music, and his companions [illegible] even [illegible] since they are a legitimate figures [illegible] with the lyre [illegible] Meleager, the [illegible] hunting behind a [illegible] [illegible] Hesiodic [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the majestic dignity of Christ at Daphne stems from that tradition, but alongside it we now find a new emphasis on the Christ as the Passion. When and where this human interpretation of the Saviour made its first appearance we cannot say, but it seems to have developed in the wake of the Iconoclastic Controversy. There are few examples of it earlier than the Daphné *Crucifixion* and none of them has as powerful an appeal to the emotions of the beholder. The suffering, but compassionate God-man, who suffers and, perhaps, the greatest achievement of the Second Golden Age, even though its full possibilities were to be exploited not in Byzantium but in the medieval West (see fig 405). Yet Byzantine art, too, preserved and developed the human view of Christ in the centuries to come. The wonderful mosaic fragment from Hagia Sophia (colorplate 15) probably a work of the thirteenth century, no longer has the forbidding severity of the Daphné *Pantocrator*; instead we find an expression of gentle melancholy, along with a subtlety of modeling and color that perpetuates the best Classical tradition of the Second Golden Age.

In 1204 Byzantium sustained an almost fatal defeat when the armies of the Fourth Crusade, instead of warring against the Turks, assaulted and took the city of Constantinople. For over half a century the core of the Empire remained in Latin hands. Byzantium, however, survived even this catastrophe, and once more regained its sovereignty, and the fourteenth century saw a last efflorescence of Byzantine painting, with a distinct and vigorous flavor of its own, before the Turkish conquest in 1453. Because of the impoverished state of the greatly shrunken Empire, mosaic painting often took the place of mosaic, as in the scenes painted on the walls of a funerary chapel attached to the Kariye Cami, the former church of the Saviour in Chora in Istanbul. From the numerous scenes, pictures, in about [illegible] we reproduce the dramatic fresco of the Resurrection (colorplate [illegible]). It represents the event just before the Resurrection—Christ's descent into Limbo, surrounded by a radiant glory, as the Saviour has vanquished Satan and battered down the gates of Hell. Note the bound Satan at Christ's feet, his body clad in a motley profusion of his dwarfs, and the rising Adam and Eve from the dead. What amazes us about this scene is its dramatic force, a quality we would hardly expect to find, on the basis of what we have seen of Byzantine art so far. Christ here moves with extraordinary

above: 184. *The Crucifixion* (mosaic), [illegible] th century. Monastery Church, Daphné

right: 184. Sophia from Genesis (mosaic), c 1200. St Mark's, Venice

left 286. *Anastasis* (detail)
[illegible] to Karye Camii
North of the Saviour in Chora, Istanbul

below 287. *Madonna* (detail)
6th–7th century A.D. Encaustic on wood
Santa Francesca Romana, Rome

[illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Rome [illegible] Santa Francesca Romana in Rome [illegible] much-repainted panel [illegible] Virgin [illegible] encaustic [illegible] painting [illegible] encaustic [illegible] page 54) a technique that [illegible] use after the [illegible] from the fine gradation [illegible] light and shade. The [illegible] themselves, however, the heart-shaped outline of the face, the tiny mouth, the long narrow nose, the huge eyes under strongly arched brows, reflect an ideal of human beauty as spiritualized as that of the [illegible] mosaics, while retaining a far higher degree of three-dimensional solidity. What makes this image so singularly impressive is the geometric severity of the design, which endows the features with a monumental grandeur such as we never encounter again in Early Christian or Byzantine art. Where and when was it produced? In the sixth or

seventh century? [illegible] the Eastern Empire? Many of the East we cannot say for lack of comparable material. Be that as it may, it is a work of extraordinary power which makes us understand how men came to believe in the superhuman origin of sacred pictures.

Because of the veneration in which they were held, icons had to conform to strict formal rules, with fixed

288. Andrei Rublev: *Old Testament Trinity*, 1411. Panel, 55 × 44 in. (140 × 114 cm). State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

289. *Madonna Enthroned*. Panel, 54 × 34 in. (137 × 86 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Mellon Collection.

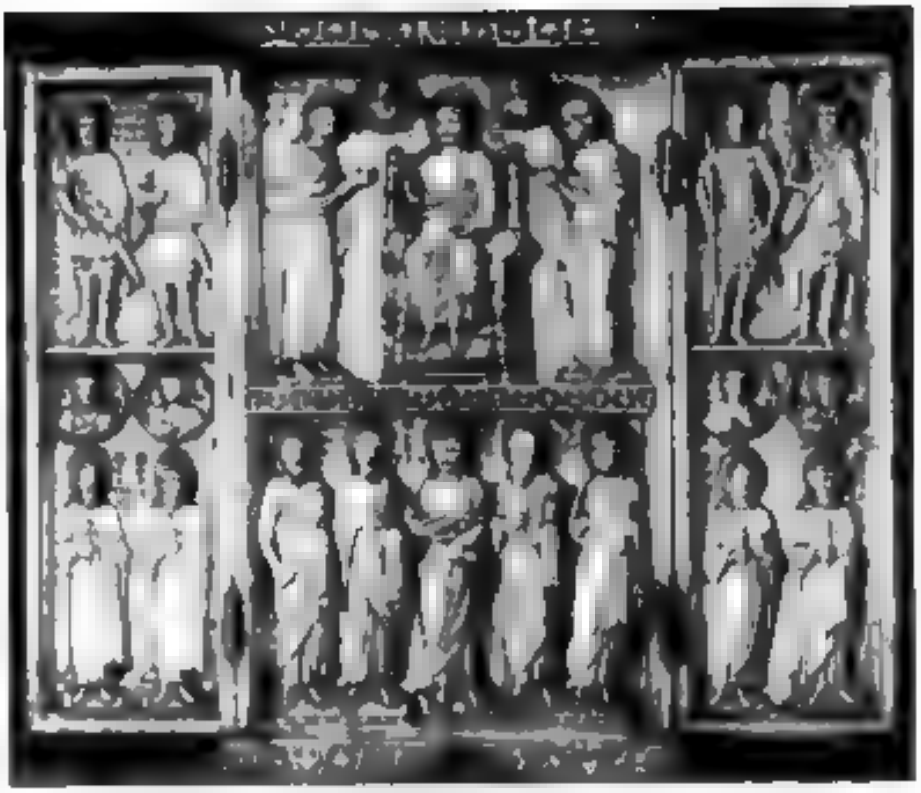
patterns repeated over and over again. As a consequence, the majority of them are more conspicuous for exacting craftsmanship than for artistic inventiveness. The *Madonna Enthroned* (fig. 289) is a work of this kind. Although painted in the thirteenth century, it reflects a style several hundred years earlier. Echoes of the Second Golden Age abound: the graceful pose, the rich play of drapery, the tender melancholy of the Virgin's face, the elaborate architectural perspective of the throne (which looks rather like a miniature replica of the Hagia Sophia). But all these elements have become oddly abstract. The throne despises foreshortening, the angel functions as three-dimensional objects, and the highlights on the drapery resemble ornamental sunbursts. Most strange contrast of all: the soft shading of hands and faces. The total effect is neither flat nor spatial, but transparent, somewhat like that of a stained glass window. The shapes look as if they were of light behind them. And this is almost literally true, for they are painted on a thin film on a highly reflecting gold surface that forms the highlights, the halos, and the backgrounds, so that even the shadows never seem wholly opaque. This all-pervading celestial radiance, we will recall, is a quality we first encountered in Early Christian mosaics. Panels such as this, therefore, should be viewed as the aesthetic equivalent of mosaics on a smaller scale and not simply as the descendants of the ancient panel painting tradition. In fact, the most precious Byzantine icons are miniature mosaics done on panels, rather than paintings.

Along with the Orthodox faith, icon painting spread throughout the Balkans and Russia, where it continued to flourish even after the disappearance of the Byzantine Empire. The shifting of the center of impulses within this tradition to the outlying areas of the Orthodox world is signalized by the work of Andrei Rublev, the new Russian icon painter and a great artist by any standard. Figure 288 shows his famous panel, the *Old Testament Trinity*, of about 1411. The figures are the three angels who visited Abraham at Mamre. Although parts of it are poorly preserved, most of the background has disappeared, the picture reveals a harmonious beauty of design and a depth of spiritual feeling that rival the most classical products of the Second Golden Age. Rublev must have been thoroughly acquainted with the best Byzantine art had to offer, either through contact with Greek painters in Russia or through a sojourn in Constantinople. The most individual element, and also the most distinctively Russian, is the color scale: brighter, more complex, and different in key from that of any Byzantine work. In the hands of a lesser master, such combinations as orange, vermilion, and turquoise might easily have assumed a primitive garishness of the sort we often encounter in folk art; here, the controlled intensity of these tones becomes an essential part of the composition.

[illegible] Roman Portrait of a [illegible]
[illegible] Encaustic on panel [illegible]
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
[illegible] Edward S. [illegible] Harkness [illegible]

[illegible] Ravenna [illegible]

[illegible] Zeno [illegible]
Detail of a mosaic. Abbey [illegible] San Vitale, Ravenna



The Harbaville Triptych
Late 10th-century Ivory
The Louvre, Paris

PART TWO

THE MIDDLE AGES

When we think of the great civilizations of our past, we tend to do so in terms of visible monuments that have come to symbolize the distinctive character of each: the pyramids of Egypt, the ziggurats of Babylonia, the Parthenon of Athens, the Colosseum, Hagia Sophia. The Middle Ages in such a review of human achievements would be represented by a Gothic cathedral: Notre Dame in Paris, perhaps, or Rheims, or Canterbury. We have many to choose from, but whichever one we pick would be well north of the Alps, although in centuries that mattered it belonged to the Roman Empire. And if we were keeping a bucket of water in front of the cathedral door, in due course this water would eventually make its way to the English Channel rather than to the Mediterranean. Here then we have the most important single fact about the Middle Ages: the center of gravity of European civilization has shifted from what had been, in the boundaries of the Roman world, the Mediterranean for so many centuries, the great highway of commerce and cultural exchange binding together all the lands along its shores, has become a barrier, a border zone.

We have already observed some of the events that paved the way for this shift: the removal of the imperial capital to Constantinople, the growing split between the Catholic and Orthodox churches, the decay of the western half of the Roman Empire under the impact of invasions by Germanic tribes. Yet these tribes, once they had settled down in their new environment, accepted the framework of a Roman Christian civilization, however imperfectly. The new kingdoms they founded—the Vandals in North Africa, the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy—were Mediterranean-oriented provincial states on the peripheries of the Byzantine empire, subject to the pull of its military, commercial, and cultural power. As late as 616, after the Byzantine armies had recovered Syria, Palestine, and Egypt from the Sassanid Persians, the reconquest of the lost western provinces remained a serious possibility. Ten years later the chance had ceased to exist, for meanwhile a tremendous and completely unforeseen new force had made itself felt in the East: the Arabs, under the banner of Islam, were overrunning the Near Eastern and African provinces of Byzantium. By 732, within a century after the death of Mohammed, they had swallowed all of North Africa as well as Spain, and threatened to add southwestern France to their conquests.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the impact of the lightning-like advance of Islam upon the Christian world. The Byzantine empire, deprived of its western Mediterranean bases, had to concentrate all its efforts on keeping Islam at bay in the East; its impotence in the West (where it retained only a precarious foothold on Italian soil) left the European shore of the western Mediterranean, from the Pyrenees to Naples, exposed to Arabic raiders from North Africa or Spain. Western Europe was thus forced to develop its own resources, political, economic, and spiritual. The church in Rome broke its last ties with the East and turned for support to the Germanic north, where the Frankish kingdom, under the energetic leadership of the Carolingian dynasty, rose to the status of imperial power during the eighth century. When the Pope, in the year 800, bestowed the title of emperor upon Charlemagne, he symbolized the new order of things by placing himself and all Western Christendom under the protection of the king of the Franks and Lombards. Leo III, to be sure, subordinated himself to the new "created" Catholic emperor, whose legitimacy depended on the pope, whereas in the East it had been the other way around (the emperor in Constantinople had ratified the new Eastern pope). This interdependence of secular and spiritual authority, of church and state, was to distinguish the West from both the Orthodox East and the Islamic South. Its outward symbol was the fact that though the emperor had to be crowned in Rome, he did not reside there. Charlemagne built his capital at the center of his effective power, in Aachen, where France, Germany, and the Netherlands meet on the present-day map of Europe.

Meanwhile, Islam had created a new civilization, stretching from Spain in the west to the Indus Valley in the east, a civilization that reached its highest point far more rapidly than did that of the medieval West. Baghdad, on the Tigris, the capital city of Charlemagne's great contemporary, Harun ar-Rashid, rivaled the splendor of Byzantium. Islamic art, learning, and craftsmanship were to have a far-ranging influence on the European Middle Ages, from arabesque ornament, the manufacture of paper, and Arabic numerals to the transmission of Greek philosophy and science through the writings of Arabic scholars. (Our language records this debt in such words of Arabic origin as algebra and alcohol.) It is well, therefore, that we acquaint ourselves with some of the artistic achievements of Islam before we turn to medieval art in Western Europe.

1. Islamic Art

The incredible speed with which Islam spread throughout the Near East and North Africa remains one of the most astonishing phenomena in world history. In two generations, the new faith conquered a larger territory and greater numbers of believers than Christianity had in three centuries. How was it possible for a group of semi-civilized desert tribes suddenly to burst forth from the Arab peninsula and to impose their political and religious dominance on populations far superior to them in numbers, wealth, and cultural heritage? That they had the advantage of surprise, great fighting skill, and a fanatical will to win, that both Byzantine and Persian military power was at a low ebb, has been pointed out often enough; these favorable circumstances may help to account for the rapid Arab successes but not for the lasting nature of their conquests. What had begun as a triumph of force soon turned into a spiritual triumph. Islam gained the allegiance of millions of converts, and the new faith must have satisfied the needs of vast multitudes of people more fully than any of the other religions of the Levantine world.

Islam was made up of several elements. The word itself means "submission" or "resignation." The word Muslim means "submitter." Moslems are those who submit to the will of Allah, the one and all-powerful God, as revealed to Mohammed in the Koran, the sacred scriptures of Islam. The Koran was held to be the "mother of the Bible" and contained the Old Testament prophets as well as references to the predecessors of Mohammed. Its teachings include the doctrine of the last judgment, Heaven and Hell, angels and devils. The ethical commandments of Islam are basically similar to those of Judaism and Christianity. On the other hand, there is no priesthood; every Moslem has equal access to Allah, and the observances required of him are simple: prayer at stated times of day, alone or in a mosque; almsgiving; fasting; and a pilgrimage to Mecca. All true believers, according to Mohammed, are brothers, members of one great community. During his lifetime he was their leader not only in the religious sense but in all temporal affairs as well, so that he bequeathed to posterity a faith which was also a new pattern of society. The tradition of placing both religious and political leadership in the hands of a single ruler persisted after the Prophet's death; his successors were the caliphs, the deputies of Mohammed, whose claim to authority rested on their descent from the families of the Prophet or his early associates.

The unique quality of Islam—and the core of its tremendous appeal—is the blending of ethnic and universal elements. Like Christianity, it opened its ranks to everyone, stressing the brotherhood of the faithful before God, regardless of race or culture. Yet, like Judaism, it was also a national religion, firmly centered in Arabia. The Arab warriors under the early caliphs who set out to conquer the earth for Allah did not expect to convert the unbelievers to Islam; their aim was simply to rule, to enforce obedience to themselves as the servants of the One True God. Those who wanted to share this privileged status by joining Islam had to become Arabs by adoption; they not only had to learn Arabic in order to read the Koran, since Arabic had chosen to speak in that language, but the words must not be translated into lesser tongues, but must adopt the social, legal, and political framework of the Moslem community. As a result, the Arabs, though few in numbers, were never in danger of being absorbed by the inhabitants of the regions they ruled. Instead they absorbed the conquered populations along with their culture and heritage, which they skillfully adapted to the requirements of Islam.

Islam has been largely embraced the Early Christian-Byzantine style, with its echoes of Hellenistic and Roman forms, as well as of artistic traditions of Persia (see page 6). Pre-Islamic Arabia contributed nothing except the beautiful ornamental Arabic script, populated largely by nomadic tribes, it had no monumental architecture, and its sculptured images of local deities fell under Mohammed's ban against idolatry. Originally Islam placed few and minor demands upon the visual arts; during the first fifty years after the death of the Prophet, the Moslem place of prayer could be a courtyard taken over for the purpose, a Persian columned hall, or even a rectangular field surrounded by a fence or a ditch. The one element these improvised mosques had in common was the marking of the *qibla*, the direction in which Moslems turn in praying, the side

Vase, landscape Mosaic, 7th-8th c. Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Jerusalem

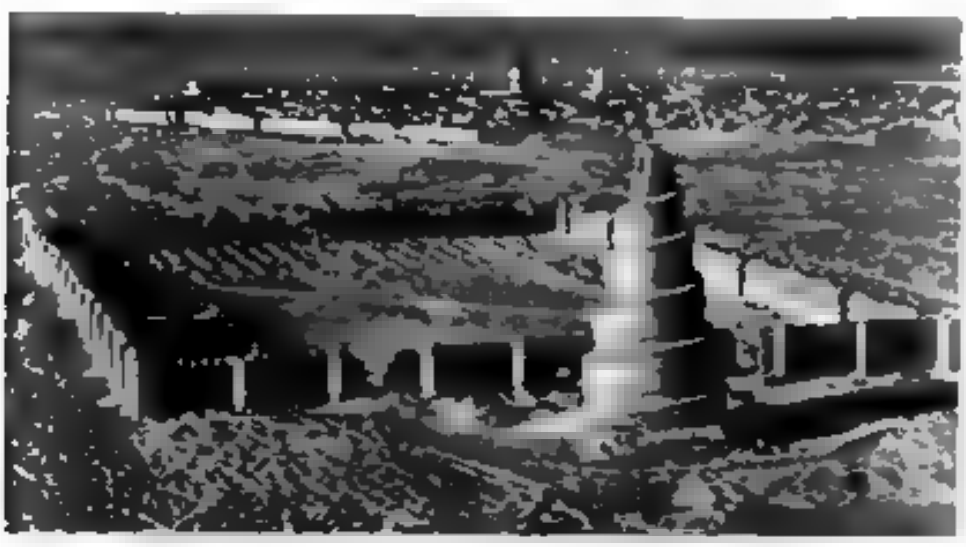
[illegible] Jordan [illegible] Height [illegible] triangles [illegible] function. Here in

facing toward Mecca had to be emphasized by a [illegible] made or merely by placing the entrance on the opposite side. At the end of these eighth century [illegible] the Muslim rulers now firmly established in the conquered regions, began to erect mosques and palaces that [illegible] were as visible symbols of their power as intended to [illegible] as precedent structures of state and splendour. These early monuments of Muslim architecture [illegible] not for the most part survive in their original [illegible]. What we know of their design and decoration shows that they were produced by craftsmen gathered from Egypt, Syria, Persia, and even Byzantium, who continued to practice the styles in which they had been trained. A distinctive style had been crystallized by the course of the eighth century.

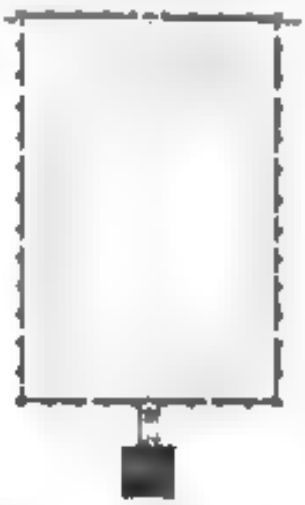
Thus the Great Mosque at Damascus, built on the site which the consecrated of a Roman sanctuary, had walls covered with shimmering glass mosaics of Byzantine origin. The surviving remnants, such as the section represented in figure 293, consist entirely of views of landscape and architecture framed by richly ornamented borders against a gold background. Nothing quite like them is known in Byzantine art, but their style obviously reflects an illusionism familiar to us from Pompeian painting. Apparently ancient traditions persisted more strongly in the Near Eastern provinces of Byzantium than in Europe. Caliph al-Walid, who built the mosque, must have welcomed these Hellenistic-Roman motifs, so different from the symbolic and narrative content of Christian mosaics. A somewhat later Arabic author records that the caliph ordered many churches "enchantingly fair and renowned for their splendor" and that the Great Mosque at Damascus was meant to keep the Muslims from being dazzled by them. The date of the huge desert palace at Mshatta in the present-day Kingdom of Jordan has been much disputed; we can well understand why [illegible] the façade decoration [illegible] 293 harks back [illegible] various pre-Islamic sources. According to the best available evidence, the palace was erected by one of al-Walid's successors, probably about 740. The lavish carved ornament, the character of the plan, and the strongly remembered Byzantine architectural [illegible] (see fig. 275) and [illegible] indicate that it was done by craftsmen transported from several provinces of the former Byzantine [illegible] Near East. There [illegible] however, [illegible] by [illegible] enhanced by winged [illegible] [illegible] lions [illegible] Sassanian [illegible] [illegible] on the other hand, the [illegible] and selection [illegible] the width of the façade suggests a [illegible] Muslim [illegible].

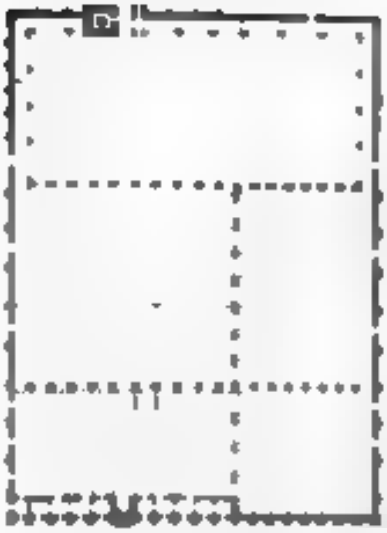
A striking example of the [illegible] the early caliphs, which [illegible] on a massive scale, is the Great Mosque at Samarra on the Tigris, north of Baghdad. [illegible] Mutawakkil [illegible] 848–861. [illegible] view [illegible] suggests [illegible] which make it the largest mosque in the world. The basic features [illegible] 295) are typical of the mosque: it is [illegible] a rectangle with its main axis pointing toward Mecca. Encloses a court surrounded by a [illegible] that runs around the *qibla* side. The center of which is marked by a small niche, the mihrab, on

294. Mosque of Mutawakkil [illegible] the north [illegible] 848–861



295. Plan of the Mosque of Mutawakkil (after Creswell)





above: 296 Plan of the Mosque at [illegible] showing successive enlargements between 786 and 987 [illegible] earlier Mosque

right: 297 Interior of the Sanctuary [illegible] from the east. Mosque [illegible]

[illegible] the opposite side we see the [illegible] which [illegible] were surrounded [illegible] prayer [illegible] the [illegible] nature [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] appear [illegible] [illegible] by a ramp [illegible] design [illegible] Samarra [illegible] effects [illegible] Mosque [illegible] such a [illegible] of Babel (see pages [illegible]) at the time [illegible] state of [illegible] Mutawakkil [illegible] the realm of the caliph was [illegible] the empires of the ancient Near East.

[illegible] the interior effect [illegible] Mosque at Samarra we must turn to the mosque at Cordova in Spain, begun in 786. Although [illegible] Christian use after the reconquest of the city in 1236, the structure retains its Islamic character. The plan (fig. 298) was originally designed as a simpler version of the type we came to know at Samarra, the aisles being confined to the *qibla* side. Half a century later the mosque was enlarged by extending the length of these aisles. They were lengthened again in 965 and twenty years later eight more aisles were added on the east side, since a river bank barred any further extension to the south. These successive stages illustrate the flexible nature of early mosque plans, which made it possible to quadruple the size of the sanctuary without departing from the original pattern. As we enter, a seemingly endless forest of columns confronts us, with nothing but the direction of the aisles to guide us toward the *qibla* side.

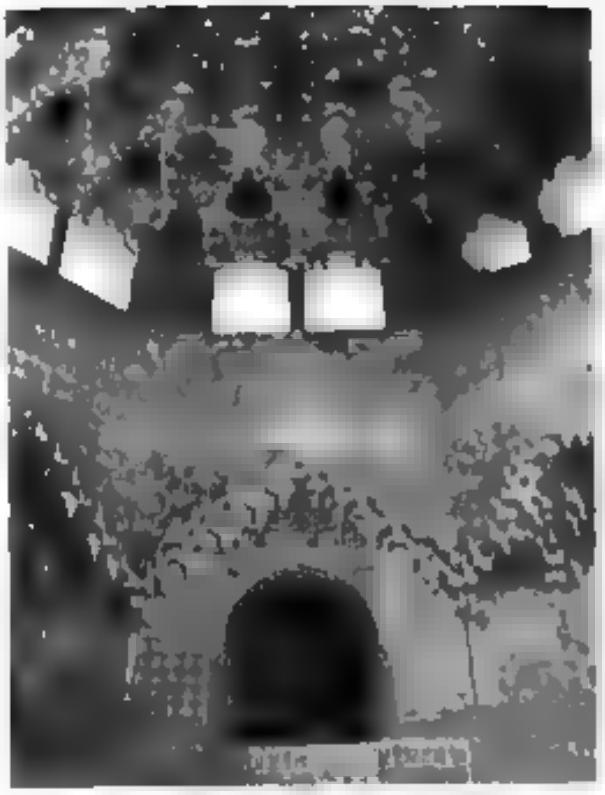
The sanctuary was [illegible] by a wooden roof now replaced by [illegible] of remarkable and [illegible] design (fig. 297). The lower arches are [illegible] that [illegible] occurs in Near [illegible] which Moslems [illegible] from [illegible] and [illegible] from Roman [illegible] These columns have [illegible] pieces but carry a second tier [illegible] piggyback arrangement, a practice [illegible] the [illegible] architects who started building the mosque [illegible] at maximum speed had to [illegible] from some earlier [illegible] has used the device to excess [illegible] lighter and [illegible] arches and supports could have [illegible] A further elaboration of the same principle [illegible] Capilla de Villaviciosa (fig. 298), a [illegible] which dates [illegible] Here we meet [illegible] arches in three tiers interlaced in such a way as [illegible] the vault is even more [illegible] slender [illegible] or ribs [illegible] each other above the square compartment, subdividing [illegible] network of [illegible] To compare the spatial effect of the Mosque at Cordova with that of Byzantine architecture, in the latter space always is treated as volume; it has a clearly defined shape, while at Cordova its limits are purposely obscured—that we experience it as something fluid, limitless, and mysterious. Even in the Capilla de Villaviciosa, the surfaces and cavities prevent us from perceiving walls or vaults as continuous surfaces; the space is like that of an open-work cage, screened off yet continuous with its surroundings.

This distinctively Moorish (North African and Spanish) style reaches its ultimate stage of refinement in the

290 Capilla de Villaviciosa, Mosque, Cordova, 961–965 A.D.

Alhambra Palace in Granada, the last Islamic stronghold on the Iberian peninsula during the late Middle Ages. Its richest portion, the Court of the Lions and the rooms around it, was built 1354–91 (fig. 200). The columns must have become slender as flower stalks, but they support varied arches of extravagant complex shape, cut into walls that seem to consist of nothing but a gossamer lace web of ornament. On the plastered surfaces (fig. 200) we find the same lacework of arabesque decoration, carried out in delicate colored stucco, or in a endless variety of designs, including bands of inscriptions, yet thus joined by symmetry and rhythmic order. The effect is obviously richer than that of the Mshatta façade, but it still recalls the two monuments, separated by six centuries and the entire expanse of the Mediterranean, appear clearly moved by the same basic sense of form. Moorish vaulting has gone through a similar process of evolution: the ribs of the Capilla de Villaviciosa have disappeared behind a honeycomb of ever-multiplying cells, framed by tiny arches that hang like stalactites from the ceilings. Little wonder that the Alhambra is enshrined in the romantic imagination of the West as the visible counterpart of all the wonders of *The Thousand and One Nights*.

From the tenth century onward, the Seljuk Turks gradually advanced into the Near East, where they adopted Islam, seized control of most of Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Holy Land, and advanced against the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor. They were followed in the thirteenth century by the Mongols of Genghis Khan, whose armies included the Mamelukes (a people related to the Turks), and by the Ottoman Turks. The latter not only put an end to the Byzantine Empire by their capture of Constantinople (1453), but occupied the entire Near East and Egypt as well, thus becoming the most important power in the Moslem world. The growing weight of the Turkish element in Islamic civilization is reflected by the westward spread of a new type of mosque, the madrasah, which had been created in Persia under Seljuk domination in the eleventh century. One of the most impressive examples is the Madrasah of Sultan Hasan in Cairo, contemporary with the Alhambra but very different in spirit. Its main feature is a square court (fig. 201) with a fountain in the center. Opening off each side of this court is a rectangular vaulted hall, that on the *qibla* side larger than the other three, serves as the sanctuary. The monumental scale of these halls seems to echo the palace architecture of Sassanian Persia (see fig. 93), while the geometric cast of the whole design, emphasized by the severe wall surfaces, is a Turkish contribution that we shall meet again later. It represents an attitude toward architecture and space completely opposed to that of the many-aisled Arabic mosques. Attached to the outside of the Madrasah of Sultan Hasan is the Sultan's mausoleum, a large cubic structure surmounted by a dome (fig. 202). Such funerary monuments had been unknown to early Islam; they were borrowed from the West (see page 160) in the ninth century and became especially popular among the Mamelukes, sultans of Egypt. The dome in our example betrays its descent from Byzantine domes. The most famous mausoleum of Islamic architecture is the Taj Mahal at Agra



[illegible]

[illegible]

fig. [illegible] built three centuries after the one of the Moslem rulers of India, Shah Jahan, as a memorial to his wife, belonged to the Mughal dynasty, which had come from the east. Yet the basic simplicity of the Taj Mahal and the mausoleum of Sultan Hasan is less surprising than it might seem at first glance. As the same time such a comparison emphasizes the special qualities that make the Taj Mahal a rare piece of [illegible]. The massiveness of the Hasan mausoleum, with its projecting cornice and firmly anchored dome, has given way to a weightless elegance not unlike that of the Alhambra. The white marble walls, broken by deep shadows, receive a paper-thin, almost translucent, and the entire building gives the impression of barely touching the ground, as if it were suspended from the heaven like some [illegible] poetic reverie is greatly enhanced by the setting: the long reflecting pool, lined with dark green shrubs, sets off the cool whiteness of the great pavilion in truly magnificent fashion.

The Ottoman Turks, once they were settled in Asia Minor, developed a third type of mosque by interbreeding, as it were, the Seljuk madrasah and the domed Byzantine church. The result was the domed madrasah with domes over the square court and the four halls opening onto it, a pattern sometimes oddly reminiscent of St. Mark's in Venice. The Turks, therefore, were well prepared to appreciate the beauty of Hagia Sophia when they entered Constantinople. It impressed them so strongly that echoes of it appear in numerous mosques built in Bursa and elsewhere after 1453. One of the most impressive is that of Sultan Ahmed, dates from 1609–16. Its plan elaborates and regularizes the design of Hagia Sophia. It is a square with the main dome, shared by four half domes instead of two, and four smaller domes over the minarets at the corners. The mounting sequence of these domes has been handled with marvelous logic and geometric precision, so that the effect is far more harmonious than that of Hagia Sophia. Thus the first half of the seventeenth century, which produced both the Taj Mahal and the Mosque of Ahmed, marks the final flowering of Moslem architectural genius.

Before entering into a discussion of Islamic painting and sculpture, we must understand the Moslem attitude toward representation. It has often been likened to that of the Byzantine iconoclasts, but there are significant differences. The iconoclasts were [illegible] were opposed to sacred images (that is, images of religious personages) rather than to representation as such. Mohammed, too, condemned idolatry. One of his first acts after his triumphant return to Mecca in 630 was to take over the Kaaba, an age-old Arabic sanctuary, and to remove all the idols he found there. These were always understood to have been statues, and the Koran expressly places statues among the handiwork of Satan, while painting and representation in general are not mentioned. Mohammed's attitude toward painting seems to have been ambiguous. An early Arabic source informs us that in 630 the Kaaba

left 302 **Mausoleum Attached to the Madrasah of Sultan Hasan**

below [illegible] Mosque, Agra, India, 1630–48

[illegible] Arabs [illegible] Persians [illegible] Turks and Mongols [illegible] shared a love of portable richly decorated fabrics as the common heritage of their nomadic past (see page [illegible]). Even then, the Turks [illegible] a taste that was [illegible] them. When the techniques of the nomads [illegible] upmaking the artwork and leather [illegible] merged with the age-old repertory of forms and materials accumulated by the craftsmen of Egypt, the Near East, and the Greco-Roman world, the decorative arts of Islam reached a level of sumptuousness never equaled before or since. The few samples illustrated here can convey only the faintest suggestion of their endless variety. Characteristically enough, a good many of the finest specimens are to be found in the churches and palaces of western Europe, whether acquired by trade, by gift, or as crusaders' booty; they were treasured throughout the Middle Ages as marvels of imaginative craftsmanship, and often imitated. Such a piece is the embroidered

[illegible] Islamic [illegible] Arabs [illegible] Mosque [illegible] Sassanian [illegible] scattered among the relief decoration of the Mshatta [illegible] palace [illegible] with Mshatta have only [illegible] fragments with human figures. Dating from about 800 onward, we find [illegible] representation as such in Moslem religious [illegible] perhaps under the influence of prominent Jewish [illegible]. The chief argument now is not the danger of idolatry but of human presumption in making images. In doing things, the artist usurps a creative act that is reserved to God alone, since only He can breathe a soul into living creatures.

Theoretically, therefore, human or animal figures of any kind were forbidden by Islamic law. Yet in actual

[illegible] Mosque of Ahmed
Istanbul [illegible]

[illegible] Plan of the Mosque
of Ahmed I (after [illegible])

[illegible] Mosque of Ahmed I

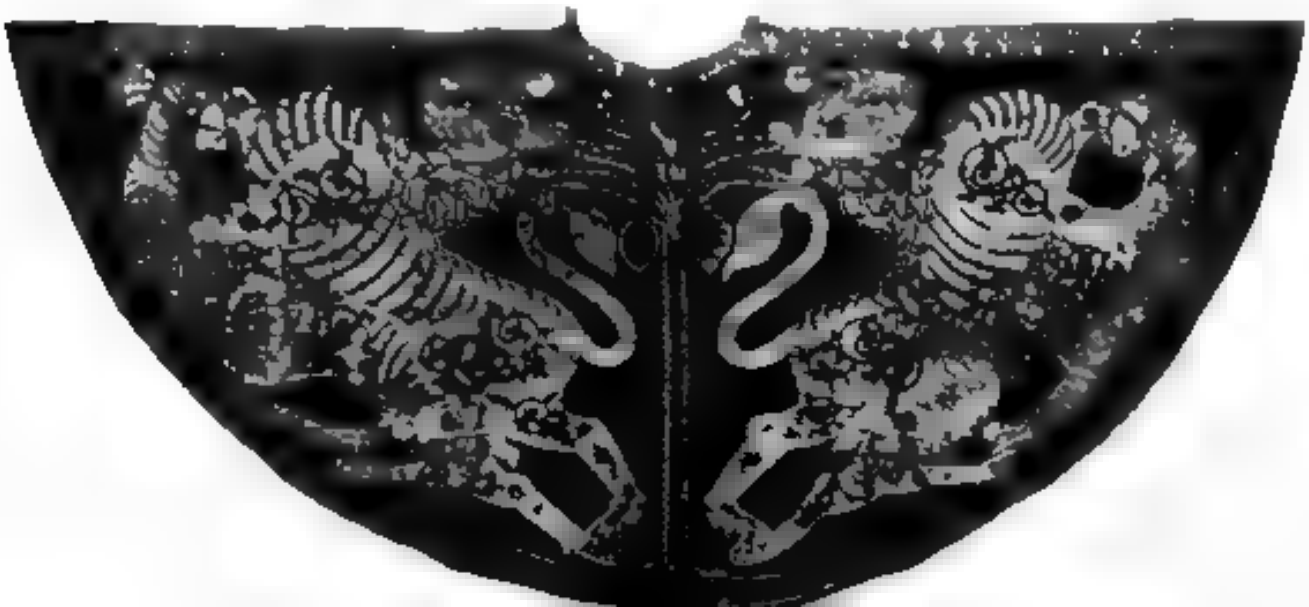
smoke—not an animal, though we have seemed terrifyingly real to a naive beholder. The Seljuk prince who owned it undoubtedly enjoyed the performance of this half-comic, half-demonic guardian monster, which he himself could bring to life whenever he wished.

The art of painting in the Moslem world between the eighth and thirteenth centuries remains almost entirely unknown. As Sir Kenneth has surveyed from the five hundred years following the Damascus mosaics that we should be tempted to assume the complete disappearance of pictorial expression under Islam. Literary sources did not contain evidence to the contrary. Even so, it seems clear that the tradition of painting was kept alive not by Moslems but by members of other faiths. Byzantine masters were imported occasionally to work for Arab rulers, and the Oriental Christian churches, has survived within the Islamic empire, may have included many painters who were available to Moslem patrons. But what kind of pictures could the Moslems have wanted? We may assume there was a more or less continuous demand for the illustration of scientific texts. The Arabs had inherited such manuscripts from the Byzantines in the Near East and, being keenly interested in Greek science, they reproduced them in their own language. This meant that the illustrations had to be copied as well, since they formed an essential part of the content, whether they were abstract diagrams or representational images as in zoological, medical, or botanical treatises. Works of this sort are among the earliest examples of illuminated manuscripts known so far, although none of them can be dated earlier than c. 1000. For example, the illustration from an Arabic translation, signed and dated 1224, of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* shows the Greek physician Crassistratus reclining on a couch and conversing with an assistant. (Both are equipped with halos to indicate their venerability.) Interestingly enough, the scribe in this instance also did the illustration—or rather, he copied it along with the text. The ultimate source of the picture

107. Incense Burner, from Khurasan, Iran, 81–82. Bronze, height 11 . The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers Fund, 1931)

must have been a late antique mosaic with three-dimensional figures in a spatial setting, but it takes a real effort of the imagination to see remnants of these qualities in the present version, in which everything is flattened out and ornamental. The forms remain strictly in the surface of the page, like the written text, and our artist's pen-lines have a rhythmic assurance akin to that of the lettering. It is tempting to think that manuscript illumination found its way into Islam through scribes doubling as draughtsmen. For, as a Moslem, the calling of scribe was an ancient and honorable one; a skilled calligrapher might do pictures if the texts demanded them, without having to feel that this incidental activity stamped him as a painter (and an abomination in the sight of

108. Coronation cloak of the German Emperors, c. 1434. Red silk and gold embroidery. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Allah). Be that as it may, the calligrapher's style of pen-drawn illustrations, with or without the addition of color, soon made its appearance in secular Arabic literature such as the *Maqamat* of Hariri. These delightful stories, composed about 1100, were probably illustrated within a hundred years after they were written, since we have illuminated Hariri manuscripts from the thirteenth century on. The drawing in figure [illegible], from a copy dated [illegible], is clearly a descendant of the style we saw in the Dioscorides illustration [illegible] a centuries before. The lines have the same quick, rhythmic quality, but they are handled very much more freely now, and with an extraordinary expressive power. Our artist's grasp of human character is as he shows the response of the eleven men to the plea [illegible] in the center [illegible] precise and [illegible] but we must regard him as far more than a mere copyist. Arab merchants had been in touch with the Far East [illegible] before the advent of Islam, and occasional references [illegible] Chinese painters by early Moslem authors [illegible] that these contacts had brought about some a

above 1104 *Eranistrat and an Assistant*
from an Arabic translation of Dioscorides
De Materia Medica 1224
Smithsonian Institution
Freer Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.

quaintance with the art of China. It was only after the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, however, that Chinese influence became an important factor in Islamic art. It can be felt most strongly in Persian illuminated manuscripts done under Mongol rule, from about 1300 on. The extent to which it enriched and transformed the tradition of Islamic miniature painting is well demonstrated by the scene of [illegible] warriors fighting in a landscape (fig. [illegible]). This is not a colored drawing but an ambitious pictorial composition that fills the entire page. The narrative to be illustrated has served merely as a point of departure for our artist; most of his effort is devoted to the setting, rather than to the action described in the text. He must have been a great admirer of Chinese landscapes, for the graceful and delicately shaded rocks, trees, and flowers of his picture clearly reflect their Far Eastern source. At the same time, the design has a decorative quality that is characteristically Islamic. In this respect it seems more akin to the pattern of a Persian carpet than to the open, airy [illegible] of Chinese landscape painting.

Another important result of Far Eastern influence [illegible] seem was the emergence of new group themes in Persian miniatures. The Mongols were familiar with the iconography of Buddhism in India and China, and they shared the Buddhist's [illegible] at the very idea of pictures of Mohammed. In many [illegible] scenes from the life of the Prophet [illegible] Persian illuminated manuscripts from the early fourteenth century on. Since they had never been represented before, the artists who created them [illegible] both Chinese and Buddhist art as their source of inspiration. The result was a curious mixture of [illegible] elements, which [illegible] integrated. Only on rare occasions does [illegible] religious painting [illegible] a level that bears comparison with the art of older [illegible]. Such a picture is the wonderful miniature in figure [illegible], showing Mohammed's ascension [illegible] paradise. In the Koran we read that the [illegible] caused His servant to make a journey by night [illegible] the remote place of w[illegible]

right 1310 Pen Drawing in Red Ink, from a Hariri manuscript
Mesopotamian (?) 1333
British Museum, London

above: [illegible] *The Mi'raj, or Ascension of Muhammad*, from a Persian manuscript [illegible] British Museum [illegible]

right: [illegible] *The Ascension of Muhammad*, from a Persian manuscript [illegible] British Museum [illegible]

ship which We have [illegible] with blessings, that We might show him [illegible] signs." Later Muslim authors attempted to establish [illegible] the precise [illegible] he ascent was made on [illegible] under the guidance of the angel Gabriel. Muhammad rose through the seven heavens, where he met his predecessors, including Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, before he was brought into the presence of Allah. The entire journey apparently was thought of as taking place in the night, which accounts for the Prophet's characterization of Muhammad. However, it was said [illegible] hidden in the [illegible] mount named *buraq* (white), which had a human face, a human body, and having a [illegible] face, [illegible] a human being, some authors also gave it wings. We will recognize in the ancestry of this beast the sex from the winged human-headed guardian monsters of antiquity. Mesopotamian [illegible] fig. 82) and their kin, the sphinxes and centaurs, all of which had survived as ornamental motifs in the great melting pot of Islamic decorative art, where they lay dormant, as it were, until Muslim writers identified them with *buraq*. In our miniature, the wings are reduced to a ring of feathers around *buraq*'s neck, so as not to interfere with the saddle. The angel flies Gabriel across a deep-blue, star-studded sky; below, among scattered clouds, there is a luminous celestial body, probably the moon. The Far Eastern elements in this poetic vision are striking. We find them in the flame-like golden halos behind Gabriel and Muhammad, a familiar feature of Buddhist art, in the curvilinear stylization of the clouds, in the costumes and facial types of the angels. Yet the composition as a whole, the agitated movement of the angelic servants converging from all sides upon the Prophet, strongly recalls Christian art. Our miniature thus represents a true and singularly felicitous meeting of East and West.

Scenes such as this are rare in manuscripts of historical or literary works but not of the Koran. Even the Persian painters did not dare to illustrate the Sacred Book, perhaps because illustrated copies of the Bible were not altogether unknown in the Muslim world. The Koran remained the calligraphers' domain, as it had been from the very beginning of Islam. In their hands, Arabic lettering became an amazingly flexible set of shapes, capable of an infinite variety of decorative elaborations, both geometric and curvilinear. At their best, these designs are masterpieces of the disciplined imagination that seem to anticipate, in a strange way, the abstract art of our own time. The page shown in color plate 6, probably done by a Turkish calligrapher of the fifteenth century, renders the single word Allah. It is indeed a marvel of intricacy within a rigorous set of formal rules, sharing the qualities of a maze, of a rug pattern, and of certain nonobjective paintings. More than any other single object, it sums up the essence of Islamic art.

2. Early Medieval Art

THE DARK AGES

The labels we use for historical periods tend to be like the nicknames of people: once established, they are almost impossible to change, even though they may no longer be suitable. Those who coined the term "Middle Ages" thought of the entire thousand years from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries as an age of darkness, as a period lying between classical antiquity and the rebirth of the Roman and Italian Spirit. Since then, our view of the Middle Ages has changed in pieces, we no longer think of them as benighted, but the term Dark Ages [illegible] been retained more and more [illegible] the Middle Ages. A hundred years ago the Dark Ages were generally thought [illegible] the [illegible] Mediterranean [illegible] the Middle Ages began [illegible] Germanic [illegible] the Roman Empire carried with them [illegible] ancient and widespread [illegible] oriental style. We have encountered early examples in the Luristan bronzes of Iran and the Scythian gold ornaments from southern Russia (see pages [illegible] and figs. 88, 89). This style, with its combination of abstract and organic shapes, of formal scrollwork and imaginative freedom, became an important element in the Celtic-Germanic art of the Dark Ages, such as the gold and enamel purse cover from the grave at Sutton Hoo of an East Anglian king who died in 625. Four parts of the design are symmetrical, but on its surface each has a [illegible] character, an indication that the [illegible] have been assembled from four different [illegible] the standing man [illegible] an animal [illegible] has a [illegible] indeed, we [illegible] Sutton Hoo [illegible] the [illegible] The cage [illegible] paintings [illegible] The design [illegible] gold [illegible] Medieval [illegible] Dark Ages [illegible]

[illegible] figures [illegible] Such [illegible] during the Dark Ages [illegible] Wooden [illegible] where the animal [illegible] The spectacular animal head [illegible] of a pony-cart was found, along with much other equipment, in a buried Viking ship at Oseberg in southern Norway. Like her mates on the Sutton Hoo purse cover, it shows a peculiar composite quality: the basic shape of the head is surprisingly realistic, as are certain details (teeth, gum, nostrils), but the surface has been spun over with interlacing and geo-

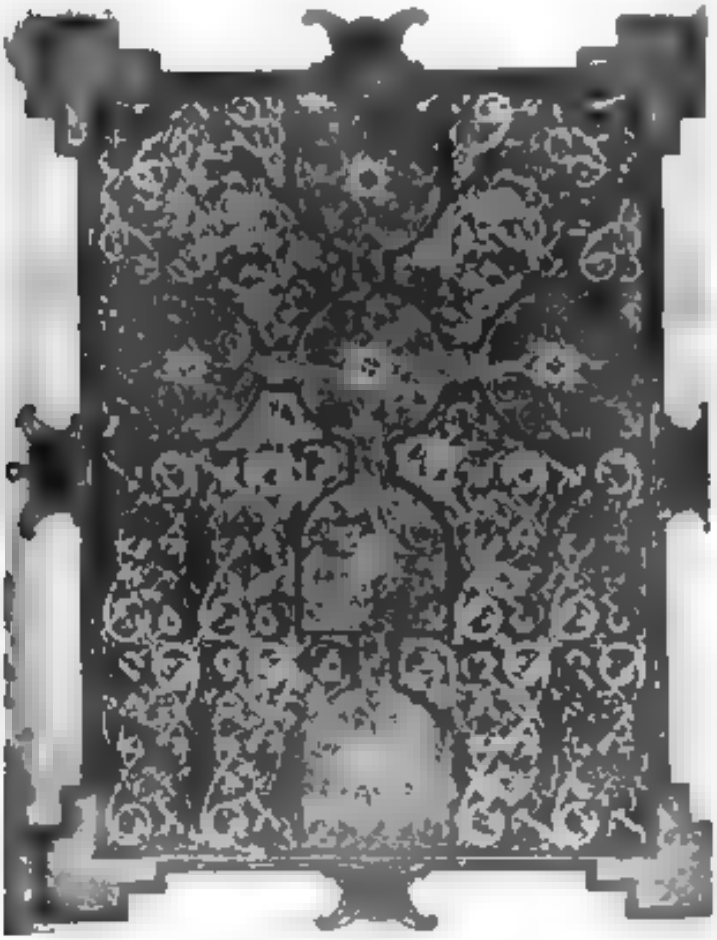
113. Gold-and-Enamel Purse Cover from the Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial
Before 625 A.D.
British Museum, London

metric patterns that betray their derivation from metalwork. Snarling monsters such as this used to rise from the prows of Viking ships, endowing them with the character of mythical sea dragons.

This pagan Germanic version of the animal style is reflected in the earliest Irish works of art north of the Alps as well. In order to understand how they came to be produced, however, we must first acquaint ourselves with the important role played by the Irish, who, during the Dark Ages, assumed the spiritual and cultural leadership of western Europe. The period 500–800 A.D. deserves in fact to be called the Golden Age of Ireland. Unlike their English neighbors, the Irish had never been part of the Roman Empire; thus the missionaries who carried the Gospel to them from England in the fifth century found a Celtic society entirely barbarian by Roman standards. The Irish readily accepted Christianity, which brought them into contact with Mediterranean civilization, but without becoming Rome-oriented. Rather they accepted what they had received in a spirit of vigorous independence. The institutional framework of the Roman Church, being essentially urban, was ill suited to the rural character of Irish life. Irish Christians preferred to follow the example of the desert saints of Egypt and the Near East who had left the temptations of the city to seek spiritual perfection in the solitude of the wilderness.

1.4. *Animal Head*, from the Oseberg Ship-Burial, c. 825 A.D. Wood, height c. [illegible]. University Museum of Antiquities, Oslo.

Groups of such hermits, sharing a common ideal of ascetic discipline, had founded the earliest monasteries. By the fifth century monasteries had spread as far north as western Britain, but only in Ireland did monastic men take over the leadership of the Church from the bishops. Irish monasteries, unlike their Egyptian prototypes, soon be-



left: 1.5. Cross-Page, from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, c. 700 A.D. British Museum, London.

below: 1.6. Seated figure, upper right corner.

came seats of learning and the arts. They also developed a missionary fervor that sent Irish monks to preach to the heathen and to found monasteries in northern Britain as well as on the European mainland, from Poitiers to Vienna. These Irishmen not only speeded the conversion of Christianity of Scotland, northern France, the Netherlands and Germany; they also established the monasteries as a cultural center throughout the European countryside. Although their Continental foundations were taken over before long by the monks of the Benedictine order, who were advancing north from Italy during the seventh and eighth centuries, Irish influence was to be felt within medieval civilization for several hundred years to come.

In order to spread the Gospel, the Irish monasteries had to produce copies of the Bible and other Christian books in large numbers. Their writing workshops, scriptoria, also became centers of artistic endeavor. Each manuscript containing the Word of God was looked upon as a sacred object which, in its beauty, should reflect the importance of its contents. Irish monks must have known many Byzantine illuminated manuscripts, but here again, as in many other respects, they developed an independent tradition. Instead of simply copying the Byzantine pictures illustrating biblical events, they created their own decorative style. This developed great effects of decorative embellishment. The lines of these manuscripts bring to mind the Celtic, Scandinavian, Roman and Germanic elements which flourished in the monasteries founded by Irishmen in Saxon England. The cross page of the *Book of Durrow* (colorplate 15) is an imaginative exercise of breathtaking complexity, the miniaturist working with a jeweler's precision. It has poured into the compartments of its geometric frame an animal interlace so [illegible] that the fighting beasts in the lower left-hand corner (fig. 1) and the purse cover seem [illegible] symbolic representations of the world of pagan [illegible] embodied in these biting and clawing monsters had suddenly been subdued by the superior authority of the Cross. In order to achieve this effect, our artist has had to impose an extremely severe discipline upon himself. His rules of the game demand, for instance, that organic and geometric shapes must be kept separate; that within the animal compartments every line must turn out to be part of an animal's body; if we take the trouble to trace it back to its point of origin. There are also rules too complex to go into here concerning symmetry, mirror-image effects, and repetitions of shapes and colors. Only by working these out for ourselves by intense observation can we hope to enter into the spirit of this strange maze-like world.

Of the representational images they found in Early Christian manuscripts, the Hiberno-Saxon illuminators generally retained only the symbols of the four evangelists, since these could be translated into their ornamental idiom without much difficulty. The box of St. Mark in the *Echternach Gospels* (colorplate 17), sectioned and patterned like the enamel inlays of the Sutton Hoo purse cover, is animated by the same curvilinear sense of movement we saw in the animal interlaces of the previous illustration. Here again we marvel at the masterly balance between the shape of the animal and the geometric framework on which it has been superimposed, and which, in this instance, includes the inscription. *Image: Zoomis.* The human figure, on the other hand, remained beyond the Celtic or Germanic artist's reach for a long time. The bronze plaque of the Crucifixion (fig. 2), probably made for a book cover, shows how helpless he was when faced with the image of man in his attempt to reproduce an Early Christian composition. He suffers from an utter inability to conceive of the human frame as an organic unit, so that the figure of Christ becomes disembodied. In the most elementary sense, head, arms and feet are separate elements attached to a certain pattern of whorls, zigzags, and intersecting bands. Clearly, there is a wide gulf between the Celtic, Germanic and the Mediterranean traditions, a gulf that the Irish artist who modeled the Crucifixion did not know how to bridge. Much the same situation prevailed elsewhere in Europe during the Dark Ages; we even find it among the Lombards in northern Italy. The Germanic stone carver who did the marble bas-relief in the Cathedral Baptistery at Cividale (fig. 3) was just as perplexed as his Irish contemporaries by the problem of representation. His evangelists sym-

(2) The Crucifixion, from a book cover, 7th century A.D. Bibliothèque Nationale, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

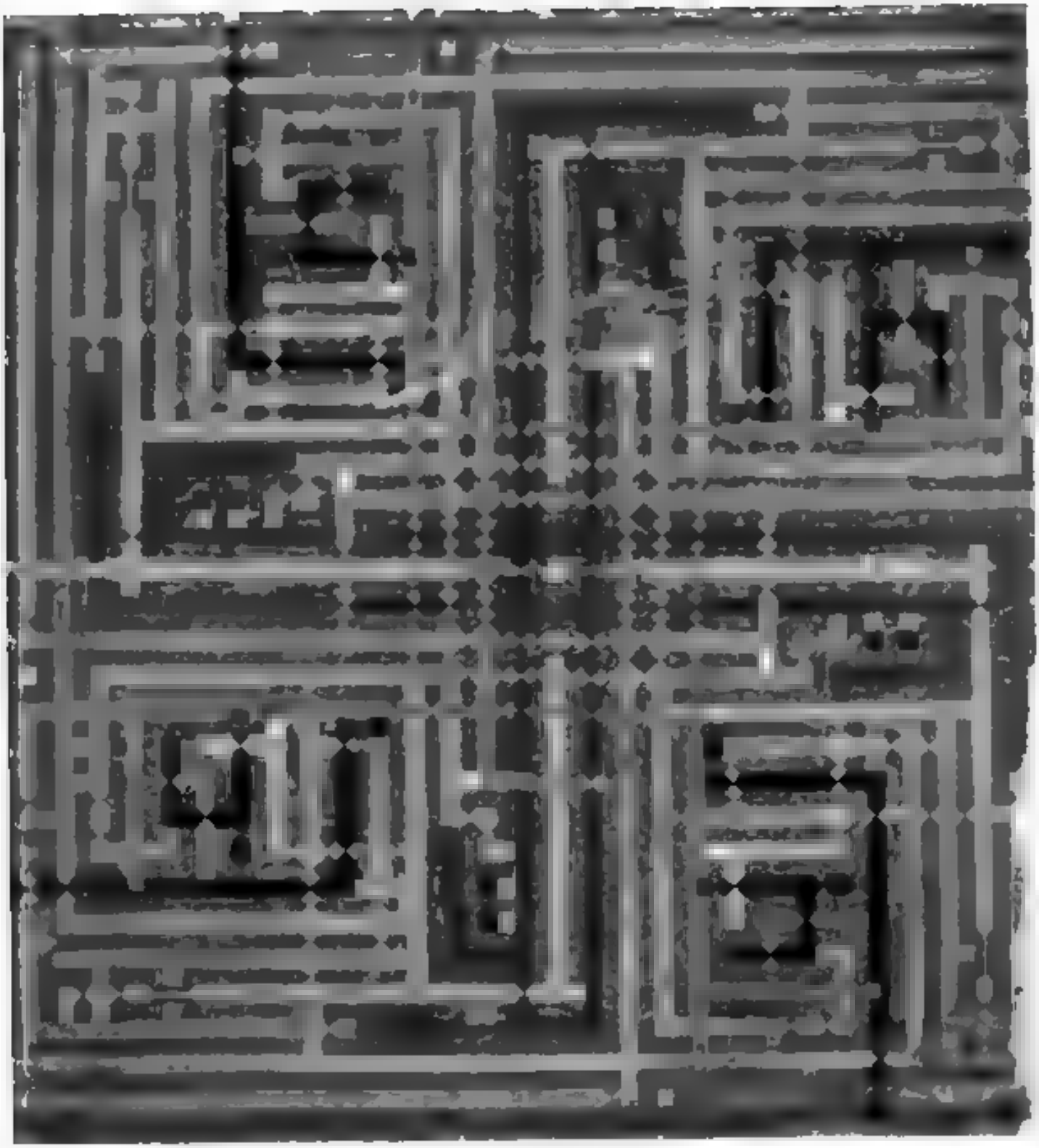
[illegible] Relief
[illegible] by the Patriarch Sigwald [illegible] and probably carved [illegible] Marble about [illegible] Cathedral Baptistery, Cividale, Italy

[illegible] creatures—indeed, [illegible] spidery [illegible] and their bodies [illegible] nothing but hind wings and, except for the angel, a little spiral tail. Apparently he had no [illegible] he was [illegible] their legs by forming them into [illegible] frames in his Procrustean fashion. On the other hand, he had a well developed sense of [illegible] the parts as a whole with its flat [illegible] effects. A piece decorated in the [illegible] fact have [illegible] compare figure [illegible].

CAROLINGIAN ART

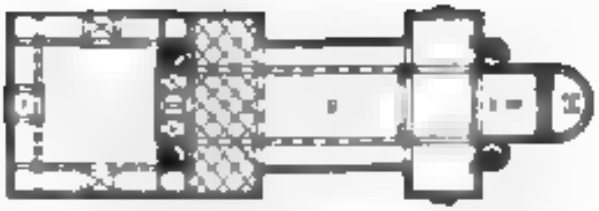
The empire built by Charlemagne did not endure [illegible] Lombards and vandals in other parts and proved [illegible] effective [illegible] even in these [illegible] the [illegible] reverted to the local [illegible] he [illegible] achievements [illegible] east have preserved far more than [illegible] without them [illegible] is [illegible] letters whose shape [illegible] these letters are known today as Roman rather than Carolingian [illegible] another aspect [illegible] the cultural reforms sponsored by Charlemagne, he [illegible] and copying of ancient Roman literature. The oldest surviving [illegible] a great many classical Latin authors are [illegible] Carolingian manuscripts which until the sixteenth century were mistakenly regarded as Roman since the [illegible] ering. [illegible] was called Roman. [illegible] in preserving the classics was part of an ambitious attempt to restore ancient Roman [illegible] along with the imperial title. Charlemagne himself took an active hand in this revival through which he expected to implant the cultural traditions of a glorious past in the minds of the semibarbarian people of his realm. To an astonishing extent, he succeeded. Thus the Carolingian revival may [illegible] the fine arts plays an important [illegible] Charlemagne's [illegible] the [illegible] Rome with [illegible] Aachen [illegible] Roman masonry [illegible] and a geometric [illegible] the [illegible] Roman [illegible] the [illegible] by side additions and rebuildings [illegible] are the [illegible] a broad semi-detached narthex with [illegible] the main axis of the church, while at Aachen these elements have been [illegible] into a compact unit [illegible] with the main axis and closely attached to the chapel proper. This monumental entrance structure [illegible] the German *Westwerk*, which makes one [illegible] its first recorded appearances here contains the germ of the [illegible] tower facade familiar from [illegible] medieval churches. An even more elaborate westwork formed part of the greatest basilican church of Carolingian times, that of the monastery of St. Riquier (also called Centula), near Abbeville in northeastern France. It has been completely destroyed, but its design is known in detail from drawings and descriptions. The plan (fig. 121) shows several innovations that were to be-

[illegible] Byzantine [illegible] portrait of a Jesus mosaic
[illegible] 9th century Hagia Sophia Istanbul



[illegible] Calligraphic Page [illegible] from the Divan [illegible] Sultan Muhammad I, Turkish [illegible] 16th century. Topkapu Palace Museum, Istanbul.

come of basic importance for the future: the westwork leads into a vaulted narthex which is in effect a western transept; the crossing (the area where the transept intersects the nave) was crowned by a tower, and the same feature recurred above the crossing of the eastern transept, again with two round stair towers like those of the westwork. The apse, unlike that of Early Christian basilicas (compare fig. 254), is separated from the eastern transept by a square compartment called the choir. St. Riquier was widely imitated in other Carolingian monastery churches, but these too have been destroyed or rebuilt in later times. A partial exception is the westwork of Corvey in northwestern Germany (fig. 322), which still conveys some impression of the St. Riquier west-

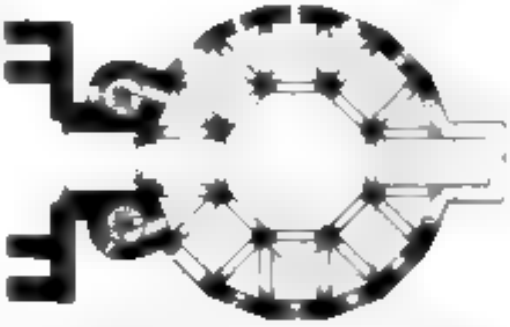


321. Plan of the Abbey Church of St. Riquier, France. (Consecrated 799 A.D.; after Hoffmann, 1923.)

work, although the towers here are square (the upper stories were added in the twelfth century).

The importance of monasteries and their close link with the imperial court are vividly suggested by a unique document of the period: the large drawing of a plan for a monastery preserved in the Chapter Library at St. Gall in Switzerland (fig. [illegible]). The basic features seem to have been decided upon at a council held near Aachen in 819, and then the plan was sent to the abbot of St. Gall for his guidance in remodeling the monastery. We may regard it, therefore, as a standard plan to be modified according to local needs. Its diagrammatic reproduction renders the exact lines of the original hard to trace, but the explanatory inscriptions in the monastery is a complete self-contained unit, occupy

[illegible]



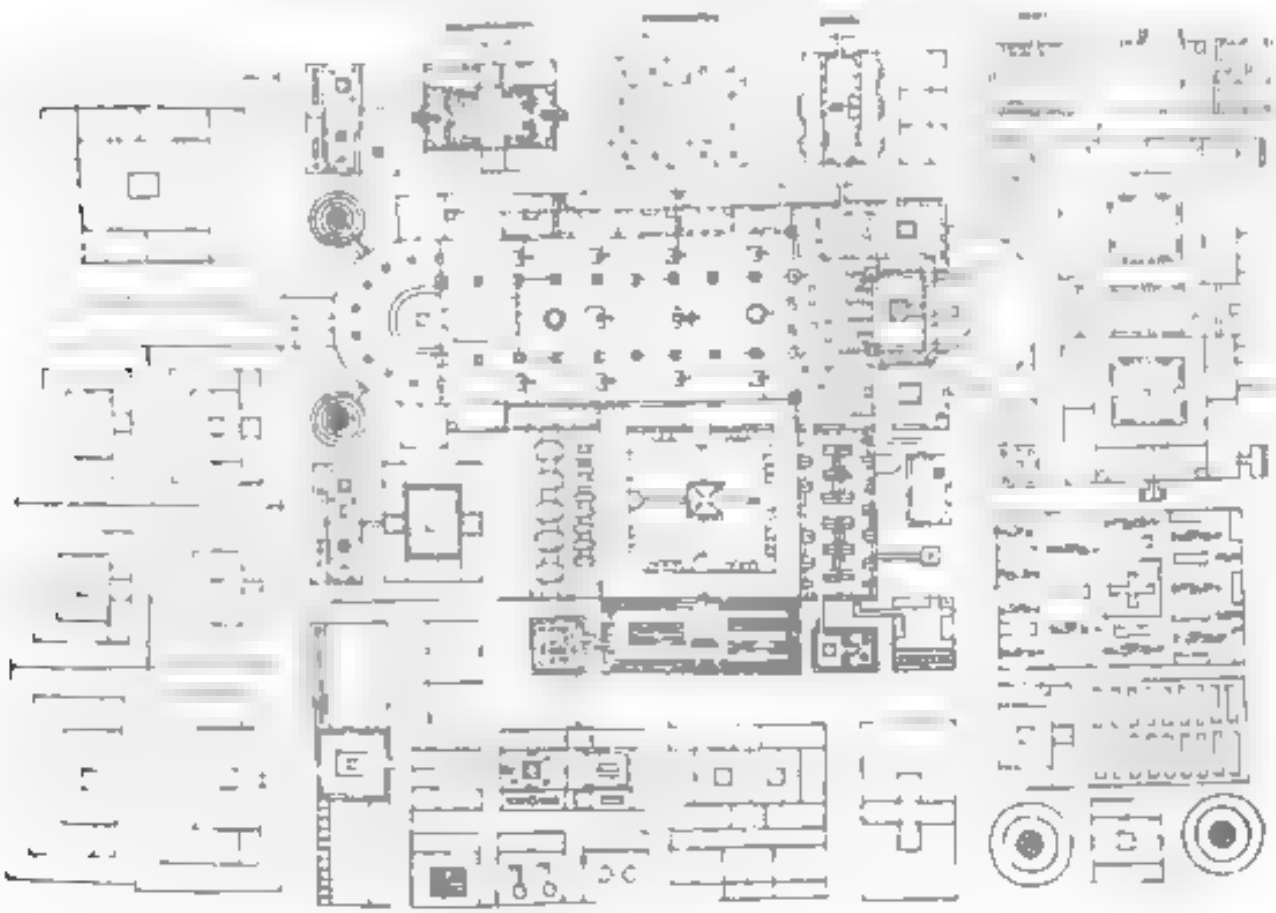
320. Restored Plan of the Palace Chapel of Charlemagne

322. Westwork of the Abbey Church of Corvey, Germany. (Ninth century.)

ing a rectangle c. 500 by 700 feet. The main entrance-way from the west passes between stables and a hostelry toward a gate which admits the visitor to a colonnaded semicircular portico flanked by two round towers, a sort of strongpoint was work, has must have loomed impressively above the low outer buildings. It emphasizes the church as the center of the monastic community. The church—a basilica with a transept and chair in the east but an apse and altar at either end—the nave and aisles—on a long numerous other altars, do not form a single continuous space but are subdivided into compartments by screens. There are numerous entrances—in beside the western apse, others on the north and south flanks. This entire arrangement reflects the functions of a monastery church, designed for the liturgical needs of the monks rather than for a lay congregation. Adjoining the church to the south is an arcaded cloister, around which are grouped the monks' dormitory (on the east side), a refectory and kitchen (on the south side), and a cellar. The three large buildings north of the church are a guesthouse, a school, and the abbot's house. To the east are the infirmary, a chapel and quarters for novices, the cemetery (marked by a large cross), a garden, and coops for chickens and geese. The south side is occupied by workshops, barns, and other service buildings. There is needless to say, no monastery exactly like this anywhere, even in St. Gall; the plan was not carried out as drawn, yet its general layout conveys an excellent notion of the character of such establishments throughout the Middle Ages.

We know from literary sources that Carolingian churches contained murals, mosaics, and relief sculpture, but these have disappeared almost entirely. Illuminated manuscripts, ivories, and goldsmiths' work, on the other hand, have survived in considerable numbers. They demonstrate the impact of the Carolingian revival even more strikingly than the architectural remains of the period. The former Imperial Treasury in Vienna contains a gospel book said to have been found in the tomb of Charlemagne and, in any event, closely linked with his court at Aachen. As we look at the picture of St. Matthew from that manuscript (fig. 324), we find it hard to believe that such a work could have been executed in northern Europe about the year 800. If it were not for the large golden halo, the Evangelist might almost be mistaken for a classical author's portrait, like the one of Menander (fig. 325), painted at Pompeii almost eight centuries earlier. Whoever the artist was, Byzantine, Italian, or Frank, he shows himself fully conversant with the Roman tradition of painting, down to the acanthus ornament on the wide frame, which emphasizes the "window" aspect of the picture. The *St. Matthew* represents the most orthodox

323. Plan of a Monastery, 819–830 A.D. Stiftsbibliothek Library, St. Gall, Switzerland



[illegible] Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

[illegible] *Portrait of Menander*, wall painting [illegible] House of Menander, Pompeii

[illegible] St. *Mark*, from the *Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo* [illegible] Reims [illegible] Municipal Library, Epernay, France

phase of the Carolingian revival. It is here that [illegible] copying the text of a classical work [illegible] Carolingian figure done two or three decades [illegible] the *Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo* of Reims (fig. 326). It [illegible] shows the classical model translated into a Carolingian idiom. It must have been based on an evangelist's portrait of the same style as the *St. Matthew*. But now the entire picture is filled with a vibrant energy that sets everything in motion. The drapery swirls about the figure. The hills heave upward, the vegetation seems to be [illegible] by a whirlwind, and even the scandhus pattern on the frame assumes a strange flamelike character. The evangelist himself has been transformed from a Roman author setting down his own thoughts into a man seized with the frenzy of divine inspiration, an instrument for recording the Word of God. His gaze is fixed, not upon his book but upon his symbol (the winged lion with a scroll), which acts as the transmitter of the Sacred Text. This dependence upon the Will of the Lord, so powerfully expressed here, marks the contrast between the classical and the medieval image of man. But the *means* of expression—the dynamism of line that distinguishes our miniature from its predecessor—recalls the passionate movement we found in the ornamentation of Irish manuscripts of the Dark Ages.

The Reims School also produced the most extraordinary of all Carolingian manuscripts, the *Utrecht Psalter* (fig. 327). It displays the style of the *Ebbo Gospels* in an even more energetic form, since the entire book is illustrated with pen drawings. Here again the artist has followed a much older model, as indicated by the architec-

[illegible]ura, and landscape settings of the scenes and by the use of Roman capitals, a lettering which had gone out of general use several centuries before. The wonderfully rhythmic quality of his draughtsmanship, however, gives these sketches a kind of emotional coherence that could not have been present in the earlier pictures. Without the drawings of the *Utrecht Psalter* we would have little con[illegible] for the poetic language of the Psalms does not lend itself to illustration in the same sense as the narrative passages of the Bible. The Psalms can be understood only by taking each phrase literally and then trying to visualize it in some way. Thus at the top of our picture we see the [illegible] reclining on a bed flanked by pleading angels, an image based on the words: "Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? Arise, cast us not off for ever. Why hidest thou your face and forgettest our affliction? For our soul is bowed down to the dust: our belly cleaveth unto the earth. Arise for our help, and redeem us for thy mercies' sake." At the city gate in the foreground they are killed "as sheep for the slaughter" by the hands of a pedestrian and a horseman; this procedure could well turn out a wearisome chase. Here, it has the force of a great drama.

The style of the Reims School can also be seen in the relief of the jewelled front cover of the Lindau Gospels, a masterpiece of a work of the third quarter of the ninth century. This masterpiece of the goldsmith's art shows how splendidly the classical ornamental motifs of the Dark Ages adapted itself to the jewel-encrusted organization of the Carolingian period. The clusters of semi-precious stones are not mounted directly on the gold ground but raised on low feet or attended turrets so that the light can penetrate beneath them, so bringing out their brilliance. Interestingly enough, the crucified Christ bears no hint of pain or death. He seems to stand rather than to hang. His arms spread out in a solemn gesture. To endow him with the signs of human suffering was not yet conceivable, even though the means were at hand, as we can see from the eloquent expressions of grief among the small figures in the adjoining compartments.

OTTONIAN ART

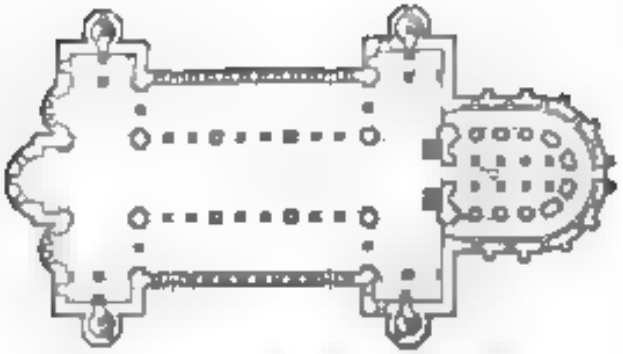
In 840, about the time when the *Lindau Gospels* cover was made, the remains of Charlemagne's empire were ruled by his two surviving grandsons: Charles the Bald, the West Frankish King, and Louis the German, the East Frankish King, whose domains corresponded roughly to the France and Germany of today. Their power was so weak, however, that [illegible] Europe once again was exposed to attack. In the south the Moslems resumed their depredations. Slavs and Magyars advanced from the east, and Vikings from Scandinavia ravaged the north and west. These Norsemen, the ancestors of today's France and Norwegian [illegible] been raiding France and Britain's seacoasts in the eighth century [illegible] the [illegible] as well as [illegible] the area that eventually became the Normandy [illegible] established their [illegible] and [illegible] were recognized as [illegible] the archbishops of the kings of France. During the eleventh century the Normans assumed a great importance in shaping the political and cultural destiny of Europe with William the Conqueror's [illegible] in

[illegible] brought [illegible] cathedral [illegible]

[illegible] England which the Norman bishops expected [illegible] Aldershot and for Byzantine from South [illegible]. In Germany meanwhile after his death the last Carolingian monarch [illegible] the center [illegible] power [illegible] Saxons. The Saxon kings [illegible] 74 re-established an effective central government and the greatest [illegible] the imperial ambition of Charlemagne. After marrying the widow of a Lombard king he extended his rule over most of Italy and had himself crowned emperor by the pope in 962. From then on the Holy Roman Empire was to be a German institution. Or perhaps we ought to call it a German dream, for Otto's successors never managed to consolidate their claim to severe grip south of the Alps. Yet the claim had momentous consequences, since it led the German emperors into centuries of conflict with the papacy and local Italian rulers, linking North and South in a love-hate relationship whose echoes can be felt to the present day.

During the Ottonian period, from the mid-tenth century to the beginning of the eleventh, Germany was the leading nation of Europe, politically as well as artistically. German achievements in both areas began as revivals of Carolingian traditions but soon developed new and original traits. These are impressively brought home to us if we compare the [illegible] bust on the cover of the *London Gospels* with the *Gero Crucifix* (fig. 328) in the cathedral at Cologne. The two works are separated by little more than a hundred years' interval, but the contrast between them suggests a far greater span. In the *Gero Crucifix* we meet an image of the crucified Christ new to Western art, monumental in scale, carved in powerful [illegible] hundred [illegible] and [illegible] with a deep concern for the sufferings of the world. Particularly striking is the forward [illegible] of the heavy body, which makes the physical strain [illegible] arms and shoulders seem almost unbearably real. The face [illegible] sharply [illegible] angular features have [illegible] into a mask of [illegible] from which life has fled. How did the [illegible] artist [illegible] this stark image of [illegible]? We do not know, but the [illegible] his greatness [illegible] the compassionate view of Christ in the [illegible] has been [illegible] in Byzantine art. The Second [illegible] Age [illegible] and that the *Gero Crucifix* [illegible] from his [illegible] Should we be surprised that Byzantine influence should have been strong in [illegible] when we [illegible] that Prince Otto II had married a Byzantine [illegible] establishing a direct link between the two

[illegible] Westwerk, St Pantaleon, Cologne. Converted [illegible]



[illegible] Reconstructed Plan of St Michael's at Hildesheim [illegible] after Beseler

[illegible] Interior view [illegible] before World War II. St Michael's, Hildesheim

imperial courts. It remained for the Ottonian artist to translate the Byzantine image into large-scale sculptural terms and to replace its gentle pathos with an expressive realism that has been the main strength of German art ever since.

Cologne was closely connected with the imperial house through its Archbishop Bruno, the brother of Otto I, who left a strong mark on the city through the numerous churches he built or rebuilt. His favorite among these, the Benedictine Abbey of St Pantaleon, became his burial place as well as that of the wife of Otto I. Only the monumental westwork (fig. 329) has retained its original shape essentially unchanged until modern times; we recognize it as a massive and well-proportioned successor to Carolingian westworks, with the characteristic tower over the crossing of the western transept and a deep porch flanked by twin stair turrets. The most ambitious patron of architecture and art in the Ottonian age, however, judged in terms of surviving works, was Bernward, who, after having been one of the tutors of Otto III, became Bishop of Hildesheim. His chief monument there is another Benedictine abbey church, St Michael's. The plan (fig. 330), with its two choirs and lateral entrances, recalls the monastery church of the St Gall plan (fig. 323). But in St Michael's the symmetry is carried much further: not only are there two identical transepts with crossing towers and stair turrets (compare St Riquier, fig. [illegible]), but the supports of the nave arcade, instead of being uniform, consist of pairs of columns separated by square piers. This alternating system divides the arcade into three equal units of three openings each, the first and third units associated with the entrances, thus echoing the axes of the transepts. Since the nave and aisles are unusually wide in relation to the length, Bernward's architects must have been to achieve a harmonious balance between the longitudinal and transverse axes, brought out by the structure. The exterior, as well as the choir, of Bernward's church has been disfigured by later rebuilding, but the interior of the nave (fig. 331) works a great expanse of wall space between arcade and clerestory to a hoped-for majestic spatial effect. The original design, until the Second World War reduced it to ruins, [illegible] the columns, into the twelfth century, the painted wooden ceiling from the thirteenth. The Bernwardian [illegible] plan in the [illegible] studies [illegible] ceiling [illegible] was raised above the rest of the church [illegible] communicate a [illegible] have been shaped [illegible] crypt [illegible] St Michael's, which [illegible] entered both in the transept and from the west. The crypt was [illegible] by groined vaults resting on two rows of columns, and its walls were pierced by arched openings that linked it with the U-shaped corridor or ambulatory wrapped around it. This ambulatory must have been visible above ground, encircling the exterior of the western choir, since there were windows in its outer wall. Such crypts with ambulatories, usually housing the venerated tomb of a saint, had been introduced into the repertory of western church architecture during Carolingian times; the Bernwardian design stands out for its large scale and its carefully planned integration with the rest of the building.

How much importance Bernward himself attached to the crypt at St Michael's can be gathered from the fact that he commissioned a pair of richly sculptured bronze doors which were probably meant for the two entrances leading from the transept to the ambulatory; they were finished in 1015, the year the crypt was consecrated. The idea may have come to him as a result of his visit to Rome, where he could see ancient Roman and perhaps Byzantine bronze doors. The Bernwardian doors, however, differ from their predecessors: they are divided into broad horizontal fields rather than vertical panels, and

131 *Adam and Eve Reprimanded by the Lord*, from the Bronze Doors of Bishop Bernward for St Michael's 1015 c. 23 × 43 Hildesheim Cathedral

which bind contrasts a biblical scene in high relief. [illegible] fig. 131 shows Adam and Eve after the Fall. He wears an [illegible] remarkable for their classical Roman character. As part of the dedicatory inscription, which the Fall and Bernward's name, in these figures we [illegible] of the monumental spirit of the Fall. [illegible] seem a miniature than they actually are, so that [illegible] might easily mistake them for a piece of goldsmith's work such as the *Lindau Gospels* cover. [illegible] imparted [illegible] the effect [illegible] must have been derived from [illegible] manuscript. The addition of [illegible] have a good deal of the waving, curving movement we recall from such miniatures. The [illegible] conveyed with splendid directness and expressive force. The accusing finger [illegible] seen against a great void of blank surface. As the focal point of the drama it points to a cringing Adam who passes the blame to his mate, who shifts it in turn, passes it to the serpent at her feet.

The same intensity of glance and gesture characterizes Ottonian manuscript painting, which blends Carolingian and Byzantine elements into a new style of extraordinary scope and power. The most important center of manuscript illumination at that time was the Reichenau monastery on an island in the Lake of Constance. Perhaps its finest achievement—and one of the great masterpieces of medieval art—is the *Gospel Book of Otto III*, from which we reproduce two full-page miniatures (colorplate 9). The scene of Christ washing the feet of St Peter contains notable echoes of ancient painting transmitted through Byzantine art: the soft pastel hues of the background recall the illusionism of Graeco-Roman landscapes, and the architectural frame around Christ is a late descendant of such architectural perspectives as the mural from Boscoreale (see fig. 246). That these elements have been misunderstood by the Ottonian artist is obvious enough, but he has also put them to a new use, so that what was once an architectural vista now becomes the Heavenly City, the House of the Lord filled with golden celestial space as against the atmospheric earthly space without. The figures have undergone a similar transformation. In ancient art this composition had been used to represent a doctor treating a patient. Now St Peter takes the place of the sufferer, and Christ that of the physician, inasmuch as He is still the beardless young philosopher type here. As a consequence, the emphasis has shifted from physical to spiritual action, and this new kind of action is not only conveyed through glances and gestures, it also governs the scale of things. Christ and St Peter, the most active figures, are larger than the rest. Christ's active arm is longer than His "passive" one, and the eight disciples who merely watch have been compressed into a tiny space, so that we see little more than their eyes and hands. The other miniature, the painting of St Luke, is a symbolic image of overwhelming grandeur. Unlike his Carolingian predecessors, the Evangelist is no longer shown writing his Gospel, it is completed on his lap. Enthroned on two rainbows, he holds aloft a huge cluster of clouds from which tongues of light radiate in every direction. Within it we see his symbol, the ox, surrounded by five Old Testament prophets and an outer circle of angels. At the bottom, two lambs drink the life-giving waters that spring from beneath the Evangelist's feet. The key to the entire design is the inscription: *Fonte patrum ductus bos agnis eicit undas*: "From the source of the fathers the ox brings forth a flow of water for the lambs"—that is, St Luke makes the prophets' message of salvation explicit for the faithful. The Ottonian artist has truly "illuminated" the meaning of this terse and enigmatic phrase by translating it into such compelling visual terms.

3. Romanesque Art

Looking back over the ground we have covered in this book so far, a thoughtful reader would be struck by the fact that almost all of our chapter headings and subheadings might serve equally well for a general history of civilization. Some are based on technology (e.g., the Stone Age), others on geography, ethnology, religion; whatever the source, they have been borrowed from other fields even though in context they also designate artistic styles. There are only two important exceptions to this rule. Archaic and Classical are primarily terms of style; they refer to qualities of form rather than to the setting in which these items were created. Why don't we have more terms of this sort? We do, as we shall see, but only for the arts of the past 500 years. The men who first conceived the idea of viewing the history of art as an evolution of styles started out with the conviction that art in the ancient world developed toward a single climax: Greek art from the age of Pericles, that of Alexander the Great. This style they called Classical (that is, perfect). Everything that came before was labeled Archaic (a term indicate that it was still old-fashioned and crude to a bound not yet Classical, but striving in the right direction), while the style of post-Classical times did not deserve a special term since it had no positive qualities of its own, being merely an echo or a decadence of Classical art. The early historians of medieval art followed a similar pattern. To them, the great climax was the Gothic style from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth. For whatever was not yet Gothic they adopted the label Romanesque. In doing so, they were thinking mainly of architecture: pre-Gothic churches, they noted, were round-arched, solid, and heavy (as against the pointed arches and the soaring lightness of Gothic structures), rather like the ancient Roman style of building, and the term Romanesque was meant to convey just that. In this sense, all of medieval art before 1200, insofar as it shows any link with the Mediterranean tradition, could be called Romanesque. Some scholars speak of medieval art before Charlemagne as pre-Romanesque, and of Carolingian and Ottonian as proto- or early Romanesque, and they are right to the extent that Romanesque art proper (that is, medieval art between c. 1050 and 1200) would be unthinkable without the contributions of these earlier styles. On the other hand, if we follow this practice we are likely to do less than justice to those qualities that make the art of the Dark Ages and of Carolingian and Ottonian times different from the Romanesque.

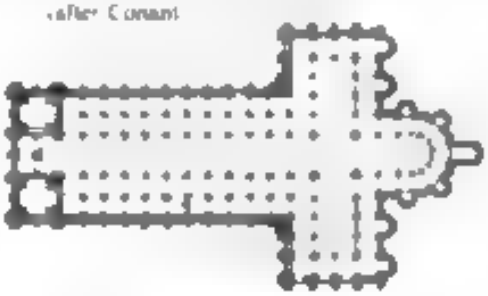
Carolingian art, we will recall, was brought into being by Charlemagne and his circle, as part of a conscious revival policy; even after his death, it remained strongly linked with the court. Ottonian art, too, had this imperial sponsorship and a corresponding very narrow base. The Romanesque, in contrast, sprang up all over western Europe at about the same time; it consists of a large variety of regional styles, distinct yet closely related in many ways and without a central source. In this respect it resembles the art of the Dark Ages rather than the court styles that had preceded it, although it includes the Carolingian Ottonian tradition, along with a good many other less easily traceable ones, such as Late Classical, Early Christian, and Byzantine elements, some Islamic influence, and the Celtic-Germanic heritage. What welded all these different components into a coherent style during the second half of the eleventh century was not any single force but a variety of factors that made for a new burgeoning of culture throughout the West. Christianity had at last triumphed everywhere in Europe. The Vikings, still largely pagan in the ninth and tenth centuries, when their raids terrorized the British Isles and the Continent, had entered the catholic fold in Normandy and Normandy, but in Scandinavia as well. The Caliphate of Cordova had disintegrated in 1031 into many small Moslem states, opening the way for the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula, and the Magyars had settled down in Hungary. There was a growing spirit of religious enthusiasm, reflected in the greatly increased pilgrimage traffic to sacred sites and culminating in the crusades to liberate the Holy Land from Moslem rule. Equally important was the reopening of Mediterranean trade routes by the navies of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the revival of commerce and manufacturing, and the consequent growth of city life. During the turmoil of the early Middle Ages, the towns of the Western Roman Empire had shrunk greatly in size (the population of Rome, about one million in 300 A.D., fell to less than 50,000 at one point); some were deserted altogether. From the eleventh century on, they began to regain their former importance. New towns sprang up everywhere, and an urban middle class of craftsmen and merchants established itself between the peasantry and the landed nobility as an important factor in medieval society. In many respects, then, western Europe between 1050 and 1200 became a great deal more "Roman-esque" than it had been since the sixth century, recapturing some of the international trade patterns, the urban quality, and the military strength of ancient imperial times. The central political authority was lacking, to be sure (even the Empire of Otto I did not extend much farther west than mod-

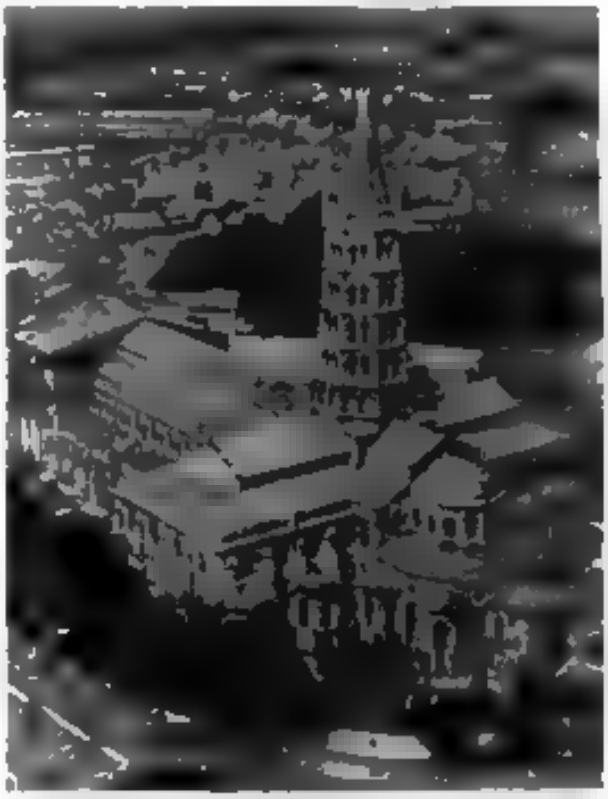
ern Germany does) but the central spiritual authority of the pope took its place to some extent as a unifying force. The international army that responded to Urban II's call for the First Crusade was more powerful than anything a secular ruler could have raised for the purpose.

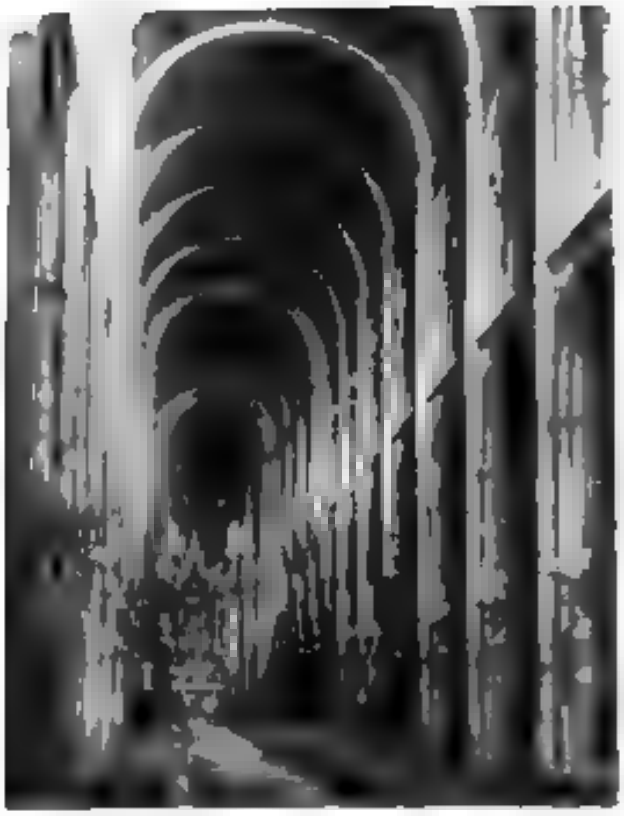
ARCHITECTURE

The most conspicuous difference between Romanesque architecture and that of the preceding centuries is the amazing increase in building activity. An eleventh-century monk, Radu Glaber, summed it up well when he triumphantly exclaimed that the world was putting on a "white mantle of churches." These churches were not only more numerous than those of the early Middle Ages; they were as a general rule larger, more richly articulated, and more Roman-looking. Early churches had flat wooden roofs, and their interiors, unlike those of Early Christian, Byzantine, Carolingian, and Ottonian churches, were decorated with high architectural ornament and sculpture. Geographically, Romanesque monuments of the first importance are distributed over an area that might well have represented the world—the Catholic world, that is—to Radu Glaber: from northern Spain to the Rhine and from the Scottish Highlands to central Italy. The richest in the greatest variety of regional types and the most advanced and enthusiastic ideas are to be found in France. If we add to this group those destroyed, altered, or disfigured buildings whose original designs are known to us through archaeological research, we have a wealth of architectural invention unparalleled by any previous era. Let us begin our sampling of Romanesque art with St. Sernin in the southern French town of Toulouse (figs. 3.3, 3.15), one of a group of great churches of the pilgrimage type, so called because they were built along the roads leading to the pilgrimage center of Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain. The plan immediately strikes us as very much more complex and more fully integrated than those of earlier structures such as St. Riquier or St. Michael's at Hildesheim (see figs. 3.1, 3.10). It is an emphatic cross with the center of gravity at the eastern end. Clearly, this church was not designed to serve a monastic community only but rather Old St. Peter's in Rome, to accommodate large crowds of lay worshipers in its long nave and transept. The nave is flanked by two aisles on either side, the inner aisle continuing around the arms of the transept and the apse and thus forming a complete ambulatory circuit anchored to the two towers of the west façade. The ambulatory, we will recall, had developed as a feature of the crypts of earlier churches (as at St. Michael's); now it has emerged completely above ground, linked with the aisles of nave and transept, and enriched with apsidal chapels that seem to radiate from the apse and continue along the eastern face of the transept. (Apse, ambulatory, and radiating chapels form a unit known as the pilgrimage choir.) The plan also shows that the aisles of St. Sernin are groin-vaulted throughout. This, in conjunction with the features already noted, imposes a high degree of regularity upon the entire design. The aisles are made up of square bays, which serve as a basic unit, or module, for the other dimensions, so that the nave and transept bays equal two such units, the crossing and the façade towers four units. On the exterior, this rich articulation is further enhanced by the different roof levels that set off the nave and transept against the inner and outer aisles, the apse, the ambulatory, and the radiating chapels, by the buttresses reinforcing the walls between the windows, so as to contain the outward thrust of the

3.15 Plan of St. Sernin, Toulouse, c. 1080–1120 (after Conant)







[illegible] Nave [illegible]

vaults by the decorative framing of windows and portals and by the great crossing tower (completed in Gothic times and taller than originally intended). The two façade towers, unfortunately, have remained stumps. As we enter the nave, we are impressed with its tall proportions, the architectural elaboration of the nave walls, and the warm, indirect lighting, all of which create a sensation very different from the ample and serene interior of St. Michael's, with its simple and clearly separated "blocks" of space (see fig. 311). The contrast between the two structures is such as to make the nave walls of St. Michael's look Early Christian (see fig. 243), while those of St. Sernin seem more akin to structures such as the Colosseum (see fig. 208). The syntax of ancient Roman architecture—vaults, arches, engaged columns, and pilasters, firmly knit together into a coherent order—has indeed been recaptured here to a remarkable degree; yet the forces whose interaction is expressed in the nave of St.-Sernin are no longer the physical "muscular" forces of Graeco-Roman architecture but spiritual forces—spiritual forces of the kind we have seen governing the human body in Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures. The half-columns running the entire height of the nave wall would appear just as unnaturally drawn-out to an ancient Roman beholder as the arm of Christ in colorplate 19. They seem to be driven upward by some tremendous, unseen pressure, hastening to meet the transverse arches that subdivide the barrel vault of the nave. Their insistently repeated rhythm propels us toward the eastern end of the church, with its light-filled apse and ambulatory (now obscured by a huge altar of later date). In thus describing our experience we do not, of course, mean to suggest that the architect consciously set out to achieve this effect. For him, beauty and engineering were inseparable. Vaulting the nave so as to eliminate the fire hazard of a wooden roof was not only a practical aim; it also challenged him to make the House of the Lord grander and more impressive. And since a vault becomes the more difficult to sustain the farther it is from the ground, he strained every resource to make the nave as tall as he dared. He had, however, to sacrifice the clerestory for safety's sake. Instead, he built galleries over the inner aisles to abut the lateral pressure of the nave vault, hoping that enough light would filter through them into the central space. St.-Sernin serves to remind us that architecture, like politics, is "the art of the possible"—and that its success, here as elsewhere, is measured by the degree to which the architect has exploited the limits of what was possible to him under those particular circumstances (structurally and aesthetically).

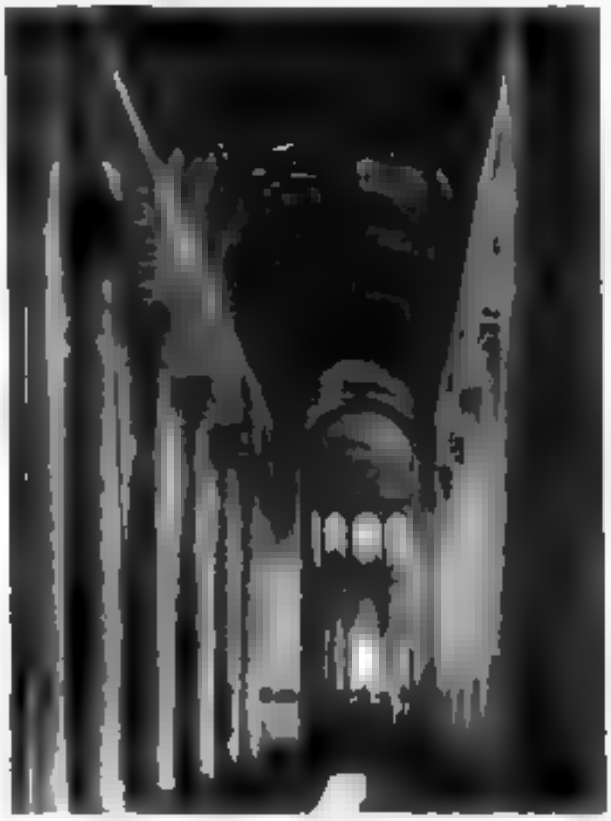
The builders of St.-Sernin would have been the first to admit that their answer to the problem—the nave vault—was not a final one, impressive though it was in its own terms. The architects of Burgundy attempted a more elegant solution, as evidenced by the cathedral of Autun (fig. 316), where the galleries are replaced by a blind arcade (called a triforium) since it often has three openings per bay, and a clerestory. What made this three-story elevation possible was the use of the pointed arch for the nave vault, which produced a thrust more nearly downward than outward. For reasons of harmony, the pointed arch also appears in the nave arcade—it had probably reached France from Islamic architecture, where it had been employed for some time. Autun, too, comes close to straining the limits of the possible, for the upper part of the nave wall shows a slight but perceptible outward lean under the pressure of the vault, a warning against any further attempts to increase the height of the clerestory or to enlarge the windows.

A third alternative, with virtues of its own, appears in the west of France, in such churches as that of St.-Savin-sur-Gartempe (fig. 317). The nave vault here lacks the reinforcing arches, since it was meant to offer a continuous surface for mural art (see page 226 for this cycle, the finest of its kind). Its great weight rests directly on the nave arcade, which is supported by a majestic set of columns. Yet the nave is fairly well lit, for the two aisles are carried almost to the same height, and their outer walls have generously sized windows. At the eastern end of the nave, there is a pilgrimage choir—happily unobstructed in this case—beyond the crossing tower.

The nave and aisles of "hall churches" are covered by

left 336 Nave Wall, Autun Cathedral, c. 1120–32

below 337 Choir (c. 1080–93) and Nave (c. 1095–1120), St. Sernin, Toulouse



a single roof as at St. Savin. The west façade then tends to be low and wide and may become a richly sculptured screen. That of Notre Dame la Grande at Poitiers (fig. 338) due west from St. Savin, is particularly noteworthy in this respect. It is elaborately bordered arcades housing large seated or standing figures. A wide band of relief stretches across the façade on either side of the doorway, which is deeply recessed and framed by a series of arches resting on stumpy columns. Clustered bundles of columns enhance the turrets, whose conical helmets match the height of the gable in the center, which rises above the actual height of the roof behind it. The sculptural program spread out over this entire area is a visual exposition of Christian doctrine that is a feast for the eyes as well as the mind.

Further north, in Normandy, the west façade evolved in an entirely different direction. That of the abbey church of St. Etienne at Caen (fig. 339), founded by William the Conqueror a year or two after his invasion of England, offers a striking contrast with Notre-Dame-la-Grande. Decoration is at a minimum, four huge buttresses divide the front of the church into three vertical sections, and the vertical impetus continues triumphantly in the two splendid towers, whose height would be impressive enough even without the tall Early Gothic helmets. The interior is equally remarkable, but in order to understand its importance we must first turn to the extraordinary development of Anglo-Norman architecture in Britain during the last quarter of the eleventh century. Its most ambitious product is the Cathedral of Durham (figs. 340, 341), just south of the Scottish border, begun in 1093. Though somewhat more austere in plan, it has a nave one third wider than St. Sernin and a greater overall length (400 feet), which places it among the largest churches of medieval Europe. The nave may have been designed to be vaulted from the start, and the vault over its eastern end had been completed by 1104; the rest of the nave, following the same pattern, by 1130. This vault is of great interest, for it represents the earliest systematic use of a ribbed groined vault over a three-story nave, and thus marks a basic advance beyond the solution at the nave at Autun. Looking at the plan, we see that the aisles consist of the usual groin-vaulted compartments, closely approaching a square, while the bays of the nave, separated by strong transverse arches, are decidedly oblong and groin-vaulted in such a way that the ribs form a double-X design, dividing the vault into seven sections rather than the conventional four. Since the nave bays are twice

As long as the aisle bays, the transverse arches occur only at the odd-numbered piers of the nave arcade, and the piers therefore alternate in size, the larger ones being of compound shape, that is, bundles of column and pilaster shafts attached to a square or oblong core; the others cylindrical. Perhaps the easiest way to visualize the origin of this peculiar system is to imagine that the architect started out by designing a barrel-vaulted nave, with galleries over the aisles, and without a clerestory, as at St. Savin, but with the transverse reinforcing arches spaced more widely. As he was doing so, he realized that he could have a clerestory after all if the barrel vault of each nave bay were intersected by two transverse barrel vaults of *oval* shape. The result would be a pattern of Siamese-twin groined vaults, and the ends of the transverse barrel vaults could become the clerestory, since the outward thrust and the weight of the whole vault would be concentrated at six securely anchored points on the gallery level. The ribs, of course, were necessary to provide a stable skeleton for the groined vault, so that the curved surfaces between them could be filled in with masonry of minimum thickness, thus reducing both weight and thrust. We do not know whether this ingenious scheme was actually invented at Durham, but it could not have been created much earlier, for it is still in an experimental stage, while the transverse arches at the crossing are

138. West façade, Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Poitiers. Late 12th century.

139. West façade, St. Étienne, Caen. Begun 1068.

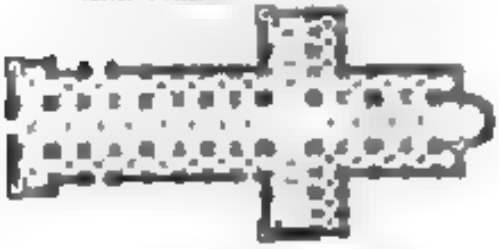
round, those to the west of it are slightly pointed, indicating a continuous search for improvements in detail. Aesthetically, the nave at Durham is among the finest in all Romanesque architecture: the wonderful sturdiness of the alternating piers makes a splendid contrast with the dramatically lighted, sail-like surfaces of the vault.

Let us now return to the interior of St. Étienne at Caen (fig. 141). The nave, it seems, had originally been planned with galleries and clerestory, and a wooden ceiling. After the experience of Durham, it became possible, in the early twelfth century, to build a groined nave vault instead, with only slight modifications of the wall design. But the bays of the nave here are approximately square, so that the double-X rib pattern could be replaced by a single X with an additional transverse rib (⊠), producing a groined vault of six sections instead of seven. These sexpartite vaults are no longer separated by heavy transverse arches but by simple ribs—another saving in

weight which, besides, gives a stronger sense of continuity to the nave vault as a whole and makes for a less emphatic alternating system of piers. Compared to Durham, the nave of St. Etienne creates an impression of gracefulness and lightness closely akin to the quality of the Gothic choir that was added in the thirteenth century. And structurally, too, we have here reached the point where Romanesque merges into Early Gothic.

At the time when the Normans and Anglo-Normans constructed their earliest ribbed groined nave vaults, the same problem was being explored in Lombardy, where and in Tuscany had once again grown large and prosperous. Lombard Romanesque architecture was both new and shaped by a continuous building tradition reaching back to Roman and Early Christian times and including the monuments of Ravenna. We sense this as we approach one of its most venerable and important structures, S. Ambrogio in Milan (figs. 341–344), on a site that had been occupied by a church since the fourth century. The present building was begun in the late eleventh century, except for the apse and southern tower, which date from the twelfth. The brick exterior, though more ornate and far more monumental, recalls the proportions and the geometric simplicity of the Ravennate churches (compare figs. 264, 269). Upon entering the atrium, we are confronted by the severe, handsome façade with its arcades, recessed arcades, and beyond, are two bell towers, separate structures just touching the outer walls of the church. We had seen a round tower of this kind, probably the earliest surviving example, of the ninth–tenth centuries, on the north side of S. Apollinare in Classe (fig. 255). Most of its successors are square, but the tradition of the free-standing bell tower or campanile remained so strong in Italy that they rarely ever became an integral part of the church proper. The nave of S. Ambrogio, low and broad, is some ten feet wider than that at Durham. It consists of four square bays separated by strong transverse arches. There is no transept, but the easternmost nave bay carries an octagonal domed or vaulted tower or lantern. This was an afterthought, and we can easily see why. For the nave bays, clerestory and the windows of the lantern proper, the body needed illumination

340 Plan of Durham Cathedral (1093–10[illegible]), after Conant.



341 Nave, looking [illegible] (after [illegible])

342 Nave, looking [illegible] (after [illegible])

As at Durham or Caen, there is an alternating system of nave piers, since the length of each nave bay equals that of two aisle bays; the latter are groin-vaulted, like the first three of the nave bays, and support galleries. The nave vaults, however, differ significantly from their northern counterparts. Constructed of brick and rubble, in a technique reminiscent of Roman groined vaults such as those in the Basilica of Constantine, they are a good deal heavier; the diagonal ribs, moreover, form true half-circles (at Durham and Caen, they are flattened), so that the vaults rise to a point considerably above the transverse arches. This produces a domed effect and gives each bay the appearance of a separate entity, apart from further increasing the weight of the vault. On a smaller scale, the Milanese architect might have attempted a clerestory instead of galleries, but the span of the nave was determined by the width of the tenth-century apse, and he shared with his patrons a taste for ample interior proportions, like those of Early Christian basilicas (compare colorplate 3) instead of striving for height and light as his Norman contemporaries did. Under these circumstances he saw no reason to take risks by experimenting with more economical shapes and lighter construction, so that the ribbed groined vault in Lombardy remained conservative and never approached the proto-Gothic stage.

German Romanesque architecture, centered on the Rhine and, was equally conservative, although its conservatism reflects the persistence of Carolingian (Ottonian) rather than earlier traditions. Its finest achievement, the Imperial Cathedral of Speyer, begun about 1030, but not completed until more than a hundred years later, has a westwork (now sheathed by a modern reconstruction) and an equally monumental grouping of crossing tower and twin stair towers at the eastern end (fig. 345). The architectural detail serves to impart a focus

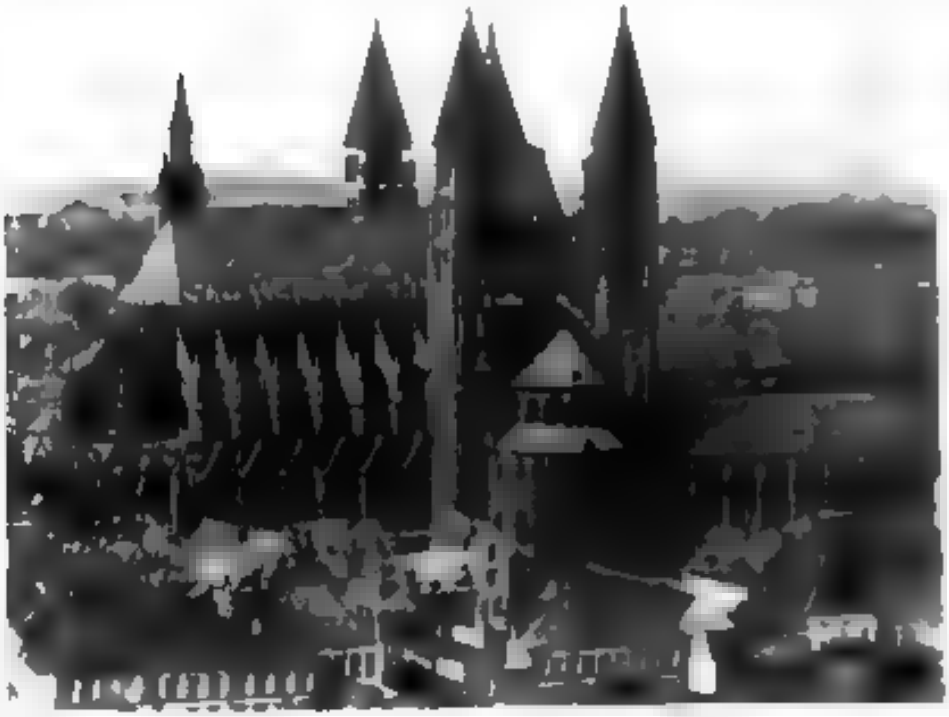
above: 143. S. Ambrogio, Milan. Late 11th and 12th centuries

right: 144. Interior, S. Ambrogio, Milan

[illegible]

of German imperial ambitions (compare S. Ambrogio), but the tall proportions are northern, and the scale is so vast as to dwarf every other church of the period. The nave, one third taller and wider than that of Durham, has a generous clerestory, since it was planned for a wooden roof; in the early twelfth century it was divided into square bays and covered with heavy, unribbed groined vaults akin to the Lombard rather than the Norman type.

The impressive eastern end of Speyer Cathedral is echoed in a number of churches of the Rhine Valley and the Low Countries, including Cathedral and Toutna (fig. 346). It occurs twice, at either end, in the transept, the most memorable massing of towers anywhere in Romanesque architecture. Originally there were to have been four towers, two at the west façade (later reduced to turrets), and two flanking the eastern apse (replaced by a huge [illegible]). Such multiple towers had been firmly established in medieval church design north of the Alps [illegible] the time of Charlemagne (see [illegible] Reims, fig. 12[illegible]), though few complete sets were ever finished and even [illegible] have survived. Whatever their practical functions as [illegible] towers, bell towers, or watch towers, their prominent [illegible] can hardly be [illegible] from this basis. In a world not easily [illegible] by the expressive medieval [illegible] creations of the supernatural, as the ziggurats had come for the ancient Mesopotamians, the story of the Tower of Babel always fascinated the Middle Ages. Perhaps their symbolic meaning is best illustrated by a case history. A certain count had a quarrel with the people of



346. Durham Cathedral: Nave (110-70), transept and crossing (c. 1165-1215)

top 347 Pisa Cathedral (with Baptistery and campanile) 1053–1272

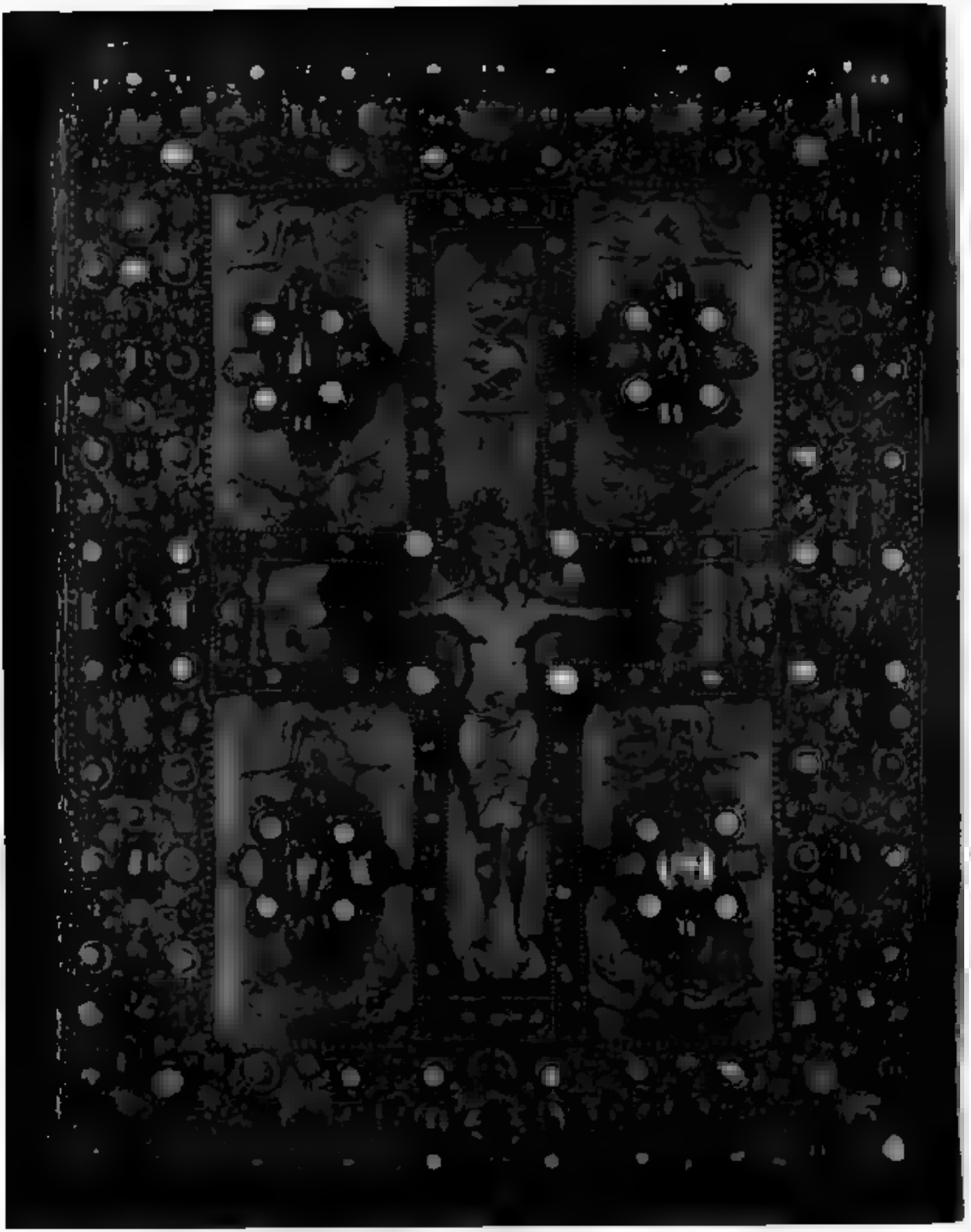
above 348 Interior Pisa Cathedral

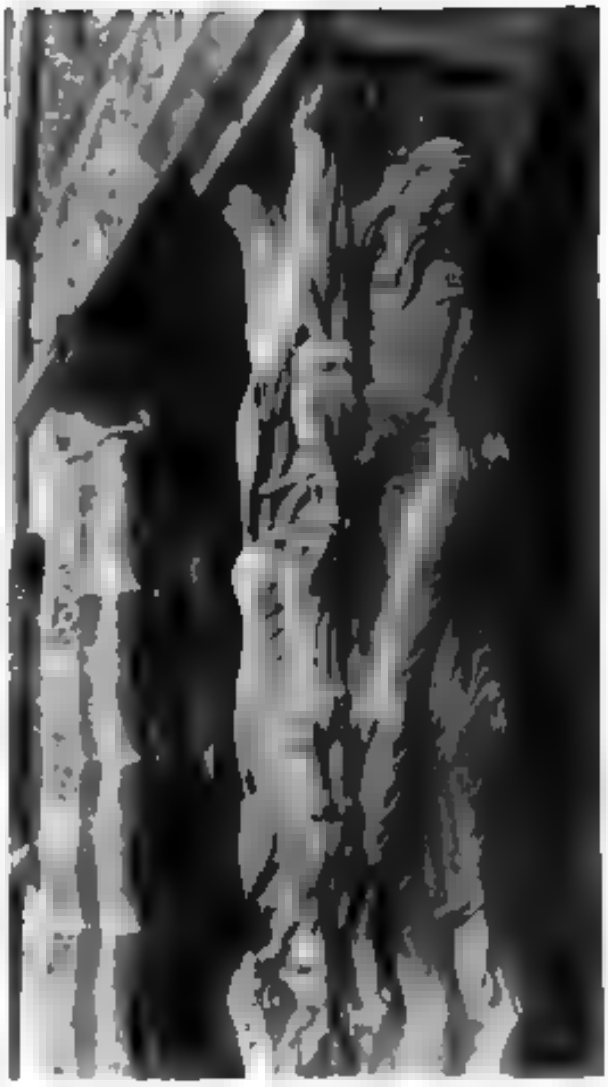
right 349 Baptistery Florence c.1060–1150

a nearby town, led by their bishop. He finally laid siege to the town, captured it, and, to express his triumph and humiliate his enemies, he topped the top off their cathedral tower. Evidently loss of tower meant loss of face, towers being architectural symbols of strength, power and authority.

The most famous tower of all, however, owes its renown to an accident. It is the Leaning Tower of Pisa (or more precisely, the campanile of Pisa Cathedral), which began to assume its present angle because of poor foundations even before it was finished (fig. 347; note that its axis is slightly bent). The tower forms part of a magnificent ensemble on an open site north of the city that includes the Cathedral and the circular domed Baptistery to the west of it. They represent the most ambitious monument of the Tuscan Romanesque, reflecting the wealth and pride of the city republic of Pisa. Far more than Lombardy, with its strong northward connections, Tuscany retained an awareness of its classical heritage throughout the Middle Ages. The plan of Pisa Cathedral is essentially that of an early Christian basilica, elaborated into a cruciform by the addition of wide transept arms that resemble smaller basilicas in themselves, with apses of their own. The crossing is marked by a dome, but the rest of the church is wooden-roofed except for the aisles of nave and the transept arms, which have groined vaults. The interior (fig. 348) has somewhat taller proportions than an early Christian

Colorplate [illegible] Asiatic Ingot Symbol of St. Mark from the *Echternach Gospels*
About 700 A.D. Bibliotheque Nationale Paris





[illegible] because there are galleries [illegible] supporting the nave [illegible] Romanesque [illegible] Pisa Cathedral [illegible] white marble [illegible] patterns in dark green [illegible] from Imperial Roman [illegible] revived only in central Italy during the Middle Ages. [illegible] the exteriors are combined with blind arcades and galleries producing a lace-like richness of texture and [illegible] very different from the austerity of early Christian exteriors. But then the time had long passed when it might be thought undesirable for a church to compete with the outward splendour of classical temples.

In Florence, which was to outstrip Pisa economically and artistically, the greatest achievement of the Tuscan Romanesque is the Baptistery (fig. 240) opposite the west [illegible] of the Cathedral [illegible] Roman [illegible] the blind arcades are [illegible] The entrance [illegible] that the [illegible] a few hundred [illegible] hall became a temple of Mars. [illegible] date has not been [illegible] satisfaction. We shall have to regard this Baptistery a number of times since it was [illegible] to play an important role in the [illegible] tance.

SCULPTURE

The [illegible] of monumental sculpture is even more astonishing than the architectural achievements of the Romanesque era, since neither Carolingian nor Ottonian

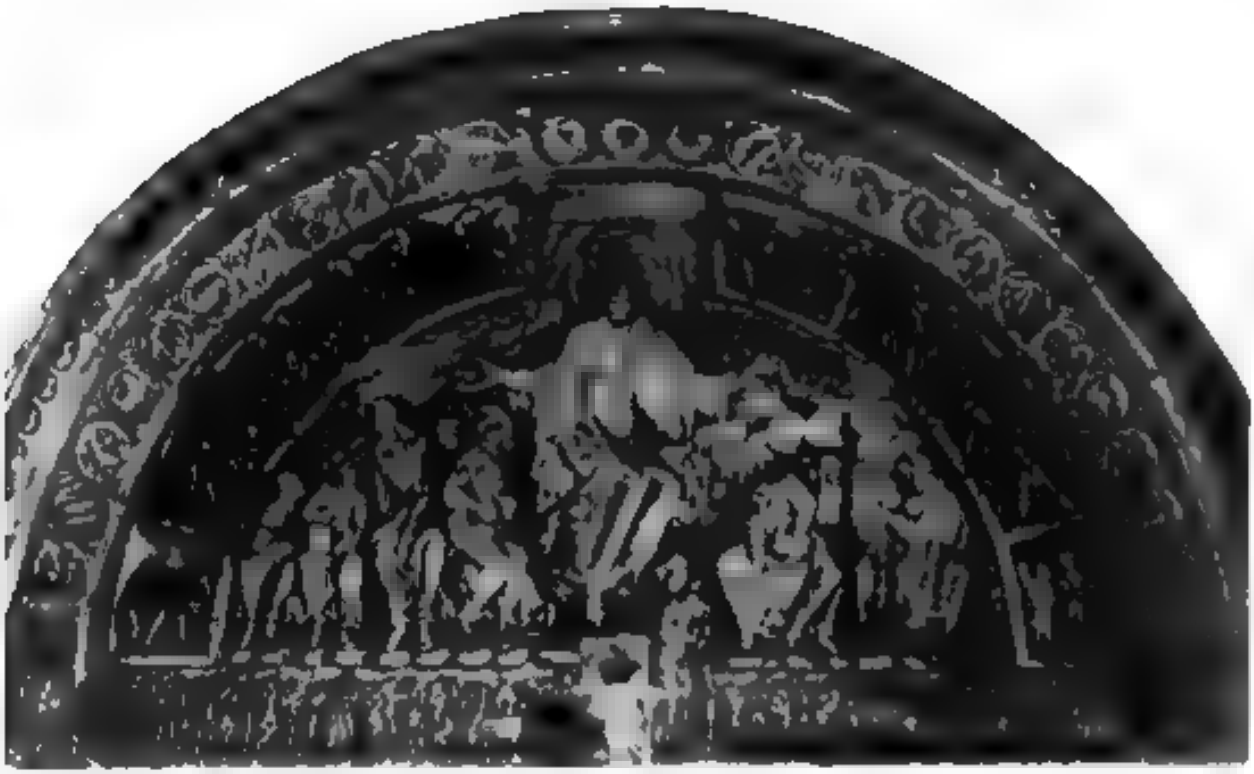
art had shown any tendencies in this direction. Free-standing statues were [illegible] revived, but disappeared from Western art after the fifth century. Stone relief survived only in the form of architectural ornament or surface decoration, with the depth of the carving reduced to a minimum. Thus the only continuous sculptural tradition in early medieval art was that of sculpture in miniature: small reliefs and occasional statuettes, in metal or ivory. Ottonian art, in works such as the bronze doors of Bishop Bernward (see fig. 333), had enlarged the scale of this tradition but not its spirit, and its truly large-scale sculptural efforts, represented by the impressive series of Carolingian (fig. 338) were almost entirely [illegible]. What little of one carving there was in western Europe before the mid-eleventh century hardly went beyond the artistic and technical level of the Sigurd [illegible].

Fifty years [illegible] a large-scale [illegible]

above: 352. Last Judgment, [illegible] St. Pierre, Moissac (the Angel of the Annunciation, bottom left, is modern)

right: 353. Last Judgment (detail), west tympanum, Autun Cathedral, c. 1130–35

early. Just when and where the revival of stone sculpture began we cannot say with assurance, but if any one area has a claim to priority it is southwestern France and northern Spain, along the pilgrimage roads leading to Santiago de Compostela. The link with the pilgrimage traffic seems logical enough, for architectural sculpture, especially when applied to the exterior of a church, is meant to appeal to the lay worshiper rather than to the members of a closed monastic community. Like Romanesque architecture, the rapid development of stone sculpture between 1050 and 1100 reflects the growth of religious fervor among the lay population in the decades before the First Crusade. St. Sernin at Toulouse contains several important examples probably carved about 1090, including the *Apostle* in figure 350. This panel is now in the ambulatory; its original location remains uncertain (perhaps it decorated the front of an altar). Be that as it may, the figure, which is somewhat more than half life-size, was not intended for viewing at close range only. Its impressive bulk and weight carry over a considerable distance. This emphasis on massive sculpture hints at what may well have been the main impulse behind the revival of large-scale sculpture: a stone-carved image being tangible and three-dimensional is far more real than a painted one. To the mind of a monk steeped in the abstractions of the liturgy, this might seem trivial, even dangerous. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, writing [illegible], denounced the sculptures decorating church[illegible] as a vain, lewd, and diverting [illegible] that employed to read in the marble rather than in the books. He was a [illegible] very much heeded, however, [illegible] philosophical [illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible] any large piece of sculpture inevitably had some [illegible] of the quality of an idol, and it was this very fact that gave it such great appeal. But let us return to the *Apostle* from St. Sernin. Where have we seen its like before? The simplicity of the forms has a strength that [illegible] revealing that our artist must have had a close [illegible] with Roman sculpture, and which there are [illegible] indelible remains in southern France. The design as a whole, on the other hand, the solemn frontality of the figure, its placement in the architectural frame, derives from a Byzantine source, or a Carolingian or early pre-Romanesque work descended from the *Archangel Michael* in figure 206. Yet in enlarging such a miniature the carver of our relief has also reinflated it: the niche is a real cavity, the hair a round, close-fitting cap, the body severe and blockish. Our *Apostle* has, in fact, much the same dignity and stiffness as the sculpture of Archaic Greece.

Another important early center of Romanesque sculpture was the abbey at Moissac, some distance north of Toulouse. The south portal of this church, carved a generation later than the *Apostle* from St. Sernin, displays a richness of invention that would have made St. Bernard wince. In figure 35 we see the magnificent *trumeau*, the center post supporting the lintel, and the western jamb. Both have a scalloped profile—apparently a bit of Moorish influence (see fig. 198)—and the shafts of the half columns applied to jambs and *trumeau* follow this scalloped pattern as if they had been squeezed from a giant pastry tube. Human and animal forms are treated with

[illegible] 154

[illegible] North lamb[illegible] [illegible] Porta [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible]

the same incredible flexibility, so that the spidery Prophet on the side of the *trumeau* seems perfectly adapted to his precarious perch. Notice how he (or it) has been fitted into the scallloped outline. Its even remains (see Cross-hatched legs) in a dancelike movement, and it turns its head toward the interior of the church as he unfurls his scroll. But what of the crossed lions that form a symmetrical zigzag on the face of the *trumeau*? Do they have a meaning? So far as we know, they simply animate the shaft as the interlacing beasts of Irish manuscripts, whose descendants they are, animate the compartments assigned to them. In manuscript illumination this tradition had never died out; our sculptor has undoubtedly been influenced by it, just as the agitated movement of the Prophet has its ultimate origin in miniature painting (see fig. 160). The crossed lions, however, reflect another source as well: we find them in Persian metalwork, although not in this tower-like formation), whence they can be traced back to the confronted animals of ancient Near Eastern art (see figs.

[illegible] Not we cannot fully account for their presence at Moissac, in terms of their effect, one can [illegible]. The bestiary is a vast array of savage or monstrous creatures in Romanesque art, that, each in their demoniacal stability [illegible] though, has a [illegible] impelled like [illegible] lions to perform a supporting function. Similar examples may be seen in figs. [illegible] and [illegible]. The purpose is thus not merely decorative but expressive: they embody dark forces that have been domesticated into guardian figures or banished to a position in which they need fear no eternity, however much they may strain in protest.

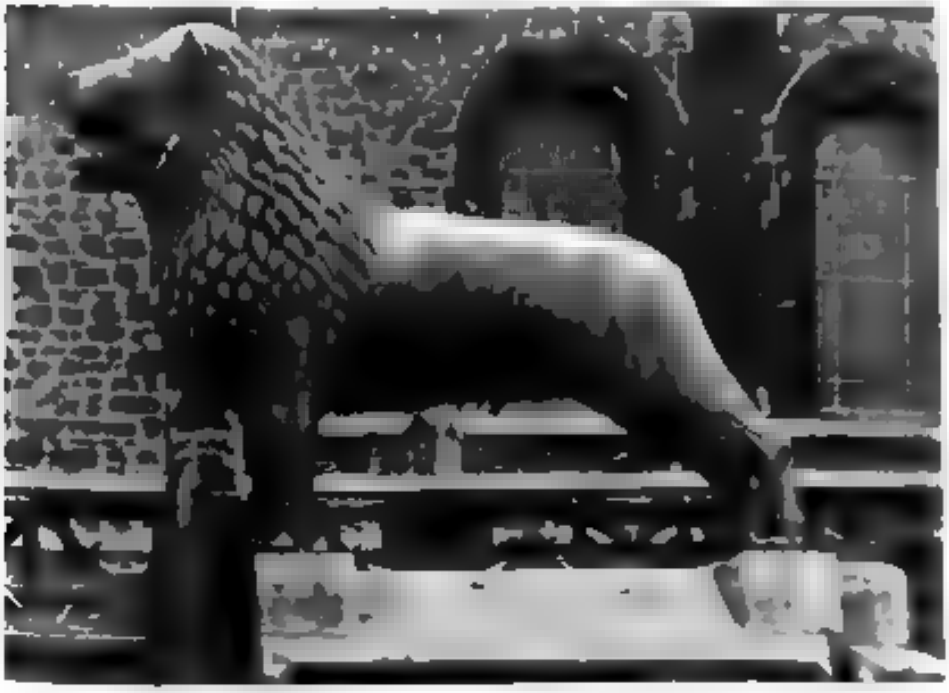
The portal proper at Moissac is preceded by a deep porch with lavishly sculptured sides. On the east flank, right as we enter, within the arcade, the *Annunciation* and *Visitation* as well as the *Adoration of the Magi*. Other events from the earthly life of Christ are shown on the *frieze* above. Here we find the same hieratic poses, the same eloquent gestures we saw in the Prophet on the *trumeau* (note especially the wonderful play of hands in the *Vis-*

ation and *Annunciation*) only the proportions of the bodies and the size of the figures vary with the architectural context. What matters is the vividness of the narrative rather than consistency of treatment.

The tympanum, the lunette above the [illegible] main portal of Romanesque churches, [illegible] often the Apocalyptic Vision of the Last Judgment, the most awesome scene in Christian art. A Vision of Christ, the latter subject has been [illegible] with singular expressive force [illegible] the weighing [illegible] scales. At the bottom, the dead [illegible] and trembling [illegible] by snakes [illegible] by large [illegible] Above, the [illegible] hangs in the balance [illegible] the scales and angels [illegible] These [illegible] human [illegible] but their [illegible] themselves [illegible] and spirit.

An [illegible] Romanesque [illegible] Autun [illegible] Apo[illegible]

proclaims the duty of every Christian to spread the Gospel to the ends of the earth. From the hands of the majestic ascending Christ we see the rays of the Holy Spirit pouring down upon the apostles, all of them equipped with copies of the Scriptures in token of their mission. The [illegible] and the compartments around the central group are [illegible] with representatives of the heathen world, a [illegible] encyclopedia [illegible] medieval anthropology which includes a [illegible] In the ar-



above 148. Renner of Hoy: Baptismal Font [illegible] Bronze, height 25 St. Barthélemy, Liège

left 149. Lion Monument, c.1166. Bronze, length c. 6. Cathedral Square, Brunswick

160. Twelve Oxen, Mosan, [illegible] bronze, height [illegible]. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Crown Copyright Reserved)

chivolt (the arch framing the tympanum) we recognize the signs of the zodiac and the labors appropriate to each month of the year, to indicate that the preaching of the Faith is as unlimited in time as it is in space.

The portal sculpture at Moissac, Autun, and Vézelay, although varied in style, has many qualities in common: intense expression, unbridled liveliness, and a nervous agility of line that owes more to manuscript illumination and metalwork than to the sculptural tradition of antiquity. The *Apostle* from St. Sernin, in contrast, had impressed us with its sturdy, Roman flavor. The influence of classical monuments is particularly strong in the Provence, the coastal region of southeastern France (which had been part of the Graeco-Roman world far longer than the rest of the country and is full of splendid Roman remains) as well as in Italy. Perhaps for this reason, the Romanesque style persisted longer in these areas than elsewhere. Looking at the center portal of the church at St.-Trophime-Arles (fig. 160), one of the great masterpieces of Romanesque art, we are struck immediately by the classical flavor of the architectural framework, with its free-standing columns, meander patterns, and fleshy acanthus ornament. The two large statues, carved almost in the round, have a sense of weight and volume akin to that of the *Apostle* from St.-Sernin, although, being half a century later in date, they also display the richness of detail we have observed in the intervening monuments. They stand on brackets supported by crouching beasts of prey, and these too, show a Roman massiveness, while the small figures on the base (Cain and Abel) recall the style of Moissac. The two statues at St.-Gilles are akin to the splendid figure of King David from the façade of Fidenza Cathedral in Lombardy (fig. 163), by Benedetto Antelami, the greatest sculptor of Italian Romanesque art. That we should know his name is not surprising in itself; artists' signatures are far from rare in Romanesque times; what makes Antelami exceptional is the fact that his work shows a considerable degree of individuality, so that for the first time since the ancient Greeks we can begin to speak (though with some hesitation) of a personal style. And his *David* [illegible] approaches the ideal of the self-sufficient statue more closely than any medieval work we have seen so far. The disciple from St.-Sernin is one of a series of figures all of them immutably fixed in the niches where Antelami's *David* stands physically free and even shows an attempt at a complete (but classical *contrapposto*) [illegible]. To be sure, he would look awkward if placed in a perpendicular position; he *demands* the architectural framework for which he was made, but [illegible] far more [illegible] than do the two statues at St.-Gilles. Not [illegible] subject to the group discipline of a series, his [illegible] is a second niche statue in the other side [illegible] portal. An extraordinary achievement, indeed, especially if we consider that no much more than a hundred years separate it from the beginnings of the sculptural revival.

The emergence of distinct artistic personalities in the twelfth century is a phenomenon that rarely is acknowledged, perhaps because it contravenes the widespread assumption that a medieval artist is anonymous. Things do not happen overnight, of course, but it is no less significant for all that. Antelami's [illegible] cause he cannot even claim to be the earliest. Nor is he [illegible] of individuality [illegible]. We are [illegible] in one particular region of the north, in the valley of the Meuse River, which runs from northeastern France into Belgium and Holland. This region had been the home of the Reims style in Carolingian times (see figs. 326, 327) and contemplate (fig. [illegible]) and the same awareness of classical sources pervades its art during the Romanesque period. Here again, then, interestingly enough, the revival of individuality is linked with the influence of ancient art, although this influence did not produce works on a monumental scale. Mosan Romanesque sculpture excelled in metalwork, such as the splendid baptismal font of [illegible] (1118) in Liège (fig. 158), which is also the masterpiece of the earliest among the individually known artists of the region, Renier of Huy. The vessel rests on twelve oxen (symbols of the twelve apostles), like Solomon's basin in the Temple at Jerusalem as described in the Bible. The reliefs make an instructive contrast with those of Bernward's doors (see fig. 132), since they are about the same height. Instead of the rough expressive power of the Ottonian panel, we find here a harmonious balance of design, a subtle control of the sculptured surfaces, and an understanding of organic structure that, in medieval

terms, are amazingly classical. The figure seen from the back (beyond the tree on the left in our picture) with its graceful turning movement and Greek-looking drapery might almost be mistaken for an ancient work.

The one monumental free-standing statue of Romanesque art — perhaps not the only one made, but the only one that has survived — is that of an ass, and in a secular rather than a religious context: the gilded bronze lion on top of a tall shaft that Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony had placed in front of his palace at Brunswick (c. 1166, fig. 159). The wonderfully fierce, ass-beast which, of course, personifies the Duke — or at least that aspect of his personality which earned him his nickname — reminds us in a curious way of the archaic bronze she-wolf of Rome (see fig. 98). Perhaps the resemblance is not fortuitous, considering that since the she-wolf was on public view in Rome at that time and may have had a strong impact on Romanesque artists. The more immediate models for the Brunswick lion, however, are the numerous bronze water vessels in the shape of lions, dragons, griffins, and such, that came into use in the twelfth century for the ritual washing of the priest's hands during Mass. These vessels, an offshoot of monsters used in medieval service for the Lord, were [illegible] Near Eastern inspiration. The beguiling specimen reproduced in figure 160 is a Netherlandish descendant from the winged beasts of Persian art, transmitted to the West through silk with the same motif.

PAINTING

In the architecture and sculpture, Romanesque painting shows no sudden revolutionary developments that set it apart immediately from Carolingian or Ottonian. Nor does it look more Roman than Carolingian or Otto-

above, right: St Mark, from a Gospel Book, produced in Corbie, c. 1000. Municipal Library, Amiens

below: The Battle of Hastings, detail of the Bayeux Tapestry, c. 1100. Wool embroidery on linen, height 20 in. Town Hall, Bayeux

161 *The Building* [illegible] *Babel* [illegible]
Early [illegible] century [illegible]

man painting. This does not mean, however, that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries painting was any less important than it had been during the earlier Middle Ages; it merely emphasizes the greater continuity of the pictorial tradition, especially in manuscripts, which had in Nevertheless, soon after the year 1000 we find the beginnings of a painting style which corresponds, and [illegible] artistic [illegible] the monumental qualities of Romanesque sculpture. The new attitude is clearly evident in the *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (fig. 160), from a Corbie [illegible] probably [illegible] at the monasteries of Corbie and [illegible]. The swaying and turning movement of the figures which persuades us to see the figures of the Evangelists, but the winged lion, the [illegible] and the curtain, recalls a Carolingian miniature of the Reims School, such as the *Ebbo Gospels* (see fig. [illegible]), but this very resemblance helps to make us aware of the differences between the two works. In the Corbie manuscript every trace of classical illusionism has disappeared; the fluid modeling of the Reims School, with its suggestion of light and space, has been replaced by firmly drawn contours filled in with bright, solid colors, so that the three-dimensional aspects of the picture are reduced to an overlapping of flat planes. Even Ottonian painting (see color plate [illegible]) seems oddly illusionistic in comparison. Yet by sacrificing the last remnants of movement in terms of light and shade, the Romanesque artist has endowed his work with an abstract clarity and precision that had not been possible in Carolingian or Ottonian times. Only now can we truly say that the representational, the symbolic, and the decorative elements of the design are knit together into a single, unified structure.

The style of the Ashburnham Pentateuch and manuscripts in which all effects have to be achieved by pen and brush [illegible] the rendering of textures and highlights such as [illegible] and because [illegible] the change [illegible] *Ebbo* [illegible] *Ashburnham Pentateuch* [illegible] are made up of pen [illegible] flicks and dashes of brush [illegible] strange [illegible] a larger scale [illegible] the miniatures [illegible] glass [illegible] painted [illegible] essential qualities. We can see this [illegible] space with the Veezelay [illegible] (fig. 164) where much the same pleated drapery patterns are rendered in sculptural terms. Now the so-called Bayeux Tapestry, an embroidered frieze 230 feet long illustrating William the Conqueror's conquest of England in [illegible] (fig. [illegible]), which shows the Battle of Hastings, the kinship to the style of the Corbie manuscript even extends to the scimitar-like [illegible] of the fallen horses, which have the pose of the [illegible] in the miniature. Again we marvel at the ease with which the designer has integrated narrative and ornament: the main scene is enclosed by two border strips that perform their framing function equally well, although the upper one is purely decorative while the other consists of dead warriors and horses and thus forms part of the story.

Firm outlines and a strong sense of pattern are equally characteristic of Romanesque wall painting. *The Building of the Tower of Babel* (fig. 161) is taken from the most

mpressive surviving cycle on the nave vault of the hurch at St Savin-sur Gartempe (compare fig 122) Ias an intensely dramatic design crowded with strenuous action the Lord Himself on the far left, participates directly in the narrative as He addresses the hosts of the colossal structure He is counterbalanced on the right by the giant Noah and the leader of the entire prose who frantically hands bricks of stone to the masons at the lower so that the entire scene becomes a great ess of strength between Christ and Man The heavy black contours the emphatic plastic gestures make the composition eminently readable from a distance yet these same qualities occur in the illuminated manuscript of that region which can be equally admirable despite the small scale

While Romanesque painting like architecture and sculpture developed a wide variety of regional styles throughout western Europe its greatest achievements emerged in the monastic scriptoria of northern France the Rhineland, and southern England The works produced in these areas are so diverse yet so equally fine that it is at times difficult to be sure in which school the English Hunterian Apocalypse manuscript belongs Has the style the wonderful miniatures of Saint Bertin or perhaps Corbie been linked with those of Canterbury and Winchester Here the abstract linear language of the Carolingian manuscript has been enriched by Byzantine influence in the type of the Evangelists whose origins can be traced back to such works as the gospel of Rabbula using its energetic vitality to express a sensitive harmony of every element both in the individual figure and in the frame that unite the individual elements of the composition in a coherent whole This quality of fine art betrays its ancestry since the Celtic Germanic heritage of the illuminator of manuscripts with the Carolingian Classical tradition we realize how much the interlacing patterns of the Dark Ages have contributed to the design of the Hunterian page The drapery the movement of the garments have an impulsive yet disciplined aliveness that echoes the interwoven snake like monsters of the animal style even though the foliage side scrolls the classical acanthus and the human figures are based on Carolingian and Byzantine models The unity of the entire page however is accomplished not only by the frame but by the concept as well The Evangelist inhabits the frame in such a way that we could not remove him from it without cutting off his ink supply proffered by the donor of the manuscript Abbot Wedricus his source of inspiration the dove of the Holy Spirit in the hand of God or his identifying symbol the eagle The other medallions, less directly linked with the main figure show scenes from the life of St John

Soon after the middle of the twelfth century an important change of style begins to make itself felt in Romanesque painting on either side of the English Channel The *Portrait of a Physician* (fig 164), from a medical manuscript of c 1160, is surprisingly different from the St. John

163 *Portrait of a Physician* from a medical treatise [illegible] St Mary [illegible]

164 NICHOLAS OF VERDUN *The Crossing of the Red Sea* Bronze enamel plaque height [illegible] Klosterneuburg Abbey Austria

399. *Spring Landscape*, from a manuscript of *Carmina Burana*, late 12th century. Bavarian State Library, Munich.

miniature, although it was produced in the same region. Instead of abstract patterns, we suddenly find lines that have regained the ability to describe three-dimensional shapes: the drapery folds no longer lead an ornamental life of their own but suggest the rounded volume of the body underneath; there is even a renewed interest in foreshortening. Here at last then, we meet the pictorial counterpart of that classicism which we saw earlier in the Bertinus Bible of Renier of Huy at Liège (see fig. 358). In fact, our miniature was probably done at Liège too, and its sharp, deliberate lines look as if they had been engraved in metal rather than drawn with pen or brush. That the new style should have had its origin in metalwork is perhaps less strange than it might seem at first glance, for its essential qualities are sculptural rather than pictorial; moreover, metalwork (which includes not only cast or embossed sculpture but also engraving, enameling, and goldsmithing) had been a highly developed art in the Meuse valley area since Carolingian times. Its greatest practitioner after Renier of Huy was Nicholas of Verdun, in whose work the classicizing, three-dimensional style of draughtsmanship reaches full maturity. The engraved and enameled plaques of the Klosterneuburg altar, which he completed in 1181 (fig. 364), shows one of them, *The Crossing of the Red Sea*, clearly belong to the same tradition as the Liège miniature, but the figures, clothed in rippling, "wet" draperies familiar to us from countless classical statues, have achieved so high a degree of organic body structure and freedom of movement that we tend to think of them as harbingers of Gothic art rather than as the final phase of the Romanesque. Whatever we choose to call it, the style of the Klosterneuburg altar was to have a profound impact upon both painting and sculpture during the next fifty years (see figs. 399, 400).

The astonishing humanity of Nicholas of Verdun's art must be understood against the background of a general reawakening of interest in man and the natural world throughout northwestern Europe. This attitude could express itself in various ways: as a new regard for classical literature and mythology, an appreciation of the beauty of ancient works of art, or simply as a greater readiness to acknowledge the convenience of sensuous experience. The latter aspect is reflected partly in such lighthearted poetry as the well-known *Carmina Burana* composed during the late twelfth century and preserved in an illuminated manuscript of the early thirteenth. The [illegible] lyrics, [illegible] and sometimes a little [illegible] to the delights of nature, love, and drinking, though they have been embellished with [illegible] traditional [illegible]. We are even more surprised to [illegible] one of the miniatures (fig. 399), coupled with a poem in praise of spring, represents a landscape—the first, so far as we know, in Western art since late classical times. Echoes of ancient landscape painting derived from Early Christian and Byzantine sources can be found in Carolingian art (see figs. 26, 125), but only as a background subordinated to the human figure. Later on, these remnants had been reduced still further: even when the subject required a landscape setting, the warden of a garden in Bernward's doors (fig. 332) consists of no-thing but a few strangely twisted stems and bits of foliage. Thus, the *Carmina Burana* illustrator, called upon to depict the feel of nature in springtime, must have found his task a rather perplexing one. It has solved it in the only way possible for him, by filling his page with a sort of anthology of Romanesque plant ornament, interspersed with birds and animals. The trees, vines, and flowers remain so abstract that we cannot identify a single species (the birds and animals, probably copied from a zoological treatise, are far more realistic), yet they have an uncanny vitality of their own that makes them seem to sprout and unfold as if the growth of an entire season were compressed into a few frantic moments. These giant seedlings convey the exuberance of spring, of stored energy suddenly released, far more intensely than any normal vegetation could. Our artist has created a fairytale landscape, but his enchanted world nevertheless evokes essential aspects of reality.

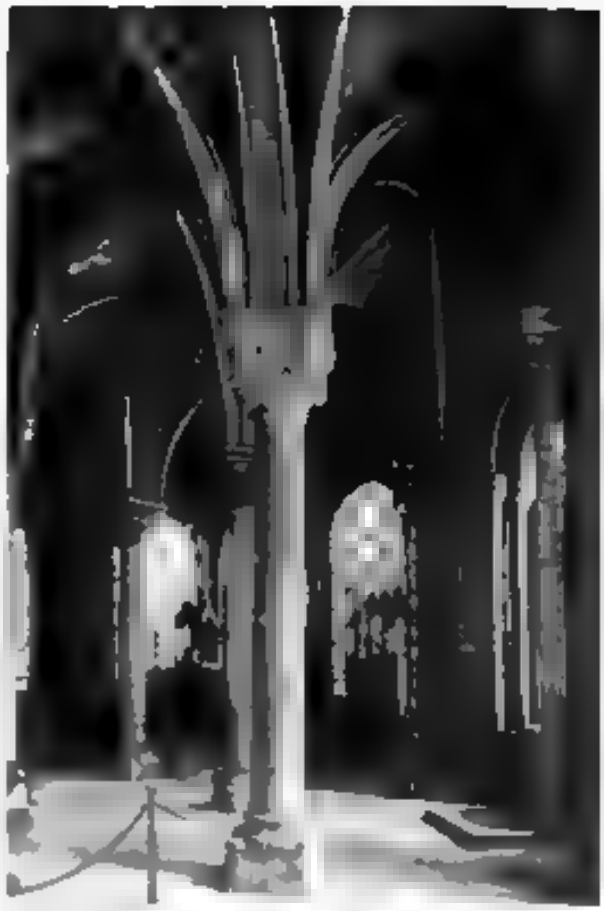
4. Gothic Art

Time and space, we have been taught, are interdependent. Yet we tend to think of history as the unfolding of events in time without sufficient awareness of their unfolding in space. We visualize it as a stack of chronological layers, or periods, each layer having a specific depth that corresponds to its duration. In the more remote past, where our sources of information are scanty, this simple image works reasonably well. It becomes less and less adequate as we draw closer to the present and our knowledge grows more precise. Thus we cannot define the Gothic era in terms of time alone; we must consider the changing surface area of the layer as well as its depth. At the start, about 1150, this area was minute: indeed, it embraced only the province in which the Île de France lay, with Paris and its environs, the royal domain of the French kings. A hundred years later, most of Europe had gone Gothic, from Sicily to Ireland, with only a few Romanesque pockets left here and there. Although the Crusaders' the new style had even been introduced into the Near East. About 1450 the Gothic area had begun to shrink; it no longer included Italy, and by about 1550 it had disappeared almost entirely. The Gothic layer, then, has a rather complicated shape, its depth varying from some 300 to 400 years in some places to a momentary sliver in others. This shape, however, does not emerge with equal clarity in all the visual arts. The term Gothic was coined for architecture, and it is in architecture that the characteristics of the style are most easily recognized. Only during the past hundred years have we become accustomed to speak of Gothic sculpture and painting. There is, as we shall see, some uncertainty even today about the exact limits of the Gothic style in these fields. This evolution of our concept of Gothic art suggests the way the new style actually grew. It began with architecture, and for about a century, from c. 1150 to 1250, during the Age of the Great Cathedrals, architecture retained its dominant role. Gothic sculpture, at first severely architectural in spirit, tended to become less and less so after 1200; its greatest achievements are between the years 1220 and 1420. Painting, in turn, reached a climax of creative endeavor between 1300 and 1450 in central Italy. North of the Alps, it became the leading art from about 1400 on. We thus find, in surveying the Gothic era as a whole, a gradual shift of emphasis from architecture to painting or, better perhaps, from architectural to pictorial qualities, characteristically enough. Early Gothic sculpture and painting both reflect the discipline of their monumental setting, while Late Gothic architecture and sculpture strive for "picturesque" effects rather than clarity or firmness. Overlaying this broad pattern, there is another one: international diffusion as against regional interpendence. Starting as a local development in the Île de France, Gothic art radiates from there to the rest of France and to Europe, where it comes to be known as opus modernum, or *francigenum* (modern or French work). In the course of the thirteenth century, the new style graduates, loses its imported flavor, and a vigorous regionalism begins to reassert itself. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, we notice a growing tendency for these regional achievements to influence each other, until, about 1400, a surprisingly homogeneous International Gothic style prevails almost everywhere. Shortly thereafter, this unity breaks apart, as with Florence in the lead, it creates a radically new art, that of the Early Renaissance, which north of the Alps, Flanders assumes an equally commanding position in the development of Late Gothic painting and sculpture. A century later, finally, the Italian Renaissance becomes the basis for another international style. With this sketch in hand as our guide, let us now explore the unfolding of Gothic art in greater detail.

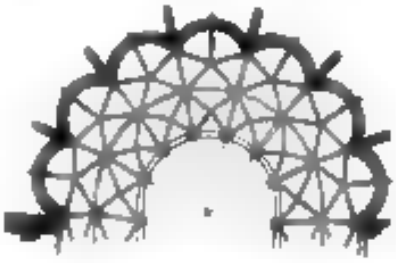
ARCHITECTURE: FRANCE

The origin of this previous style can be pinpointed as exactly as that of Gothic. It was born between 1137 and 1144 in the rebuilding by Abbot Suger of the royal Abbey Church of St. Denis just outside the city of Paris. If we are to understand how Gothic architecture happened to come into being at this particular spot, we must first acquaint ourselves with the special relationship between St. Denis, Suger, and the French monarchy. The kings of France derived their claim to authority from the Carolingian tradition, although they belonged to the Capetian line, founded by Hugh Capet after the death of the last Carolingian in 987. But their power was eclipsed by that of the nobles who, in theory, were their vassals; the only area they ruled directly was the Île-de-France, and they often found their authority challenged even there. Not until the early twelfth century did the royal power begin to expand, and Suger, as chief adviser to Louis VI, played a key role in this process. It was he who forged the alliance between the monarchy and the Church, which brought the bishops of France (and the cities under their authority) to the King's side, while the King, in turn, supported the papacy in its struggle against the German emperors. Suger, however, championed the

monarchy [illegible] in practical politics but [illegible] that [illegible] spiritual [illegible] by investing the [illegible] edifice with religious significance, by proclaiming it as the stronghold of justice he sought [illegible] as the [illegible] behind the King [illegible] architectural plan of the Abbey [illegible] church [illegible] the late eighteenth century expressed a dual purpose [illegible] Suger's purpose [illegible] as the home of the Apostles, France's sacred [illegible] as well as the chosen [illegible] of the Carolingian dynasty, both Charlemagne and his father Pepin had been consecrated kings here and [illegible] was also the burial place [illegible] Charles Martel, Pepin and Charles the Bald. Suger wanted to make the Abbey the spiritual center of France, a pilgrimage church [illegible] the splendor [illegible] of religious as well as political emotion. But in order [illegible] the visible embodiment of such a goal the edifice had to be enlarged and rebuilt. The great Abbot himself has described the entire campaign in such a [illegible] that we know more about what he desired to achieve than we do about the final result. For the west façade and its sculpture are so [illegible] today and the choir, which Suger regarded as the most important part of the enterprise, retains its original appearance only in the ambulatory (figs. [illegible]). Looking at the plan, we recognize the familiar elements of the Romanesque pilgrimage church: an impressive [illegible] and radial apse surrounded by an ambulatory and radiating chapels. Yet these elements have been integrated into a new [illegible] flash on the chapels. Instead of remaining separate units they are merged [illegible] in effect a second ambulatory, and ribbed groined vaulting based on the pointed arch is employed throughout. In the Romanesque pilgrimage church only the ambulatory had been groined vaulted. As a result the entire plan is held together by a new kind of geometric order. It consists of seven pointed wedge-shaped units fanning out from the center of the apse. We experience the double ambulatory not as a series of separate compartments but as a continuous though articulated space whose shape is outlined for us by the network of slender arches, ribs, and columns that sustains the vaults. What distinguishes this interior immediately from its predecessors is its lightness in both senses: the architectural forms seem graceful, almost weightless as against the massive sturdiness of the Romanesque, and the windows have been enlarged to the point that they are no longer openings cut into a wall. They fill the entire wall area so that they themselves become translucent walls. If we now examine the plan once more we realize what makes this abundance of light possible. The outward pressure of the vaults is contained by heavy buttresses jutting out between the chapels (in the plan, they look like stubby black arrows pointing toward the center of the apse). The main weight of the masonry construction is concentrated there, visible only from the outside. No wonder then that the interior appears so



67. Ambulatory, Abbey Church of St. Denis, France, 1140–44



68. Plan of the Choir, Abbey Church of St. Denis (after Crosby)

amazingly airy and weightless, since the heaviest members of the structural skeleton are beyond our view. The same impression would be even more striking if we could see Suger's choir in its entirety, for the upper part of the apse, rising above the double ambulatory, had very large stained windows (the effect from the nave must have been similar to that of the somewhat later choir of Notre-Dame in Paris, see fig. 369).

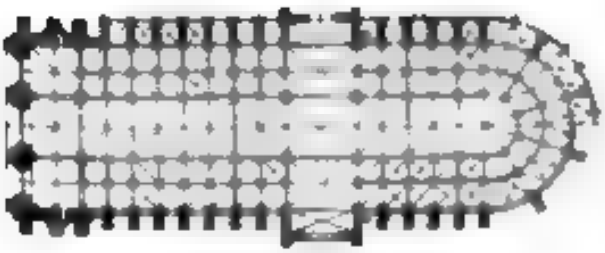
In describing Suger's choir we have also described the essentials of Gothic architecture. Yet none of the individual elements that entered into its design is really new: the pilgrimage choir plan, the pointed arch, the

ribbed groined vault, are familiar to us from the various regional schools of the French and Anglo-Norman Romanesque, even though we never encounter them combined in the same building until St-Denis. The Ile de France had faced a decision to develop a Romanesque [illegible] which suited Suger as he brought together artisans from many different regions for his project. We must [illegible] Gothic architecture [illegible] as a mere synthesis of Romanesque traditions. It was more than [illegible] would be hard pressed to explain the new principle [illegible] strikes us at first sight at St-Denis: the emphasis on geometric planning and the quest for unity. In Suger's account of the rebuilding of his church, insistently stresses both of these as the highest values achieved in the new structure. He [illegible] that is the perfect relationship among parts in terms of mathematical proportions or [illegible] he says, [illegible] beauty since it exemplifies the law according to which [illegible] the reason has constructed [illegible] the marvelous light flooding the choir through the [illegible] windows becomes the light [illegible] the spirit of God.

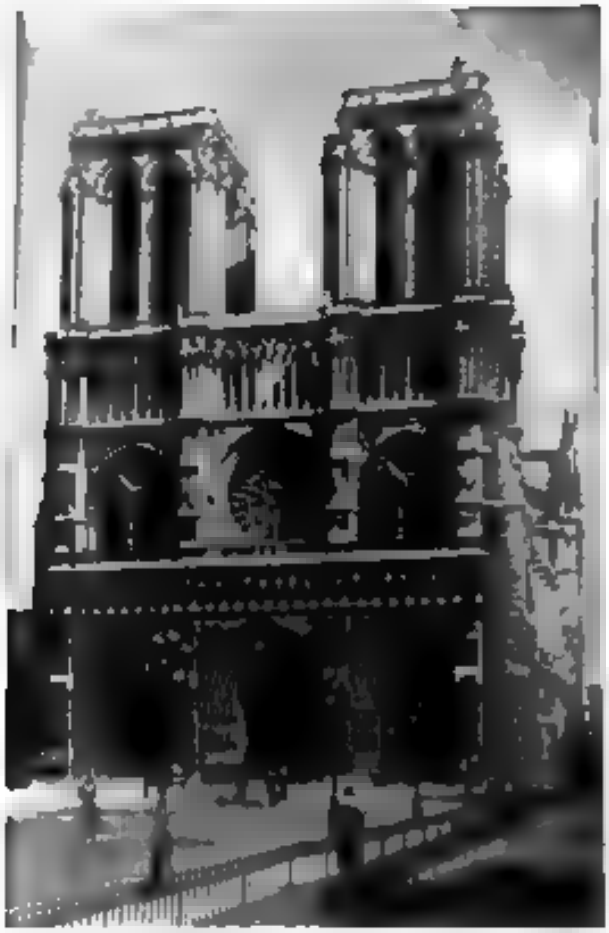
[illegible] had been established [illegible] in Christian thought. It [illegible] from the writings of a fifth-century Greek theologian who in the Middle Ages was believed to have been Dionysius the Areopagite, an Athenian convert of St. Paul. Through his identification, the [illegible] he shared with great [illegible] Dionysius [illegible] St. Paul was [illegible] both with [illegible] the [illegible] writings were with [illegible] St. Denis, France's patron saint and protector of the realm. The [illegible] power during the [illegible] gave new [illegible] the [illegible] St. Denis [illegible] Suger [illegible] Christian thought [illegible] We can [illegible] and [illegible] which [illegible] and [illegible] which he [illegible] but he [illegible] St. Denis [illegible] by [illegible] the new [illegible] spread [illegible] the [illegible] Gothic.

[illegible] of its success [illegible] a good deal more [illegible] controversy we [illegible] have [illegible] the functional approach [illegible] has seemed [illegible] advances in [illegible] engineering [illegible] bound [illegible] efficient [illegible] concentrate heat [illegible] at a few [illegible] points [illegible] dominate the [illegible] walls of the Romanesque. Suger [illegible] fortunate in securing the services of an architect who evidently understood the principles of ribbed groined vaulting better than anybody else at that time. If the Abbot himself interpreted the resulting structure as symbolic of Christian theology, he was simply expressing his enthusiasm over it in the abstract language of the churchman. His account does not help us understand the origin of the new style. It is perfectly true, of course, that the choir of St. Denis is more rationally planned and constructed than any Romanesque church. The pointed arch, which can be "stretched" to reach any desired height regardless of the width of its base, has now become an integral part of the ribbed groined vault. As a result, these vaults are

Nave



370 Plan of Notre-Dame, Paris, c.1163–c.1250



no longer restricted to square or near-square compartments. They have gained a flexibility that permits them to cover areas of almost any shape (such as the trapezoids and pentagons of the ambulatory). The buttressing of the vaults too is more fully understood than before. How could the theological ideas of Suger have led to these technical advances, unless we are willing to assume that he was a professionally trained architect? If we grant that he was not, can he claim any credit at all for the style of what he so proudly calls his new church? Perhaps the question poses a false alternative, somewhat like the conundrum of the chicken and the egg. The function of a church, after all, is not to enclose a maximum of space with a minimum of material, but the master who built the choir of St. Denis under Suger's supervision, the technical problems of vaulting must have been inextricably bound up with considerations of form (that is, of beauty, harmony, lightness, etc.). As a matter of fact, his design includes various elements that express function without actually performing it, such as the sculpted shafts called responds that seem to carry the weight of the vault to the church floor. But as Suger tells us, what most called beauty, harmony, and lightness the medieval architect needed the guidance of ecclesiastical authority. Such guidance might be a simple directive to follow some established model, or, in the case of a patron as actively concerned with architectural aesthetics as Suger, it might amount to full participation in the designing process. Thus Suger [illegible] should [illegible] envision the

above: (?) West façade, Notre Dame, Paris

right: (?) Notre Dame, view from the east, Paris

...logy ... is likely to have been a decisive factor from the ...ers beginning. It shaped his mental image of the kind of structure he wanted, we may assume, and determined his choice of a master of Norman background as the chief architect. This man, a great artist, must have been singularly responsive to the Abbot's ideas and intentions. Between them, the two together created the Gothic ...

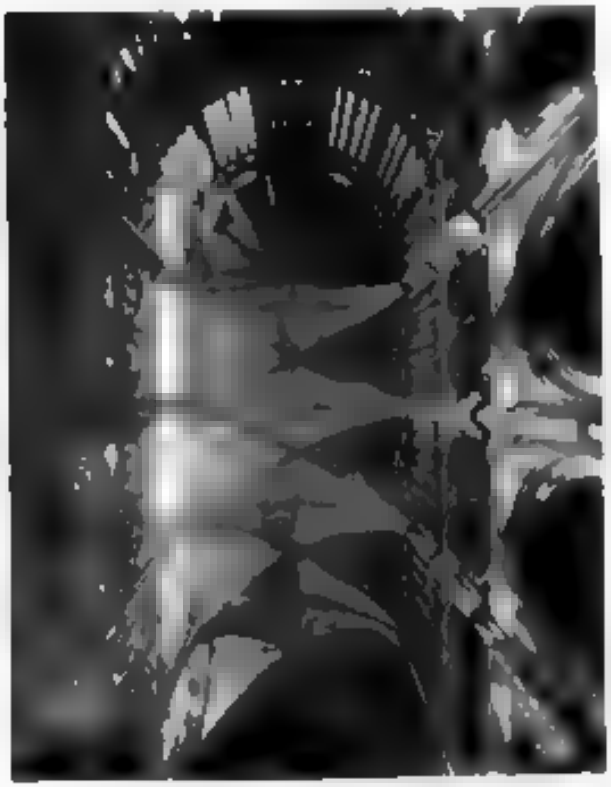
Although St. Denis was an abbey, the future of Gothic architecture lay in the towns rather than in rural monasteries. There had been a vigorous revival of urban life, we will recall, since the early eleventh century. Commerce continued at an accelerated pace, and the growing weight of the cities made itself felt not only economically and politically but in countless other ways. Bishops and the city clergy raised new, imposing cathedrals, schools and universities took the place of monasteries as centers of learning, while the artisans ... of the age ... cathedrals. The ...

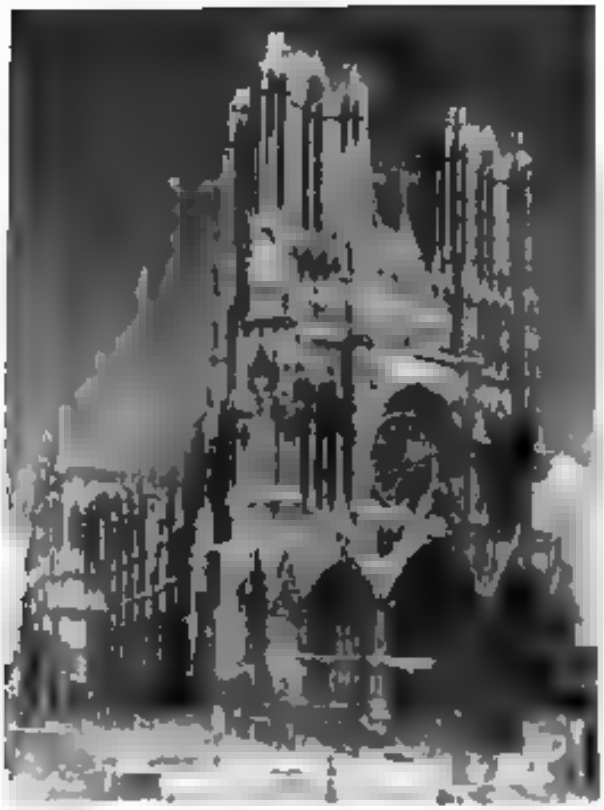
above: Nave looking west, Chartres Cathedral, ca. 1220

right: 374. Choir Vault, Amiens Cathedral. Begun 1220

of Notre Dame (Our Lady, the Virgin Mary) at Paris, begun in 1163, reflects the salient features of Suger's St. Denis more directly than any other. The plan (fig. 370), with its emphasis on the longitudinal axis, is extraordinarily compact and stubbed as against that of major Romanesque churches; the double ambulatory of the choir ... the aisles, and the stubby transept barely exceeds the width of the façade. In the interior (fig. 371) we still find echoes of the Norman Romanesque sequence: nave vaults over squarish bays and galleries above the outer aisles. The triforium in the nave arcade is another conservative feature. Yet the large clerestory windows, the lightness and slenderness of the forms create an unmistakably Gothic effect, much more than the nave walls are made to seem ... to the vertical sweep of the interior space. This depends less on the actual proportions of the nave, for some Romanesque naves are equally tall relative to their width, than on the constant accentuating of the vertical and on the soaring ease with which the sense of height is attained. Romanesque interiors, such as fig. 335, by contrast emphasize the great effort required in supporting the weight of the vaults.

In Notre Dame, as in Suger's choir, the buttresses (the "heavy bones" of the structural skeleton) are not visible from the inside. The plan shows them as massive blocks of masonry that stick out from the building like a row of ... Above the aisles these part ... flying but-





[illegible] West Façade, Notre-Dame Cathedral [illegible]

[illegible] stresses at the bridges that reach upward [illegible] the [illegible] spots between the [illegible] where the [illegible] thrust [illegible] (fig. [illegible]). This method of anchoring saints is characteristic because of Gothic architecture. [illegible] considerations. Even the flying buttress, however, soon became aesthetically pleasing as well, and its shape could express support apart from actually providing it. [illegible] according to the designer's sense of style.

The [illegible] aspect of the exterior of Notre-Dame is the west façade (fig. [illegible]), except for its sculpture, which suffered heavily during the French Revolution and [illegible] the most part restored, it retains its original appearance. The design reflects the general disposition of the façade of St. Denis, which in turn had been derived from Norman Romanesque façades such as that of St. Etienne at Caen (see fig. [illegible]). Comparing the latter with Notre-Dame, we note the persistence of some basic features: the pier-buttresses that reinforce the corners of the towers and divide the façade into three main parts; the placing of the portals; the three-story arrangement. The rich sculptural decoration, however, recalls the façades of the west of France (see fig. 318) and the elaborately carved portals of Burgundy. Much more important than these resemblances, however, are the qualities that distinguish the façade of Notre-Dame from its Romanesque ancestors. Foremost among these is the way in which the details have been integrated into a wonderfully balanced and coherent whole. The meaning of Suger's emphasis on harmony, geometric order, and proportion becomes evident here even more strikingly than at St. Denis itself. This formal discipline also embraces the sculpture, which is no longer permitted the spontaneous (and often uncontrolled) growth so characteristic of the Romanesque but has been assigned a precisely determined place within the architectural framework. At the same time, the cubic solidity of the façade of St. Etienne at Caen has been transformed into a very opposite one: the façades' huge portals and windows dissolve the [illegible] of the wall surfaces so that the total effect approximates that of a weightless openwork screen. How rapidly this tendency advanced during the first half of the thirteenth century can be seen by comparing the west façade of Notre-Dame with the somewhat later façade [illegible] of the transept [illegible] (fig. [illegible]). [illegible] and as a result the [illegible] on the sides [illegible] the opening [illegible] set off against the [illegible] surface. In the transept façade, in contrast, we can no longer [illegible] the wall [illegible] surface [illegible] the entire area.

[illegible] Abbot Suger and shaped its ideas, began to rebuild the cathedral in the new style [illegible] years after [illegible], but the west façade [illegible] Cathedral was designed by [illegible] and a second building [illegible] place between [illegible] the nave [illegible] the latter stands [illegible] appears [illegible] Notre-Dame in Paris [illegible] the best [illegible] of the nave [illegible] High Gothic style. The galleries have now been reduced [illegible] a narrow passageway which has the thickness of the nave wall, screened by a triforium [illegible] openings. The nave arcade arches and nave [illegible] responds have been added [illegible] the columnar supports so as to stress the continuity of the vertical lines and the nave and aisles are no longer separate. As one among a number of this cathedral's chartres still retains most of its original stained glass windows. The magic of its interior space, unforgettable to anyone who has experienced it on the spot, cannot be suggested by black-and-white photographs, which inevitably exaggerate the brightness of the windows and thus make them look like holes instead of "translucent walls." In reality, the windows admit far less light than one might expect; they act merely as huge multicolored diffusing filters that change the quality of ordinary daylight, endowing it with the poetic and symbolic values so highly praised by Abbot Suger. (See colorplate 2, which shows the northern nave wall illuminated by sunlight shining through the windows on the south side; conveys something of the wonderfully warm and vibrant effect that

[illegible] Peter from the [illegible] Book [illegible] II
[illegible]

Color plate — Romanesque Symbol of Evangelist
from the Gospel Book of Abbot Hildegaire. Shortly before 1147
Societe Archeologique, Avesnes, France

Giotto [illegible] Entry into Jerusalem
[illegible] Arena Chapel, Padua

[illegible] Troyes [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Reims Cathedral (fig. [illegible]) make an instructive [illegible] with the west façade of Notre-Dame in Paris [illegible] though its basic design was conceived [illegible] years later. Many of the same elements are common to both, as the coronation Cathedral of the kings of France. Reims was closely linked to Paris, but in a younger structure they have been reshaped into a different ensemble. The portals, instead of being recessed, are projected forward as gabled porches with windows in place of tympanums above the doorways. The gallery of royal statues, which in Paris forms an intricate horizontal between the first and second stories, has been raised until it merges with the third story arcade. Every detail except the rose window has become taller and nar[illegible] and a multitude of pinnacles further [illegible] upward pushing more heavily [illegible] the [illegible] lessened [illegible] kind [illegible] has [illegible] the façade but on the [illegible] that [illegible] the cathedral begins to [illegible] stories.

[illegible] represent a [illegible] such as the world has [illegible] seen before or since. They are cross-national monuments whose [illegible] was begun by donations [illegible] and from all classes of society. [illegible] the angelic expression of the merging of religious and political [illegible] which had been the goal of Abbot Suger. As we approach the second half of the thirteenth century, however, the wave of enthusiasm has passed. [illegible] work on the vast structures begun during the [illegible] proceeds at a slacker pace; new projects are fewer and generally on a far less ambitious scale, and the [illegible] organized teams of masons and sculptors that had developed at the sites of the great cathedrals during the preceding decades gradually break up into smaller units. A characteristic church of the later years of the century, St. Urbain in Troyes (fig. 176), leaves no doubt that the "heroic age" of the Gothic style is past. Refinement of detail rather than towering monumentality has been the designer's chief concern; by eliminating the triforium

[illegible] simple [illegible] plan [illegible] has created a delicate cage of glass [illegible] the [illegible] the windows begin ten feet above the floor [illegible] and by flying buttresses so thin as to be barely [illegible] the same spirit of attenuated elegance can be felt in the architectural ornament [illegible] in some [illegible] the [illegible] prophecies of the Late or Flamboyant phase of French architecture. The beginnings of [illegible] need seem to go back to the [illegible] century but its growth was delayed by the [illegible] Years' War with England so that we do not [illegible] all the good examples of [illegible] the early fifteenth [illegible] which means flame-like refers to the undulating [illegible] curve and counter-curve that are a prevalent feature [illegible] the tracery [illegible] St Maclou in Rouen (fig. [illegible]) Structurally it has been [illegible] this shows a significant [illegible] pinnacles [illegible] was what design [illegible] gables. Maclou is [illegible] such churches as St Urbain in [illegible] for luxuriant profusion [illegible] ornament. The architect has [illegible] a vision which [illegible] the structural skeleton with a web of decoration so dense and fantastical [illegible] obscure [illegible] almost complete [illegible] becomes a fascinating game of hide and seek [illegible] the [illegible] of the building with this picturesque tangle of [illegible]

Since our account of medieval architecture is mainly concerned with the development of style we have only now [illegible] to religious structures, the most exhibitionist as well as the most representative efforts of the age. Secular buildings [illegible] to be sure, reflect the same general trends but these are often obscured by the [illegible] variety of types, ranging from bridges and fortifications to royal palaces, from barns to town halls. Moreover [illegible] economic and practical factors play a more important part here than in church design so that the useful life of the buildings is apt to be much briefer and their

[illegible] Begun 434

[illegible] 441

changes [illegible] preservation [illegible] correspondingly less. Fortifications for example are often made [illegible] by even a [illegible] advances in the technique of warfare. As a consequence of the wars of [illegible] of the previous Middle Ages remain [illegible] fragmentary and most of the surviving examples from [illegible] are the [illegible] of the period. The [illegible] however [illegible] without significance [illegible] architecture [illegible] private and public became [illegible] more elaborate during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than [illegible] had been before. The beauty [illegible] the [illegible] provides a [illegible] example: the original building erected about [illegible] followed the severely functional plan of the castles of that time [illegible] consisted mainly of a stout tower [illegible] the donjon or keep surrounded by a heavy wall. In the 1360s King Charles V had [illegible] as a sumptuous royal residence. Although this second Louvre [illegible] has now disappeared we know what it looked like from a fine miniature painted in the early fifteenth century (see colour plate 25). There was a defensive outer wall, but the great structure behind [illegible] has far more the character of a palace than of a fortress. Symmetrically laid out around a square court it provided comfortable quarters for the royal family and household (note the countless chimneys) as well as lavishly decorated halls for state occasions. Fig. 442, another miniature from the same manuscript, conveys a good impression of such a hall.

If the exterior of the second Louvre still has some

of the forbidding qualities of a stronghold the sides toward the court displayed a wealth of architectural ornament and sculpture. The same contrast appears in the house of Jacques Cœur in Bourges, dating from the [illegible] 1400s. We speak of it as a house only because Jacques Cœur was a silversmith and merchant, rather than a nobleman. Since however he and was one of the richest men of his day, he could well afford an establishment obviously modeled on the manors of the aristocracy. The courtyard (fig. [illegible]) with its high pitched roofs, pinnacles and decorative carvings suggests the picturesque qualities familiar to us from Flamboyant church architecture (fig. [illegible]). That we should find an elaborate court in a merchant's residence is striking proof of the importance attained by the urban middle class during the later Middle Ages.

ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND, GERMANY, AND ITALY

[illegible] of the most astonishing things about [illegible] the art [illegible] enthusiasts response [illegible] style [illegible] region [illegible] remarkable was [illegible] assimilate the [illegible] much [illegible] the monuments [illegible] England and Germany have been [illegible] objects of intense national pride [illegible] both [illegible] which [illegible] from a peculiar [illegible] of Gothic [illegible] A number of factors might be cited [illegible] French architects and [illegible] French [illegible] such as the [illegible] School of [illegible] and the [illegible] influence of the Cistercians. The reformed monastic order founded by St. Bernard [illegible] at least. He was recognized [illegible] the flights of fancy of Romanesque sculpture [illegible] with his ascetic ideals [illegible] abbeys [illegible] were [illegible] austere [illegible] decoration of [illegible] was held to a minimum and a square choir took the place of apse, ambulatory and radiating chapels. For this very reason, however, Cistercian architects put special emphasis on harmonious proportions and exact craftsmanship, and their anti-Romanesque outlook prompted them to adopt certain basic features of the Gothic style. During the latter half of the twelfth century as the reform movement gathered momentum, this austere Cistercian Gothic came to be known throughout western Europe. Still one wonders whether any of the explanations we have mentioned really get to the heart of the matter. The ultimate reason for the international victory of Gothic art seems to have been the extraordinary persuasive power of the style itself, its ability to kindle the imagination and to arouse religious feeling even among people far removed from the cultural climate of the Ile de France.

[illegible] Cathedral [illegible]

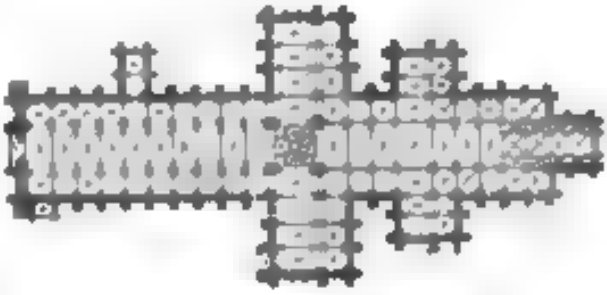


fig. Plan of Salisbury Cathedral

That England should have proved particularly receptive to the new style is hardly surprising. Yet English Gothic did not grow directly from Anglo-Norman Romanesque but from the Gothic of the Ile de France introduced in [illegible] by the French architect who rebuilt the choir of Canterbury Cathedral and from that of the Cistercians. Within less than fifty years it developed a well-defined character of its own, known as the Early English style, which dominated the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Although there was a great deal of building activity during those decades, it consisted mostly of additions to Anglo-Norman structures. A great many English cathedrals had been begun about the same time as Durham (see page [illegible]) but had remained unfin-

ished they were now completed or enlarged. As a consequence we find few churches that are designed in the Early English style throughout. Among cathedrals, only Salisbury meets this requirement (figs. 379–381). Viewing the exterior, we can appreciate how different is the concept in France and how unfavorably it would be judged by French aesthetic standards. Compactness and verticality have given way to a long, low sprawl, only in the great crossing tower, which possesses a dominant, uplifting accent, was built a century later than the rest and is much taller than originally planned. Since there is no vaulting at the height, flying buttresses have been introduced only as an afterthought. Character stems enough from the west façade, has become a screen wall wider than the church itself and crashed by emphatic horizontal bands of ornament and statuary, while the towers have shrunk to mere turrets. The plan, with its simply pointed vaulting, shows an interpretation of the segmented quadripartite Romanesque system, the square east end detached from the cloisters as a chapter house. As we enter the nave, we recognize the same system, but now as a light, linear structure, becoming such as a skeleton, see fig. [illegible], but the English interpretation of these elements produces a very different visual effect. As in the façade, the horizontal divisions are lessened at the expense of the vertical so that we see the nave not as a series of bays but as a continuous series of arches and supports. These supports, carved of dark marble, stand out against the rest of the interior, a method of stressing their special function, has become one of the hallmarks of the Early English style. Another insular feature is the steep curve of the nave vault. The ribs ascend as the vault springs from the triforium level, and the clerestory, as a result, gives the impression of being tucked away among the vaults. At Durham, more than a century earlier, the same treatment had been a technical necessity (compare fig. 34). Now it has become a matter of style, thoroughly in keeping with the character of Early English as a whole. This character might be described as conservative in the positive sense. It accepts the French system but toned down some of its primary aspects so as to maintain a strong sense of continuity with the Anglo-Norman past.

The contrast between the bold upward thrust of the crossing tower and the leisurely, horizontal progression throughout the rest of Salisbury Cathedral suggests that Early English had not developed a new direction during the intervening hundred years. The change becomes very evident if we compare the interior of Salisbury with the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, built in the second quarter of the next century (fig. 382). This is a striking

fig. 184. Chapel of Henry VII
Westminster Abbey, London, 1503–19

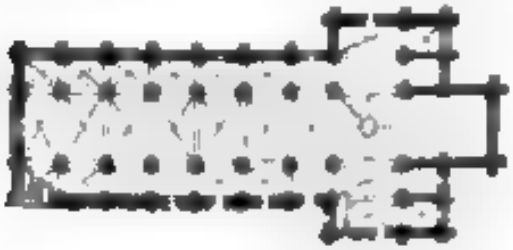
fig. 185. [illegible], Nuremberg, 1361–72

[illegible] Perpendicular [illegible] English [illegible] the [illegible] English [illegible] place on the Continent. The repertoire of [illegible] pendants, vaults, arches, [illegible] the west facade at Salisbury, the [illegible] and Decorated English churches and [illegible] the vaults was as steep as in the [illegible] Salisbury. The [illegible] on the other hand, have assumed an altogether new role. They have become multiplied and the ornamental network on them seems the boundaries between the bays and thus makes the entire vault look like one continuous surface. This in turn has the effect of emphasizing the units of the interior space. Such ideas arise elaboration of the classic quadripartite vault is characteristic of the Flamboyant style in the Continental as well, but the English started it earlier and carried it to greater lengths. The ultimate is reached in the amazing pendant vault of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, built in the early years of the sixteenth century (fig. 184), with its lantern like knobs hanging from conoids. This fantastic scheme merges ribs and tracery patterns in a dazzling display of architectural pageantry.

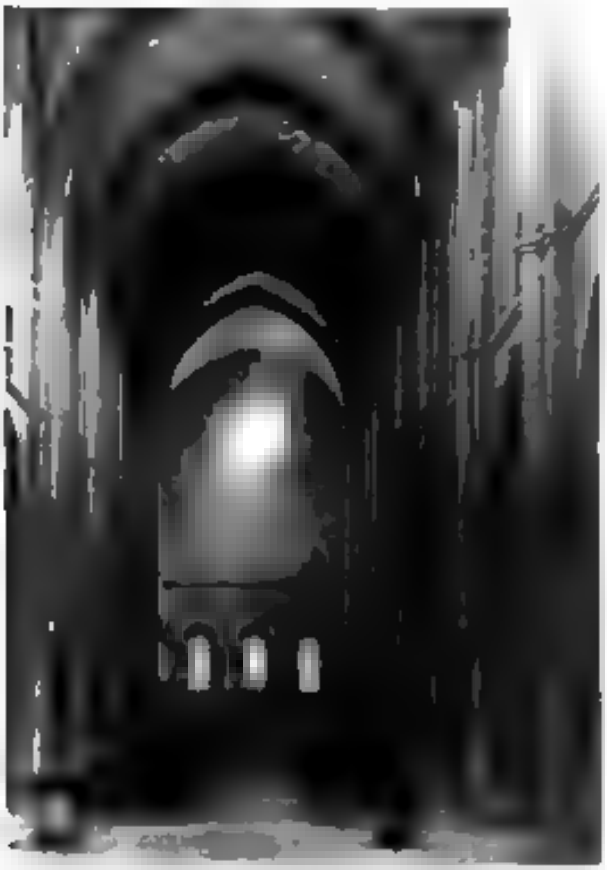
In Germany, the Gothic architecture took root a good deal later than in England. Until the mid-thirteenth century the Romanesque tradition, with its persistent [illegible] remained dominant despite the growing acceptance of Early Gothic features. It became established in the Ile-de-France, but a strong impact on the Rhineland and Cologne Cathedral, begun in 1248, represents an ambitious attempt to [illegible] the Ile-de-France system beyond the stage of Amiens. Significantly enough, however, the building remained a fragment until it was finally completed in modern times. It did not have any successors. Far more characteristic of German Gothic is the development of the hall church or *Hallenkirche*. Such churches, with aisles and nave on the same height, are familiar to us from Romanesque architecture (see fig. 127). For reasons not yet well understood, the type found particular favor in Germany, where its artistic possibilities were very fully exploited. The large hall choir added in 1361–72 to the church of St. Sebald in Nuremberg (fig. 185) is one of

many fine examples from central Germany. The space here has a fluidity and expansiveness that enfolds us as if we were standing under a huge canopy. There is no pressure or directional command to press the eye down the path. And the unbroken lines of the piers formed by bundles of shafts which gradually converge as they turn into ribs seem to echo the continuous movement that we feel in the space itself.

Italian Gothic architecture stands apart from that of the rest of Europe judged by the formal criteria of the Île-de-France, most of it hardly deserves to be called Gothic at all. Yet it produced structures of singular beauty and impressiveness that cannot be understood as mere continuations of the local Romanesque. We must be careful, therefore, to avoid too rigid or technical a standard in approaching these monuments lest we fail to do justice to their unique blend of Gothic qualities and Mediterranean tradition. It was the Cistercians, rather than the cathedral builders of the Île-de-France, who provided the chief exemplars in which Italian architects

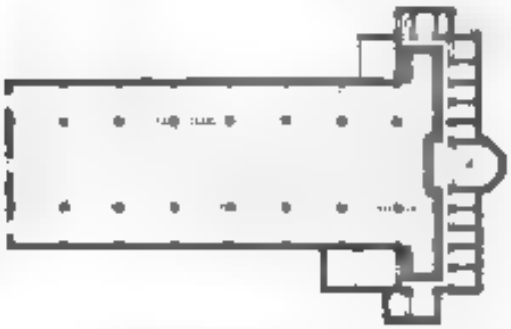


385. Plan of the Abbey Church of Fossanova



386. Nave and Choir, Abbey Church of Fossanova. Consecrated 1208

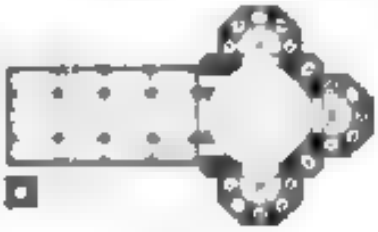
387. Nave and Choir, Sta Croce, Florence. Begun c. 1295



388. Plan of Sta Croce, Florence

389 Florence Cathedral
Begun by Arnolfo di Cambio, 1296
dome by Filippo Brunelleschi, 1420–36

390 Plan of Florence Cathedral



based the [illegible] of the [illegible] style. As early as the end of the twelfth century Cistercian abbeys sprang up in both north and central Italy, their designs patterned directly after those of the French abbeys of the order. One of the finest is Fossanova, a stone basilica with a Romanesque [illegible] (figs. 385, 386). Without knowing its exact date, we would be hard pressed to decide whether it was built in Italy or in France, or perhaps in Burgundy or England. The plan is [illegible] and the tiny proportions [illegible] bear a strong family resemblance to all Cistercian abbeys of the time. There are no facades, towers, or ambulatory, for the austerity of the Cistercian ideal of poverty. The groined vaults, although based on the pointed arch, have no diagonal ribs; the windows are small; and the architectural detail retains a good deal of Romanesque simplicity, but the flavor of the whole is unmistakably Gothic nevertheless.

Churches such as the one at Fossanova made a deep impression upon the Franciscans, the monastic order founded by St. Francis of Assisi in the early thirteenth century. As mendicant friars dedicated to poverty, simplicity, and humility, they were the spiritual kin of St. Bernard, and the severe beauty of Cistercian Gothic must have seemed to them to express an ideal close to their own. Be that as it may, these churches from the first reflected Cistercian influence and thus played a leading role in establishing Gothic architecture on Italian soil. Sta. Croce in Florence, begun about a century after Fossanova, may well claim to be the greatest of all Franciscan structures (figs. 387, 388); it is also a masterpiece of Gothic architecture, even though it has wooden ceilings instead of groined vaults. There can be no doubt that this was a matter of deliberate choice, rather than of technical or economic necessity, a choice made not only in the basis of local practice, we recall, the wooden ceilings of the Tuscan Romanesque but also perhaps from a desire to evoke the simplicity of early Christian basilicas and, in a larger sense, to break Italy's poverty with the traditions of the early Church. The plan, too, combines Cistercian and early Christian features. We note, however, that it shows no trace of the Gothic structural system, except [illegible] the walls remain intact as continuous surfaces. Indeed, Sta. Croce owes part of its famous [illegible] (its wonderful murals) and its contrast to Fossanova, there are no buttresses at all, since the wooden ceilings do not require them. Why, then, speak of Sta. Croce as Gothic? Surely the use of the pointed arch is not sufficient to justify the term. A glance at the interior will dispel any misgivings. For we sense immediately that this space creates an effect fundamentally different from that of earlier early Christian or Romanesque architecture. The nave walls have the weightless "transparent" quality we saw in northern Gothic churches, and the dramatic massing of windows at the eastern end conveys the dominant role of light as forcefully as Abbot Suger's choir at St. Denis. Judged in terms of its emotional impact, Sta. Croce is Gothic, beyond doubt; it is also profoundly Franciscan—and Florentine—in the monumental simplicity of the means by which this impact has been achieved.

If in Sta. Croce the architect's main concern was an impressive interior, Florence Cathedral was planned as a monumental landmark towering above the entire city (figs. 389, 391). The original design, by Arnolfo di Cam-

left 39 Nave and Choir, Florence Cathedral

below 392 LORENZO MAITANI AND OTHERS
Façade, Orvieto Cathedral. Begun c. 1310

[illegible] about the time construction was begun at Sta. Croce [illegible] known in detail, although somewhat smaller than the present building, it probably showed the same basic features. The most striking element is the great octagonal dome, with its subsidiary half domes, a motif ultimately of late Roman origin (see figs. 210–21, 246–249). Arnolfo may have thought of it at first as an essentially vertical one, above a long nave and transept, but soon grew to a shape and a space that makes the nave [illegible] thought. The actual building of the church, and the fate of its design, belong to the early fifteenth century. Apart from the windows and the vestibule, [illegible] nothing Gothic about the exterior of Florence Cathedral. Facing half-bays in sustaining the nave vault, [illegible] have been planned but proved unnecessary. The solution was [illegible] confused with geometric marble [illegible] like a perfect match for the Romanesque Baptistery across the way (see fig. 129). Characteristically enough, a separate campanile takes the place of the façade, [illegible] famous in northern Gothic churches. The interior, on the other hand, recalls Sta. Croce even though the dominant impression is one of rich [illegible] rather than [illegible] and grace. The ribbed groined vault of the nave rests directly on the huge nave arcade, producing an emphasis on width instead of height, and the architectural detail throughout has a massive solidity that seems more Romanesque than Gothic. Thus the unaltered interior of Sta. Croce reflects the spirit of the new style more faithfully than does the Cathedral, which, on the basis of its structural system, ought to be the more Gothic of the two.

The west façade, so dramatic a feature in French cathedrals, never achieved the same importance in Italy. It is remarkable how few Italian Gothic façades were ever carried near completion before the onset of the Renaissance, [illegible] those of Sta. Croce and Florence Cathedral, at both made in. Among those that were, for instance, Orvieto Cathedral (fig. 392), designed in the mid-1300s by Lorenzo Maitani, make an instructive comparison with Tuscan Romanesque façades, such as fig. 47, on the one hand, and with French Gothic façades, on the other. Many of the ingredients clearly derive from the latter source, and the screenlike lightness [illegible] unmistakably [illegible]. Yet we realize at once that these features have been superimposed on what is essentially a basically flat façade, like that of Pisa Cathedral; the towers are reduced to [illegible] not to compete in height or importance with the central gable, and, as at Pisa, the entire design has a strangely small-scale quality that has nothing to do with its actual size. This impression may strike us as somewhat paradoxical. For the Orvieto façade is less complex and more clearly articulated than, say, that of Reims Cathedral. But whereas at Reims the infinite richness of detail is subordinated to the grandly simple, towerlike silhouette, the Orvieto façade lacks a dominant motif, so that the elements which compose it seem assembled rather than merged into a single whole. One somehow feels that the entire arrangement, beautifully balanced though it is, could be

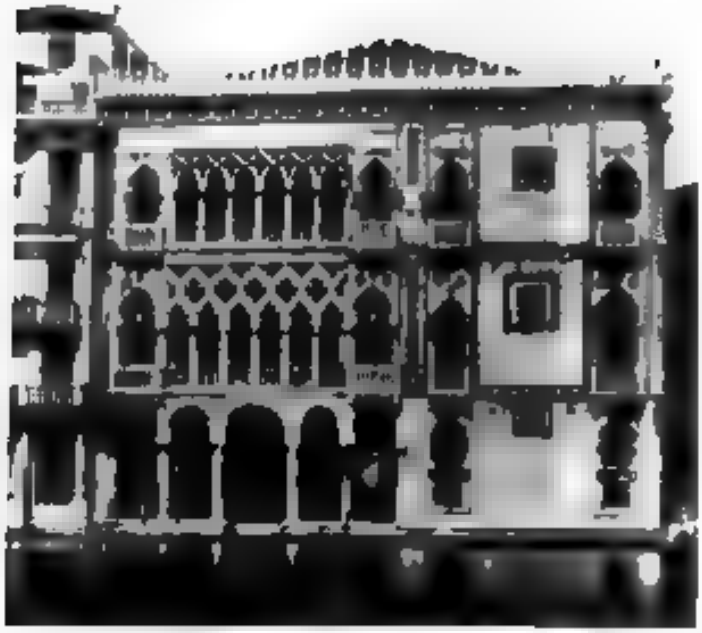
[illegible] Milan Cathedral
Begun 1386

[illegible] Palazzo Vecchio
Florence Begun [illegible]

[illegible] Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Begun 1298

[illegible] Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Begun 1298

[illegible] Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Begun 1298



[illegible] FIG. 4. [illegible]

which the Italian cities [illegible]. The wealthy man's home or *palazzo*, a term denoting any large urban house, was quite literally his castle, designed both to withstand armed assault and to proclaim the owner's importance. The Palazzo Vecchio, whose austere and massive exterior follows the same pattern, held not only his family but the city government, and serve[illegible] protected from the wrath of angry citizens. The [illegible] were not only houses of pride but had architectural practical purpose, dominating the city as well as the surrounding countryside, fortified against enemies from within or without. Among Italian cities Venice alone was ruled by a merchant aristocracy in firmly established channels; internal disturbances were the exception rather than the rule. As a consequence, Venetian palaces, unhampered by defensive requirements, developed into graceful, delicate structures such as the Ca' d'Oro (fig. [illegible]). There is more than a touch of the Gothic in the delicate lattice-work effect of the facade, even though most of the decorative vocabulary derives from the Late Gothic of northern Europe, its spiking patterns clearly designed to be seen against the [illegible] reflection in the water of the Grand Canal. Have the same fairy-tale quality we recall from the exterior of St. Mark's (see fig. 280).

SCULPTURE, 1130–1420

Although his account of the rebuilding of St. Denis does not deal at length with the sculptural decoration of the church, Abbot Suger must have attached considerable importance to this aspect of the enterprise. The three portals of his west façade were larger and more richly carved than those of Norman Romanesque churches. Unhappily, their condition today is so poor that they do not tell us a great deal about Suger's ideas of the role of sculpture within the total context of the structure he had envisioned. We may assume, however, that these ideas prepared the way for the admirable west portals of Chartres Cathedral (fig. 196), begun about 1145 under the influence of St. Denis but even more ambitious in conception. They probably represent the oldest full-fledged examples of Early Gothic sculpture. Comparing them with Romanesque portals, we are impressed first of all with a new sense of order, as if all the figures had suddenly come to attention, conscious of their responsibility to the architectural framework. The dense crowding, the frantic movement of Romanesque sculpture have given way to an emphasis on symmetry and clarity. The figures in the [illegible] arches and tympanums are no longer entangled with each other but stand out as separate entities, so that the entire design carries much further than that of previous portals. Particularly striking in this respect is the new treatment of the jambs, long rows which are now [illegible] tall figures attached to columns. Statuesque elongated figures we recall had occurred in the jambs of Romanesque portals (see fig. [illegible]), but they had been conceived as vessels carved into [illegible] to fit the shape of the doorway. The Chartres jamb figures, however, are essentially statues, each with its own [illegible] and [illegible] that can be detached from the [illegible]. Here they were [illegible] of truly [illegible] importance, the first [illegible] toward the [illegible] of monumental sculpture in the round since the end of classical antiquity. Apparently this step could be taken only by [illegible] the rigid, [illegible] shape of the column to the human figure, with the result that these statues seem more abstract than their Romanesque predecessors. Yet they [illegible] their immobility and unnatural proportions, [illegible] the very fact that they are round enables them within a more emphatic presence than anything in Romanesque sculpture, and their heads show a gentle human quality that betokens the fundamentally realistic trend of Gothic sculpture. Realism, of course, is a relative term whose meaning varies greatly according to circumstances. On the Chartres west portals it appears to spring from a reaction against the fantastic and demoniacal aspects of Romanesque art, a reaction that may be seen not only in the calm, solemn spirit of the figures and their increased physical bulk (compare the Christ of the center tympanum with that at Vézelay, fig. 164), but in the rational discipline of the symbolic program underlying the entire scheme. While the subtler aspects of this program are accessible only to a mind fully conversant with the theology of the Chartres Cathedral School, its main elements are simple enough to be grasped by the man in the street. The jamb statues, a continuous sequence linking all three portals, represent the prophets, kings, and queens of the Bible, their pur-

pose is both to acclaim the rulers of France as the spiritual descendants of Old Testament royalty and to stress the harmony of secular and spiritual rule, of priests (or bishops) and kings—an ideal insistently put forward by Abbot Suger. Christ Himself appears enthroned above the main doorway as Judge and Ruler of the Universe, flanked by the symbols of the four Evangelists, with the Apostles assembled below and the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse in the archivolts. The right-hand tympanum shows His incarnation: the Birth, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Adoration. Christ on the lap of the Virgin, who also stands for the Church, whose in the archivolts we see the person, heavens and representatives of the liberal arts, human wisdom paying homage to divine wisdom. On the left-hand tympanum, we see the timeless Ecclesia, Christ, the Christ of the Ascension, flanked by the signs of the zodiac and the earthly counterparts, the labors of the months, by the ever-repeating cycle of the year.

Under Charles Cahenna, was rebuilt after the fire of 1194, the Royal Portals of the west façade must have seemed rather small and old-fashioned in relation to the rest of the new edifice. Perhaps for that reason, the two transept façades each received three large and lavishly carved portals preceded by deep porches. The jamb statues of these portals, such as the group shown in figure 398, represent an early phase of High Gothic sculpture. By now the symbiosis of statue and column has begun to dissolve: the columns are quite literally put in the shade by the greater width of the figures, by the strongly projecting canopies above, and by the elaborately carved bases of the statues. In the three saints on the right we still hear echoes of the rigid cylindrical shape of Early Gothic jamb statues, but even here the heads are no longer simply superimposed with the central axis of the body and St. Theodore, the knight on the left, already stands at ease in a semblance of classical contrapposto. His feet rest on a bracket platform rather than on a sloping base as before, and the axis of his body instead of being straight or S-shaped, has a gentle S-curve. Even more, it is filled with abundance of precisely observed detail: the weapons, the clothes, the folds and chain mail, and above all the organic structure of the body. Nowhere in pre-Roman times have we seen a figure so thoroughly alive as this. Yet the most impressive quality of the statue is not its realism, but rather the serene, balanced image of man which this realism conveys. In his ideal portrait of the Christian Soldier, the

397. Jamb Statues, West Portals, Chartres Cathedral

spirit of the Crusades has been cast into its most elevated form.

The style of the *St. Theodore* could not have evolved directly from the elongated columnar statues of the Chartres west façade. It incorporates another equally important tradition: the classicism of the Meuse valley, which we traced in an earlier chapter from Renier of Huy to Nicholas of Verdun (compare figs. 358, 364,

398. [illegible] Portals, Strasbourg Cathedral

[illegible]. At the end of the twelfth century, the end of the period we have been [illegible] monuments, a style of sculpture as we have just [illegible] from Early Gothic to Classic Gothic. The work of Nicholas of Verdun becomes strikingly evident in the depth of the Longinus figure, a companion piece to Strasbourg Cathedral's contemporary with the Chartres transept portals. In the Apostles, the facial types, the draperies and gestures have a classical flavor that immediately recalls the Klosterneuburg altar (fig. 365). What marks it as Gothic, but rather than Romanesque, on the other hand, is the deeply felt tenderness pervading the entire scene. We sense a bond, a shared emotion among the figures, an ability to communicate by glance and gesture such as we have never seen before. This quality of *poise* (or *ease*) has Classical roots, we recall, as entering into Christian art during the Second Golden Age in Byzantium (see fig. 284). But how much warmer and more eloquent is this Strasbourg band at Daphnē!

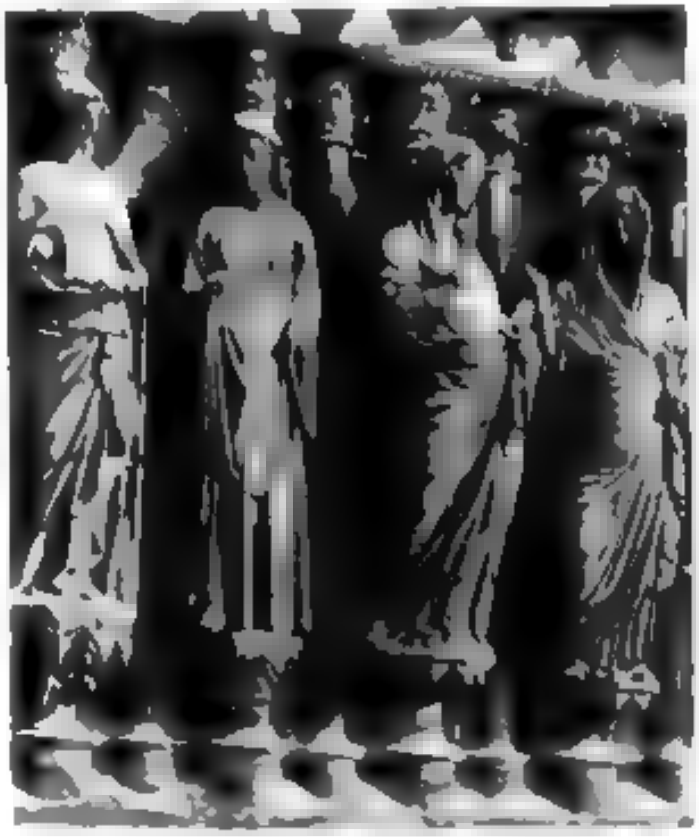
The climax of Gothic classicism is reached in some of the statues at Reims Cathedral, the most famous among them being the Visitation group (fig. 400, right). To have a pair of jamb figures enact a narrative scene such as this would have been unthinkable in Early Gothic sculpture; the fact that they can do so now shows how far the sus-

left: 399 *Death of the Virgin*
tympanum of the south transept portal,
Strasbourg Cathedral, c. 1220

below: 400 *Annunciation* and
Visitation, west portals,
Reims Cathedral, c. 1225–45

[illegible] the Sculpture [illegible] the *St Theodore* [illegible] the [illegible] view and the physical bulk of the [illegible] phases by [illegible] parts [illegible] the absorber. [illegible] Nevertheless [illegible] that we [illegible] be inspired [illegible] by [illegible] Roman sculpture [illegible] Nevertheless [illegible]

[illegible] the sculptural program for Reims [illegible] had made necessary [illegible] masters [illegible] buildings [illegible] several [illegible] among the Reims sculpture. Two of these styles, both clearly different from the classicism of the [illegible] appear in the Annunciation group (fig. 400, left). The Virgin exhibits a severe manner, with a rigidly vertical body axis and straight tubular folds meeting at sharp angles, a style probably invented about 1220 by the sculptors of the west portals of Notre Dame in Paris, from there travelled to Reims as well as Amiens (see fig. 41, below). The angel, in contrast, is complicated as well as graceful: we note the tiny, round face framed by curly locks, the emphasis on the strong S-curve of the slender body, the ample, richly accented drapery. This elegant style, created around 1240 by Parisian masters working for the royal court, was to spread far and wide during the following decades; it soon became, in fact, the standard formula for High Gothic sculpture. We shall feel its effect for many years to come, not only in France but abroad. A



character, for instance, is the fine group of Abraham and Melchizedek, carved shortly after the middle of the century for the interior west wall of Reims Cathedral (fig. 40). Abraham, in the costume of a medieval knight, still recalls the vigorous realism of the *St Theodore* at

above 401 *Abraham and Melchizedek*, interior west wall, Reims Cathedral. After 24

right 402 *The Virgin of Paris*
Early 14th century. Notre-Dame, Paris

Chartres. Melchizedek, however, shows clearly his descent from the angel of the Reims *Annunciation*. His hair and beard are even more elaborately curled, the draperies more lavishly ample, so that the body almost disappears among the rich play of folds. The deep recesses and sharply protecting ridges betray a new awareness of light and shadow effects that seems more pictorial than sculptural, and the same may be said of the way the figures are placed in their cavernous niches. A half century later every trace of classicism has disappeared from Gothic sculpture. The human figure itself now becomes strangely cavernous and abstract. Thus the famous *Virgin of Paris* (fig. 402) in Notre-Dame Cathedral consists largely of hollows, the projections having been reduced to the point where they are seen as ones rather than volumes. The statue is quite literally disembodied. Its swaying stance no longer bears any relationship to the classical contrapposto. Compared to such unearthly grace, the angel of the Reims *Annunciation* seems solid and tangible, indeed, yet it contains the seed of the very qualities so strikingly expressed in the *Virgin of Paris*.

As we look back over the century and a half that separates the *Virgin of Paris* from the Chartres west portals, we cannot help wondering what brought about this retreat from the realism of Early and Classic High Gothic sculptures. Despite the fact that the new style was backed by the royal court and thus had special authority, we find it hard to explain why attenuated elegance and calligraphic, smoothly flowing lines came to dominate Gothic art throughout Northern Europe from about 1250 to 1400. It is clear, nevertheless, that the *Virgin*

Signs of the Zodiac and *Labors of the Months*
June July August
west façade,
Amiens Cathedral c 1220–30

left 404. Tomb of a Knight
c 1230–40
Dorchester Abbey Oxfordshire

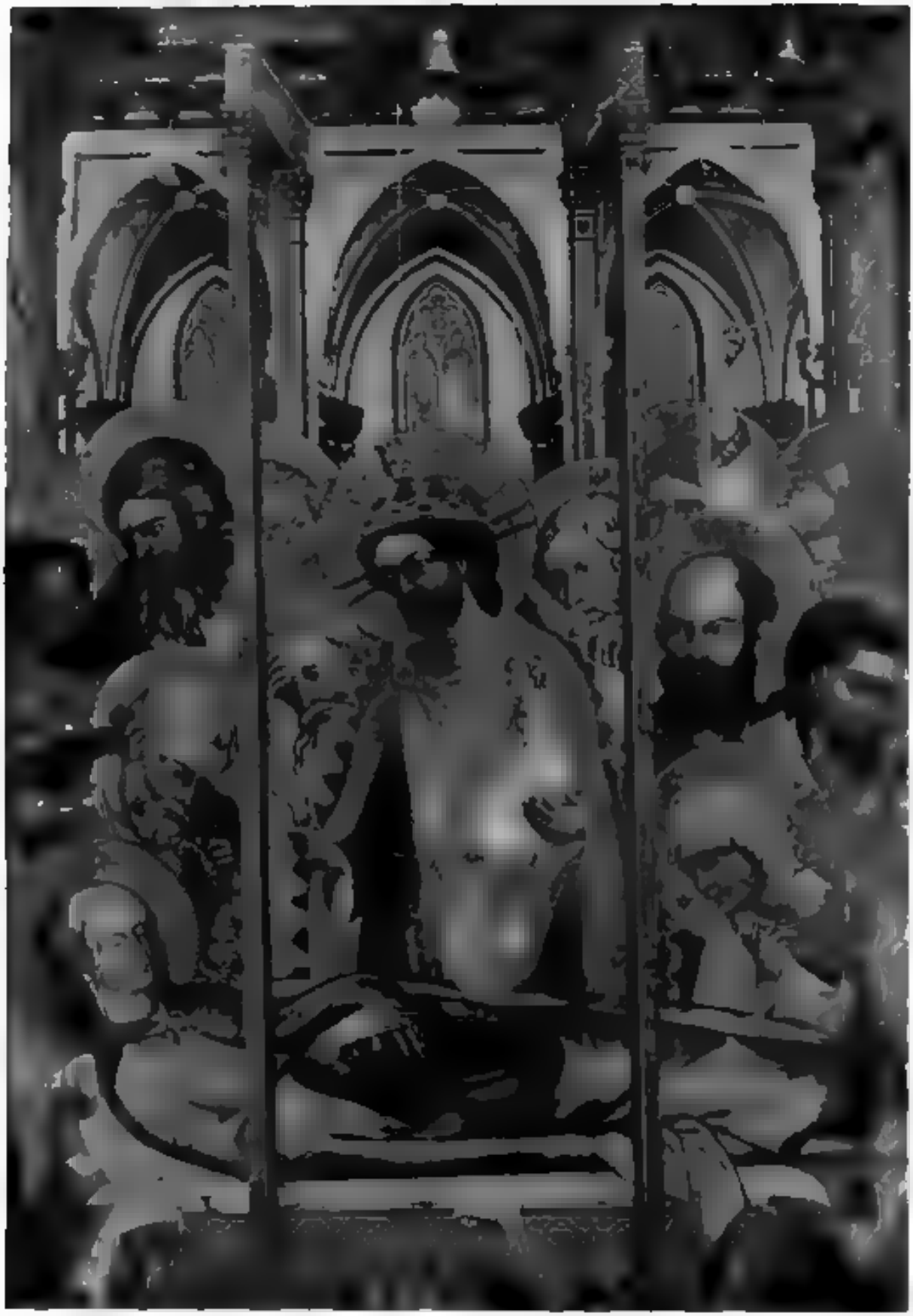
Paris represents neither a return to the Romanesque nor a complete repudiation of the earlier realistic trend. Gothic realism had never been of the all-embracing systematic sort it had been a realism of particulars focused on specific details rather than on the over-all structure of the visible world. Its most characteristic products are not the classically oriented jamb statues and tympanum compositions of the early thirteenth century but small-scale carvings such as the *Labors of the Months* in quatrefoil frames on the façade of Amiens Cathedral (fig. 405), with their delightful observation of everyday life. This intimate kind of realism survives even within the abstract formal framework of the *Virgin of Paris*: we see it in the Infant Christ, who appears here not as the Saviour-in-miniature austerely facing the beholder but as a thoroughly human child playing with his

[illegible] Naumburg Cathedral [illegible]

mothers sex. Our statue thus retains an emotional appeal which links it to the Strasbourg *Death of the Virgin* and to the Reims *Visitation*. It is this appeal, not realism or classicism as such, that is the essence of Gothic art.

The spread of Gothic sculpture beyond the borders of France began [illegible] toward [illegible] the style of the Chartres west portals had hardly [illegible] echoes abroad, but [illegible] once under way, it proceeded at an astonishingly rapid pace. England may well have led the way, as she did in [illegible] Unfortunately, [illegible] English Gothic sculpture was destroyed during the Reformation so that we can study it [illegible] with difficulty. [illegible] are the tombs which [illegible] as in [illegible] Catholics, [illegible] illustrated by the splendid example [illegible] [illegible] the battle [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Giorgia [illegible] Para



[illegible]
Photo [illegible] Museum [illegible]

[illegible] Rocca [illegible] France

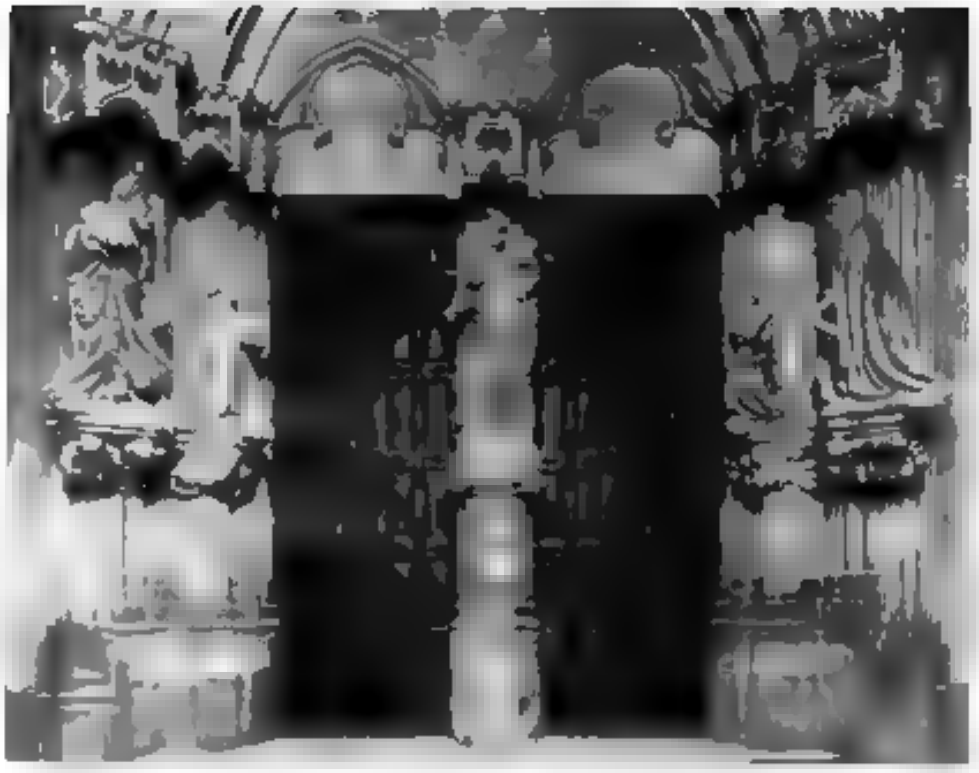
[illegible] Panel [illegible] Florence

the lyricism of the Strasbourg tympanum or the Reims *Visitation*. If the Classic Gothic sculpture of France evokes comparison with Phidias, the Naumburg Master might be termed the temperamental rival of Scopas. The same intensity of feeling dominates the Passion scenes such as the *Kiss of Judas* (fig. 406), with its unforgettable contrast between the meekness of Christ and the violent sword-wielding St. Peter. Figures here are attached to the responds inside the choir, the statues of nobles were united with the founding of the cathedral, among them the famous pair, Ekkehard and Uta (fig. 407). Although these men and women were not of the artist's own time, he must have known them, not as names in a chronicle, but as living people, and he has given each of them a personality as distinctive and forceful as if he had portrayed them in life. They make an instructive contrast with the St. Theodore at Chartres (see fig. 398).

Gothic sculpture, as we have [illegible] known it so far, reflects a desire to show the [illegible] Christ-[illegible] with an [illegible] private emotion and a personal relationship. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the tendency gave rise to a new kind of religious image, designed to serve personal devotion, [illegible] by the German [illegible] mystics. [illegible] played a leading part in [illegible] spread [illegible] Italian [illegible] both [illegible] poetry [illegible] the Virgin [illegible] the Passion [illegible] the Madonna and [illegible]. The example reproduced (figure 408) dates from [illegible] like most such [illegible] painted [illegible]

above [illegible] Naumburg Cathedral [illegible]

right 408. *Pietà*. Early 14th century. Wood, height 32. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn



[illegible] 409. CLAUS SLUTER
Portal of the Chartreuse de Champmol
[illegible] 1385–93

Below [illegible] 410. CLAUS SLUTER
The Moses Well, [illegible] 1395–1400
Height of figures [illegible]
Chartreuse de Champmol [illegible]

[illegible] enhance [illegible] impact. Realism [illegible] has become [illegible] a vehicle of expression: the agonized faces, the blood-encrusted wounds of Christ that are enlarged and elaborated [illegible] almost grotesque degree, and the heavy and clothing of a puppet-like humanity and rigidity. The purpose [illegible] was [illegible] a sense of [illegible] and pity, that the beholder will identify his own feeling compassion with those of the [illegible] Mother [illegible]

At least since [illegible] and south [illegible] common with the European [illegible] have shared a trend [illegible] deflated quality [illegible] that is characteristic [illegible] period flavor of Northern [illegible] art from the late thirteenth century. In the mid-fourteenth [illegible] after [illegible] we again find an increase in weight and volume coupled with a renewed impulse to explore tangible reality. The climax of this trend occurred around 1400 during the period of the so-called International Style (on which see page 286). Its greatest exponent was Claus Sluter, a sculptor of Netherlandish origin working for the Duke of Burgundy at Dijon. The portal of the Chartreuse de Champmol (fig. 409), which he did in 1385–93, recalls the monumental statuary on thirteenth-century cathedral portals, but the figures have grown so large and expansive that they almost overpower their architectural framework. This effect is due not only to their size and the bold three-dimensionality of the carving, but also to the fact that the jamb statues (Duke Philip the Bold and his wife accompanied by their patron saints) are turned toward the Madonna on the *trumeau*, so that the five figures form a single coherent unit, like the Crucifixion group at Naumburg. In both instances, the sculptural composition has simply been superim-

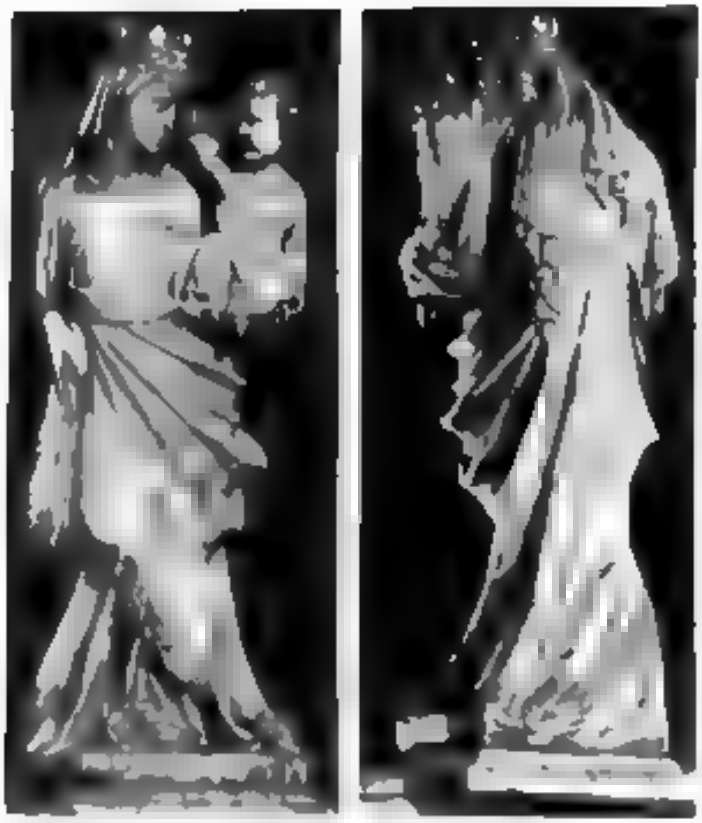
posed—however skillfully—on the shape of the doorway not developed from it as at Chartres, Notre-Dame or Reims. Significantly enough, the Champmol portal did not pave the way for a revival of architectural sculpture; it remained an isolated effort, and Sluter's other works belong to a different category, which for lack of a better term we must label church furniture—tombs, pulpits, etc.—combining large-scale sculpture with a small-scale architectural setting. The most impressive of these is the *Moses Well* at the Chartreuse de Champmol (fig. 410), a symbolic well surrounded by statues of Moses and other Old Testament prophets and once surmounted by a crucifix. The majestic Moses epitomizes the same qualities we find in Sluter's portal statues: soft, lavishly draped garments envelop the heavy-set body like an ample shell; the swelling forms seem to reach out into the surrounding space, determined to capture as much of it as possible (note the outward curve of the scroll). In the Isaiah facing left in our illustration these aspects of our artist's style are less pronounced; what strikes us, rather, is the precise and masterful realism of every detail, from the minutiae of the costume to the texture of the wrinkled skin. The head (unlike that of Moses) has all the individuality of a portrait. Nor is this impression deceiving, for the sculptural development that culminated in Claus Sluter had produced, from about 1350 on, the first genuine portraits since late antiquity. And Sluter himself has left us two splendid examples in the heads of the Duke and Duchess on the Chartreuse portal. It is this attachment to the tangible and specific that distinguishes his realism from that of the thirteenth century.

We have left a discussion of Italian Gothic sculpture for the last, for here, too, as in Gothic architecture, Italy stands apart from the rest of Europe. The earliest Gothic sculpture in Italy, as in [illegible], was probably produced in the

above: 411. NICOLA PISANO: Marble Pulpit, 1259–60. Baptistery, Pisa

above right: 412. *The Nativity*, detail of the Marble Pulpit, Baptistery, Pisa

right: 413. GIOVANNI PISANO: *The Nativity*, detail of the Marble Pulpit, 1301–10. Pisa Cathedral



left: 4.4.4.5. Giovanni Pisano: *Madonna*, c. 1314. Marble, height 27". Prato Cathedral

4.4.4.6. Giovanni Pisano: *The Last Judgment* (detail), south side, Siena Cathedral

extreme south [illegible] Germany [illegible] Chartres transept portals and the Visitation group at Reims. This work thus provides a strong visual language for a ruler who saw himself as the heir of the Caesars [illegible] blends classical tendencies in Roman Romanesque sculpture (see also page [illegible]) which was then [illegible] Nicola Pisano, who came [illegible] Tuscany [illegible] the seat of Frederick's court [illegible] he completed the marble pulpit in the Baptistery of Pisa Cathedral (fig. 4.4.4.4). This work has been well defined as "the [illegible] the greatest and in a sense the last of medieval classicists." In the Pisa Baptistery pulpit the classical flavor is indeed so strong whether we look at the architectural framework or at the sculptured panels that the Gothic elements are hard to detect at first glance. But we do find such elements in the design of the arches, in the shape of the capitals, and in the standing figures at the corners (which look like small-scale descendants of the jamb statues on French Gothic cathedrals). More striking, perhaps, is the Gothic quality of human feeling in the narrative scenes such as the *Nativity* (fig. 4.4.4.5). The dense crowding of figures [illegible] the [illegible] part of northern Gothic sculpture [illegible] the Nativity [illegible] panel also shows the Annunciation and the shepherds in the fields receiving the glad tidings of the birth of Christ. This treatment of the relief as a shallow box filled almost to the brimming point with solid, compact shapes tells us that Nicola Pisano must have been thoroughly familiar with Roman sarcophagi (compare fig. 2.6.3).

Half a century later Nicola's son Giovanni, who was an equally gifted sculptor, did a marble pulpit for Pisa Cathedral (fig. 4.4.4.6). Both panels have a good many things in common, as we might well expect, yet they also offer a sharp and instructive contrast. Giovanni's slender, swaying figures with their smoothly flowing draperies no longer recall classical antiquity, but the Visitation group at Reims instead. They reflect the elegant style of the royal court in Paris that had become the standard Gothic formula during the later thirteenth century. And with this change there has come about a new treatment of relief. In Giovanni Pisano's space is as important as plastic form. The figures are no longer tightly packed to-

gether they are now spaced a enough apart [illegible] us see the landscape setting that contains them and each figure has been allotted its own pocket of space. Nicola Pisano strikes us as essentially a sequence [illegible] massive masses [illegible] appearance [illegible] of caves and shadows.

[illegible] Giovanni Pisano [illegible] seems [illegible] the same [illegible] embodiment [illegible] of a [illegible] [illegible] Pisano's Madonna [illegible] Pisano's [illegible] [illegible] outside. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

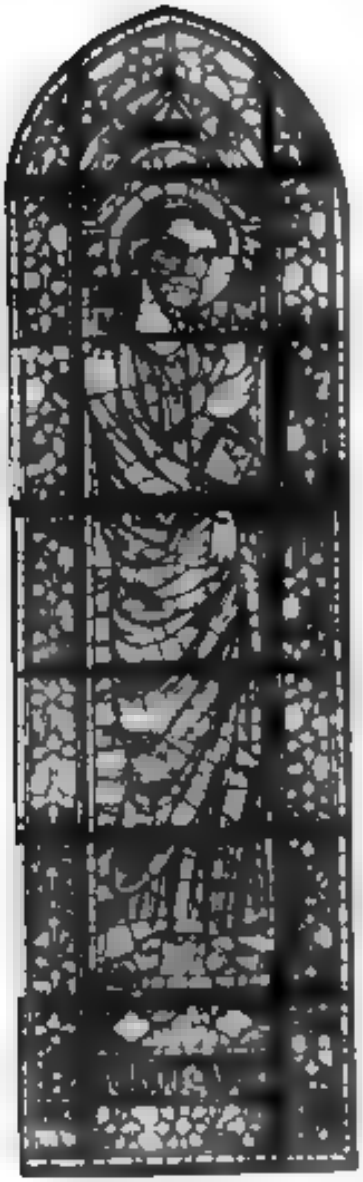
[illegible]

indeed an extraordinary figure. Although he held Venetian citizenship, he was a native of the German empire. He visited Europe's [illegible] the Great Khan. [illegible] he should have been a native of an Asian potentate. His [illegible] and [illegible] equipped [illegible] monument [illegible] emphasis [illegible] ambition [illegible] Venetian.

During the later thirteenth century in Venice, [illegible] influences from across the Adriatic [illegible] architecture. See Milan Cathedral, fig. [illegible], but in sculpture as well. The apostles along the [illegible] screen in St. Mark's in Venice, fig. [illegible], carved by [illegible] Jacopo Massegne, also [illegible] reflect [illegible] Gothic realism and the northern interest in [illegible] that [illegible] in the work of [illegible] Nicolò. Although these qualities are not yet [illegible] in the work of the apostles from St. Mark's, we find [illegible] on the threshold of the International Style which flourished throughout Western Europe between [illegible] and 1420. Its foremost representative in Italian sculpture was a Florentine, Lorenzo Ghiberti, who as a youth must have had close contact with French art. We first encounter him in 1401–402 when he won a competition for a pair of richly decorated bronze doors for the Baptistery in Florence. It took him more than [illegible] decades to complete these doors, which fill the north portal of the building. Each of the competing artists had to submit a trial relief in a Gothic quatrefoil frame representing the Sacrifice of Isaac. Ghiberti's panel, fig. 4-91, strikes us first of all with the perfection of its craftsmanship, which reflects his training as a goldsmith. The silky shimmer of the surfaces, the wealth of beautifully articulated detail make it easy to understand why his entry was awarded the prize. If the composition seems somewhat lacking in dramatic force, that was characteristic of Ghiberti's [illegible] temperament, of the age of the period. For the [illegible] of the International Style did not extend to the realm of the emotions. The figures, in their softly shaped ample garments, retain an air of courtly elegance even when the [illegible] scenes of violence. However much [illegible] Ghiberti proves [illegible] throughout his career to the influence of ancient sculpture, [illegible] the beauty of nude [illegible] Nicolò Pisano [illegible] strength [illegible] Nicolò [illegible] emphasis [illegible] the same problem [illegible] figures [illegible] although [illegible] the background of the panel [illegible] a flat surface but a [illegible] space from which the [illegible] emerge [illegible] the beholder [illegible] part [illegible] the upper right and [illegible] quatrefoils [illegible] the work [illegible] International Style [illegible] where we find a [illegible] with spatial depth and atmospheric [illegible] see below, page [illegible] [illegible] the background [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] that we [illegible] Early Renaissance.

PAINTING, 1290–1420

[illegible] like [illegible] architecture and sculpture, which began [illegible] at St. Denis and Chartres, Gothic painting [illegible] Decorative [illegible] pages [illegible] sea voyages. The new architecture [illegible] sponsored by Abbot Suger gave [illegible] a new conception of monumental sculpture [illegible] but did not demand any radical change of style in painting. Suger's account of the rebuilding of his church, to be sure, places a great deal of emphasis on the marvelous effect of stained glass windows, whose [illegible] light flooded the nave. Stained glass was thus an integral element of Gothic architecture from the very beginning. Yet the technique of stained-glass painting had already been perfected in Romanesque times; the "many masters from different regions" whom Suger assembled to do the choir windows at St. Denis may have faced a larger task and a more complex pictorial program than before, but the style of their designs remained Romanesque.



420 *Habakkuk*, c. 1 Stained-glass window
height c. 14 Bourges Cathedral

During the next half-century, as Gothic structures became ever more skeletal and clerestory window was given vast size, stained glass replaced manuscript illumination as the leading form of painting. Since the production of stained glass was still not made to compete with the great cathedral workshops, the designers came to be influenced more and more by architecture, sculpture, and in this way, about the year 1200, arrived at a distinctively Gothic style of their own. The majestic *Habakkuk* (fig. 420) of Bourges Cathedral, one of a series of windows representing Old Testament prophets, is the direct kin of the jamb statues on the Chartres transept portals and of the Visitation group at Reims. All these works share a common ancestor, the classicizing style of Nicholas of Verdun (compare fig. 365), yet the *Habakkuk* resembles a statue projected onto a translucent screen rather than an enlarged figure from the enamel plaques of the Klosterneuburg altar. Examining one of the sections of the stained glass at close range (fig. 4[illegible]), we realize that the window consists not of large panes but of hundreds of small pieces of tinted glass bound together by strips of lead. The maximum size of these pieces was severely limited by the primitive methods of medieval glass manufacture, so that the artist who created this window could not compose a painting in glass, rather he painted *with* glass, assembling his design somewhat the way one would a mosaic or a jigsaw puzzle out of [illegible]-shaped fragments which he cut to fit the contours of the forms. Only the finer details, such as eyes, hair, and drapery folds, were added by actually painting, or better perhaps drawing, in black or gray on the glass surfaces. While this process encourages an abstract, ornamental style, it tends to resist any attempt to render three-dimensional effects. Yet in the hands of a great master the maze of lead strips could resolve itself into figures of the looming monumentality of our *Habakkuk*.

[illegible] the period [illegible] medium the stained glass [illegible] the window of the great Gothic cathedrals [illegible] Romanesque [illegible] The task [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] design [illegible] the scaffolding [illegible] angles in which the images [illegible] [illegible] Figure 4 [illegible] the *Hakhakot* [illegible] what extent they [illegible] reflect a geometric scaffolding [illegible]

The period [illegible] 200–50 might be termed the Golden Age of stained glass. After that, as architectural activity declined and the demand for stained glass began to [illegible], manuscript illumination gradually recaptured [illegible] leadership. By then, however, [illegible] painting had been thoroughly affected by the influence of both stained glass and stone sculpture. The [illegible] of the centuries. The [illegible] change [illegible] evident in figure 4-4 [illegible] about [illegible] King Louis IX [illegible] the scene [illegible] Samuel [illegible] which Saul [illegible] Ammonite threatens the Jewish [illegible] Jabesh. We [illegible] of a [illegible] ornamented [illegible] *Hakhakot* [illegible] [illegible] Against [illegible] [illegible] Bible [illegible] [illegible] stained glass [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

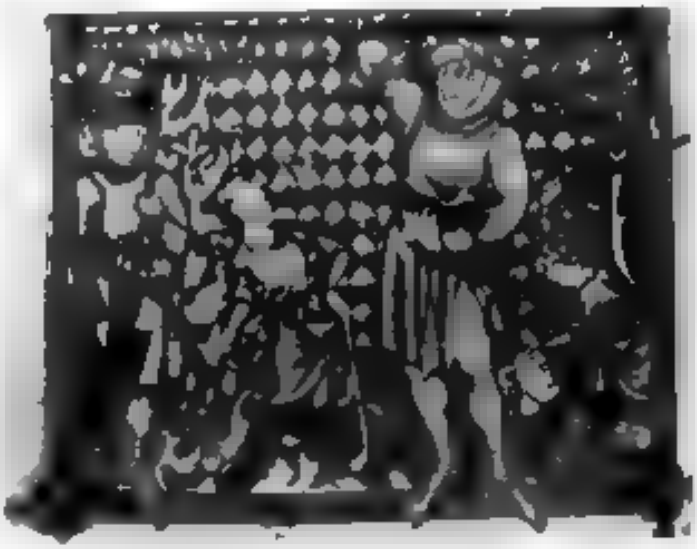
[illegible] and more to urban workshops organized by [illegible] the ancestors of the publishing houses of today [illegible] again the workshops of sculptors and stained-glass painters may have set the pattern. Some members of this secular breed of [illegible] are known [illegible] by name such as Master [illegible] of Paris who [illegible] to the *Prayer Book of Philip the Fair* [illegible] shows [illegible] *Psalter of Saint Louis*. Significantly [illegible] the figures have become [illegible] more [illegible] the faithful [illegible] the background [illegible]

[illegible]

above 424 Nabi Isaiah Announces Threatening the Jews at Jabesh from the *Prayer Book of Philip the Fair* 1295 Bibliotheque Nationale Paris

right 425 Master Honoré David and Goliath from the *Prayer Book of Philip the Fair* 1295 Bibliotheque Nationale Paris

are faced with a truly revolutionary development here. How we wonder could a work of such intense dramatic power be conceived by a contemporary of Master Honoré? What were the conditions that made it possible? Oddly enough [illegible] the background of [illegible] the same old [illegible] Medieval [illegible] throughout [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] painting [illegible] Byzantine influence [illegible] Byzantine [illegible] Greek manner [illegible] Greek manner [illegible] Among the painters [illegible] Greek manner [illegible] the Master [illegible] was the



[illegible] *Madonna Enthroned* [illegible] Siena [illegible] Pinacoteca

Brief Byzantine [illegible] mosaics (compare fig. 284) and contemplate [illegible] what distinguishes it from them is mainly a greater severity [illegible] design and expression which belies its huge size. Painting on such a monumental scale had never been attempted since the Late Empire, usually on Byzantine [illegible] the gable [illegible] shape of the picture, and the way the throne of [illegible] would seem to echo this shape. The geometric [illegible] reveal the architectural scale of the throne [illegible] remind us of the Baptistery in Florence (see fig. 149). Another *Madonna Enthroned* (fig. [illegible]) painted a quarter-century later by Duccio of Siena for the main altar of Siena Cathedral makes an instructive comparison with Cimabue's work. The Sienese honored his papal by calling it the *Maestà* ("majesty") to identify the Virgin's role here as the Queen of Heaven surrounded by her celestial court of saints and angels. At first glance, the two pictures may seem much alike since both follow the same basic scheme, yet the differences are important. They reflect not only two contrasting personalities and contrasting local tastes—the gentleness of Duccio as characteristic of Siena—but also the rapid evolution of style. In Duccio's hands the Greek manner has become unfrozen as it were: the rigid angular draperies have given way to an undulating softness, the abstract shading-in reserved with lines of gold is reduced to a minimum, and the bodies, faces, and hands are beginning to swell with a subtle three-dimensionality. Clearly the heritage of seven[illegible] Roman naturalism has had a ways been part of the Byzantine tradition, however dormant or submerged, asserting itself once more. But there is also a [illegible] hidden Gothic element here: we sense it in the fluency of the drapery folds, the appealing naturalness of the infant Christ, and the tender glances by which the figures communicate with each other. The chief source of this Gothic influence must have been Giovanni Pisano, who spent the decade 1284–93 in Siena as the sculptor-architect in charge of the cathedral façade.

Apart from the *Madonna*, the *Maestà* includes many [illegible] compartments with scenes from the life of the Virgin and the Savior on these panels. The most mature work of Duccio's career, the *Maestà* [illegible] Byzantine elements has given rise to a [illegible] fundamental importance: a new kind of picture space. The *Annunciation* [illegible] the Virgin (fig. 420)

[illegible] *Madonna Enthroned* [illegible] Duccio [illegible] Tempera [illegible] Museo [illegible] Siena

left 424 DUCCIO *Christ Entering Jerusalem*
from the back of the *Maestà Altar*

below 425 DUCCIO *Annunciation / The Death*
of the Virgin, from the *Maestà Altar*

[illegible] Duccio's figures, in contrast, inhabit a space that is created and defined by the architecture, as if the artist had carved a niche into his panel. Perhaps we will recognize the origin of this spatial framework if I derive from the architectural housing of Gothic sculpture (compare especially figs. 401–403). Northern Gothic painters, too, had tried to reproduce these architectural settings, but they could do so only by flattening them out completely, as in the *Painter of St. Louis*, fig. 424. The Italian painters of Duccio's generation, on the other hand, trained as they were in the Greek manner, had acquired enough of the devices of Hellenistic-Roman illusionism to let them render such a framework without [illegible] these architectural settings even in the [illegible] of the *Maestà*, such as *Christ Entering Jerusalem*, fig. 424, the architecture retains its space-creating function in the diagonal movement [illegible] by the figures [illegible] have the same scale [illegible] on the other side of the [illegible] the [illegible] gate [illegible] names [illegible] and the [illegible] beyond. Where [illegible] Duccio's perspective [illegible] contain [illegible] as more [illegible] than [illegible] stays in ancient art to compare fig. 64.

As we [illegible] Duccio at Cortona, we meet an artist far bolder and more dramatic in temper, ten to fifteen years younger. Giotto was sent out to the Greek manner [illegible] he began, despite his probable apprenticeship under Cimabue. As a Florentine he fell heir to Cimabue's sense of monumental scale, which made him a wall painter by instinct rather than a panel painter. His surviving murals, those in the Arena Chapel, Padua, done [illegible], are the best preserved as well as the most characteristic. They include many of the same subjects that we find on the reverse of Duccio's *Maestà*, such as *Christ Entering Jerusalem* (compare 425). The two versions have many elements in common, since they both ultimately derive from the same Byzantine source, but where Duccio has enriched the traditional scheme spatially as well as in narrative detail, Giotto subjects it to a radical simplification. The action proceeds parallel to the picture plane; landscape, architecture, and figures have been reduced to the essential minimum. And the sober

[illegible] the Church [illegible] Florence

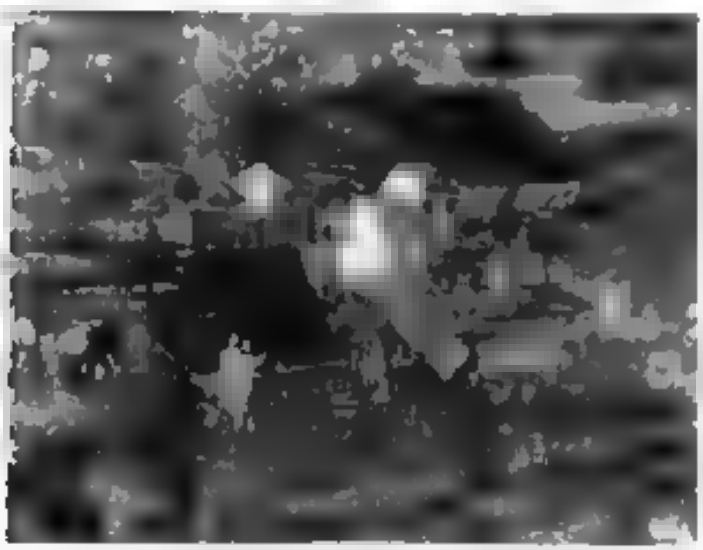
[illegible] Giotto [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] depicted [illegible] the [illegible] Pietà [illegible] Giotto's design [illegible] Passion cycle [illegible] understand how powerful [illegible] emotional content of the subject. [illegible] was reproduced by [illegible] patterns. Christ's entry into Jerusalem stress the [illegible] of the event as a triumphal procession in [illegible] the house of Lazarus which he tragic mood of the *Lamentation of Christ* [illegible] brought home to us. [illegible] the [illegible] of the design as much as the gestures and expressions of the participant. The [illegible] new center of gravity [illegible] the hunched, bending figures [illegible] communicate the somber quality of the scene and arouse our compassion even before we have grasped the specific meaning of the event depicted. With the [illegible] naïveness, Giotto sets off the frozen grief of the human mourners [illegible] weeping angels [illegible] figure [illegible] and were [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] acts as a [illegible] [illegible] and the virgin which are the [illegible] the scene [illegible] the tree has a twin function [illegible] harmonious [illegible] suggests that all of [illegible] share in the Savior's death, yet [illegible] a more precise symbolic message. For [illegible] as does Dante, a passage in the [illegible] the Tree of Knowledge which he sin[illegible] had caused [illegible] and which was [illegible] through [illegible] death [illegible] the art [illegible] dangerous [illegible] that its [illegible] are far more difficult to trace than the [illegible] of Duccio's style. Apart from his [illegible] background and as represented by the Greek manner of Cimabue, the young Giotto seems to have been familiar with the neo-Byzantine painters of Rome; in that city he probably also became acquainted with older monuments: Early Christian and ancient Roman mural decoration, Classical sculpture [illegible] left an impression on him. More fundamental than

[illegible]

[illegible] Nicola and especially [illegible] the founding fathers of Italian Gothic sculpture. They were the chief intermediaries through whom [illegible] contact with the [illegible] remained [illegible] men [illegible] knowledge [illegible] never have [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]



What we have said of the Tadda Madonna applies equally to the Madonna [illegible] Museum [illegible] Florentine [illegible] Madonna [illegible] Sienese [illegible] have the same overpowering [illegible] we saw in the [illegible] the Assisi [illegible] space [illegible] as persuasive [illegible] the pitch has [illegible] character which is enough [illegible] a design based [illegible] Gothic architecture [illegible] has become a [illegible] that encases the Madonna on three sides and [illegible] insulate her from the gold background [illegible] ornamentation includes the [illegible] specific interest [illegible] marble surfaces of the base and of the quatre [illegible] within the gable. Such [illegible] have some texture [illegible] been highly developed by ancient painters (see figs. 243 and 247 and [illegible] place to [illegible] but the trend for had died out in [illegible] Christian times. Its sudden re-appearance here offers concrete evidence of Giotto's affinity with whatever ancient models could still be seen in medieval Rome.

There are few men in the entire history of art to equal the stature of Giotto as a radical innovator. His very greatness however tended to dwarf the next generation of Florentine painters, which produced only followers rather than new leaders. Their contemporaries in Siena were more fortunate in this respect, since Duccio never had the same overpowering impact. As a consequence it was they, not the Florentines, who took the next decisive step in the development of Italian Gothic paint-

left 435 Traini, Triad. *The Triumph of Death* (portion). Fresco. Campanile, Pisa

below 436 Traini, Triad. Sinopia drawing for the *Triumph of Death* detail. Campanile, Pisa

[illegible] Masaccio [illegible] place [illegible] man [illegible] be the most outstanding [illegible] disciples [illegible] expert [illegible] year [illegible] his [illegible] Assisi [illegible] he [illegible] evidence [illegible] recently [illegible] probably [illegible] work [illegible] experiment [illegible] the [illegible] background [illegible] cubic [illegible] fig. 448. The [illegible] the figure [illegible] her hand [illegible] as [illegible] is gesture [illegible] expressive [illegible] the [illegible] While Simone Martini is not much concerned with space as such, he [illegible] be [illegible] the sheer [illegible] of [illegible] and physical types, the wealth [illegible] than [illegible] a sense [illegible] earth [illegible] different from both the [illegible] Duccio and the grandeur of Giotto. This [illegible] ness [illegible] everyday [illegible] appears in the work of the brothers [illegible] and Ambrogio [illegible] Lorenzetti, but in a more monumental scale and coupled with a keen interest in problems of space. The boldest [illegible] experiment is Pietro [illegible] panel of 1342, *The Birth of the Virgin* (fig. 432), where the painted architecture has been correlated with the real architecture of the frame in such a way that the two are seen as a single system. Moreover, the vaulted chamber where the birth takes place occupies two panels; it continues unbroken behind the column that divides the center from the right wing. The left wing represents an anteroom which leads to a vast and only partially glimpsed architectural space suggesting the interior of a Gothic church. What Pietro Lorenzetti achieved here is the outcome of a development that began three decades earlier in the work of

Duccio (compare fig. 429), but only now does the picture surface assume the qualities of a transparent window through which—not on which—we perceive the same kind of space we know from daily experience. Yet Duccio's work alone is not sufficient to explain Pietro's astonishing breakthrough; it became possible rather through a combination of the *architectural* picture space of Duc

[illegible]

Tuscan scene is characteristic that it has hardly changed during the past [illegible] years.

The first [illegible] decades of the fourteenth century in Florence and Siena had been a period of political [illegible] prosperous as well as of great [illegible] achievement [illegible] which the cultured [illegible] [illegible] the Black Death wiped out [illegible] [illegible] Martini [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Museum of Art, New York. Fletcher [illegible]

[illegible]
Above [illegible]

discussed. Their style in comparison seems dry and [illegible]. Yet they were capable at their best of expressing the somber intensity of the unforgettable intensity of Giovanni da Milano's *Pietà* panel [illegible] fig. 4[illegible] has all the emotional appeal of a George Endicott child's comparing and [illegible] though the heritage [illegible] can be clearly traced here.

We are now in a position to [illegible] the painting in the Apostolic Palace. What happened here during the late [illegible] fourteenth century was determined to a large measure by the influence of the great Italian [illegible] examples. Of this influence [illegible] such as the *Annunciation* [illegible] the private [illegible] called a book of hours [illegible] by Jean [illegible] about [illegible] Tours [illegible] the figure [illegible] Mary [illegible] the Museum [illegible] the [illegible] manuscript page [illegible] parchment backing [illegible] have [illegible] purpose [illegible] the manuscript, the [illegible] means [illegible] rather desire [illegible]

436. Jean Poyet. *The Annunciation* from the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* [illegible]
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(The Cloisters Collection, Purchase, 1954)

437. Simone Martini
[illegible] Scene of Courtly Life
detail [illegible]
Fresco, Palace of
the Popes, Avignon

[illegible] *the Temple and the Flight into Egypt* [illegible] Panel [illegible] Museum of the [illegible]

[illegible] the side [illegible] per [illegible] the [illegible] The [illegible] figure [illegible] passing a gate [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

left 441 [illegible] *February* from *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (1413–16) Musée Condé, Chantilly, France

[illegible] 44 [illegible] *January* from *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*

[illegible] *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. Produced for the brother of the king of France, a man of far from admirable character but the most lavish art patron of his day, this luxurious book of hours represents the most advanced phase of the International Style. The artists were Paul de Limbourg and his two brothers, a group of Flemings who, like Broederlam, had served in France. They must have viewed Italy as well, for their work includes a great number of motifs and whole compositions borrowed from the great masters of Tuscany. The most remarkable pages of the *Très Riches Heures* are those of the calendar, with their elaborate depiction of the life of man and nature throughout the months of the year. Such cycles, originally consisting of twelve single figures each [illegible] peasant [illegible] the margins of the [illegible] emphasizing [illegible] the labors [illegible] Limbourg Brothers, however, [illegible] series of panoramas [illegible] February miniature [illegible] landscape in the history of [illegible] sheep huddled [illegible] hunter watching on [illegible] and a maid blowing on her [illegible] hands [illegible] companion in the warm cottage [illegible] has been omitted for our benefit. [illegible] in the middle distance we see a villager cutting [illegible] and another driving his laden [illegible] toward the houses among the hills. Here, [illegible] the Broederlam panel, has they [illegible] as it were landscape, architecture, figures and [illegible] are harmoniously united in deep atmospheric space. Even such intangible, evanescent things as the frozen breath of the maid, the smoke rising from the chimneys and the clouds in the sky have become "paintable."

Our colorplate 25 shows the sowing of winter grain during the month of October. It is a bright, sunny day

[illegible] *Très Riches Heures* [illegible] the calendar shown on the frontispiece [illegible]

and the foreground figures for the first time since classical antiquity cast visible shadows on the ground. Once more we marvel at the wealth of realistic detail such as the waterfowl in the middle distance of the January page or the sower in the strip of the freshly plowed field. That sower is memorable in other ways as well. His tattered clothing has unhappy memories beyond mere fashion. He is meant to be a pathetic figure in a sense that underscores the miserable [illegible] the peasantry in [illegible] the [illegible] symbolized by the splendid castle [illegible] the bank of the river. The [illegible] which [illegible] that time see [illegible]

Several of the calendar pages are of interest in the use of human figures. The [illegible] perhaps the January [illegible] the [illegible] scene [illegible] the group which [illegible] Here is a banquet (fig. 44) [illegible] with a screen to protect [illegible] as a kind of secular [illegible] and a [illegible] from other works of the [illegible] the [illegible] qualities of a fine [illegible] except for the south [illegible] the [illegible] displays an odd lack of individuality. They are all the same type in face as well as stature, a [illegible] mannequins whose superhuman slenderness brings to mind their feminine counterparts in the fashion magazines of our own day. They are differentiated only by the assurance and variety of the clothing, which [illegible] the gulf between them and the melancholy peasant. The Limbourgs' miniature could not have been greater in reality than it appears in these pictures.

From the courtly throng of the January page it is but a step to the three Magi and their train in the altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco, the greatest Italian painter of the International Style in Florence. The costumes here are as colorful, the draperies as ample and swirling as in the Sienese. But [illegible] Lanaiuolo in the [illegible] seems in danger of being overwhelmed by the gay and festive pageant passing upon [illegible] the [illegible] Again we [illegible] the marvel of [illegible] which [illegible] in the [illegible] but [illegible] [illegible] such [illegible] were eager to [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] Oriental background [illegible] the Magi is further emphasized by the Monaco painting's cast shadows, the [illegible] of the [illegible] panels. It is not these [illegible] however, that [illegible] as the work of an Italian master but something else, a greater sense of weight of physical substance than we could hope to find among the North [illegible] representatives of the International Style. [illegible] despite [illegible] the decorative [illegible] obviously a painter used to working on a monumental scale, rather than a manuscript illuminator at heart. Yet the [illegible] commanded the decorative [illegible] effects of a miniaturist, as we can see [illegible] the small panels decorating the base of [illegible] altarpiece. In the Nativity (fig. 44) the new awareness of light has we first observed in the October page of the *Très Riches Heures*—light as an independent factor separate from form and color—dominates the entire picture. Even though the main sources of illumination are the divine radiance of the newborn Child—the light of the world—and of the angel bringing the glad tidings to the shepherds in the fields, their effect is as natural [illegible] note the strong cast shadows, as if the Virgin were kneeling by a campfire. The poetic intimacy of this night scene opens up a whole new world of artistic possibilities, possibilities that were not to be fully explored until two centuries later.

PART THREE

THE RENAISSANCE

In discussing the transition from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages, we were able to point to a great event, the rise of Islam, marking the separation between the two eras. No comparable event sets off the Middle Ages from the Renaissance. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to be sure, witnessed far-reaching developments: the fall of Constantinople and the Turkish conquest of southeastern Europe; the voyages of exploration that led to the founding of overseas empires in the New World, in Africa and Asia, with the subsequent rivalry of Spain and England as the premier colonial powers; the deep spiritual crisis of Reformation and Counter Reformation. But none of these events, however vast their effects, can be said to have produced the new era. By the time they happened, the Renaissance was well under way. Thus it has been surprising that the causes, the extent, and the significance of the Renaissance have long been a matter of debate among historians, and that their opinions, like those of the preaching humanists, may seem to be an elephant. Even if we segregate the minority of scholars who would deny the existence of the period altogether, we are left with an extraordinary variety of views on the Renaissance. Every branch of history study has tended to develop its own image of the period. While these images overlap, they do not coincide, so that our concept of the Renaissance may vary as we focus on fine arts, music, literature, philosophy, politics, economics, or science. Perhaps the only essential point on which most experts agree is that the Renaissance had begun when people realized they were no longer living in the Middle Ages.

This statement is not as simple-minded as it sounds. It brings out the undeniable fact that the Renaissance was the first period in history to be aware of its own existence and to coin a label for itself. Those who believe that there was no such thing as the Renaissance admit this, but claim that the people who thought they were no longer living in the Middle Ages were deluded. Medieval man did not think he belonged to an age distinct from classical antiquity; the past, to him, consisted simply of "B.C." and "A.D.," the era "under the Law" (that is, of the Old Testament) and the era "of Grace" (that is, after the birth of Christ). From his point of view, then, history was made in Heaven rather than on earth. The Renaissance, by contrast, divided the past not according to the Divine plan of salvation, but on the basis of human achievements. It saw classical antiquity as the era when man had reached the peak of his creative powers, an era brought to a sudden end by the barbarian invasions that destroyed the Roman Empire. During the thousand-year interval of darkness, which followed, little was accomplished, but now a new era, the "middle" between that of the Middle Ages, had been superseded by a revival of all those arts and sciences which flourished in classical antiquity. The present, the "New Age," thus bore little resemblance to an (from the Renaissance point of view) barbarous Middle Ages, French and Latin, but bore a striking resemblance to Greek and Roman antiquity. The origin of this revolutionary view of history can be traced back to the writings of the Italian poet Petrarch, one of the great men who made the Renaissance. Petrarch, however, thought of the new era mainly as a revival of the classics, which he contrasted with the rest-of-the-world, Arab and Greek, Christian commentators and the return to the original texts of ancient authors. During the next two centuries, his concept of the rebirth of antiquity grew to embrace almost the entire range of cultural endeavor, including his own. The latter, in fact, came to play a particularly important part in shaping the Renaissance, for reasons that we shall have to explore later.

That the new historical orientation, which let us remember, we see as the concepts of the Renaissance, the Middle Ages, and classical antiquity, should have had its start in the mind of one man is itself a telling comment on the new era. Petrarch's plea for a revival of antiquity is extraordinary not for his veneration of the ancients, classical revivals, we recall, had been far from unknown in the Middle Ages, but rather for the modern, strangely modern for his time, that underlies his plea, revealing him to be both an individualist and a humanist. Individualism, a new self-awareness and self-assurance, enabled him to proclaim against all established authority his own conviction that the "age of faith" was actually an era of darkness, while the "benighted pagans" of antiquity really represented the most enlightened stage of history. Such readiness to question traditional beliefs and practices was to become profoundly characteristic of the Renaissance as a whole. Humanism, to Petrarch, meant a belief in the importance of what we still call "the humanities" or "humane letters" (rather than Divine letters, or the study of Scripture), that is, the pursuit of learning in languages, literature,

history and philosophy were given end in a secular rather than a religious framework. Here again he set a pattern that proved to be most important for the humanists, the new breed of scholars who followed him, became the intellectual leaders of the Renaissance.

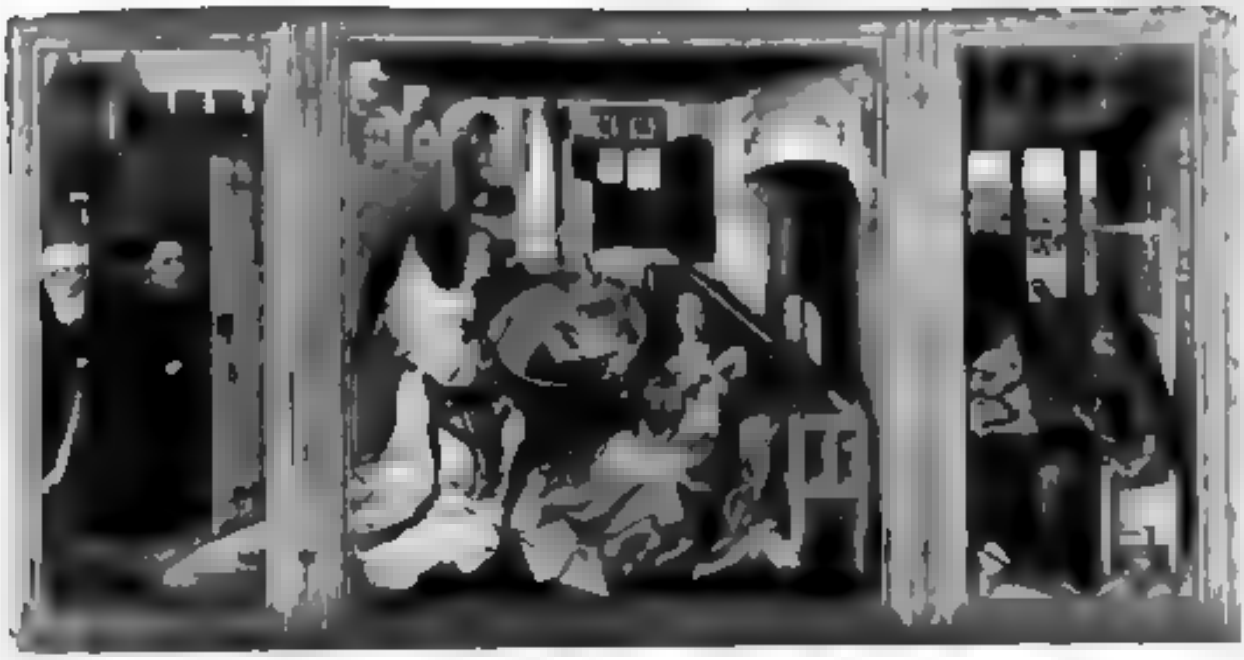
We find no trace, however, as Petrarch and his successors wanted to revive classical antiquity, such struggle and hatred. By interpreting the concepts of a thousand years of darkness between themselves and the ancients, the scholars sought to bridge the medieval chasm, as the French Romantics later retrospectively dreamed of glories and heroes of the Middle Ages, by a magic and nostalgic conception of the barrier of the Dark Ages. By recovering the full greatness of ancient achievements in art and thought and by endeavoring to compete with these achievements on an ideal plane, the aim of the Renaissance was not to duplicate the works of antiquity but to equal and, if possible, to surpass them. On no account does this mean that the authority granted to the ancient models was far from unanimous. Writers of the Renaissance, hemmed in with excessive eloquence and precision, but not necessarily in Latin. Architects, in order to build the churches demanded by Christian ritual, did not duplicate pagan temples, but the churches were designed *all'antica*, in the manner of the ancients, using an architectural vocabulary based on the study of classical structures. Renaissance physicians admired the anatomical handbooks of the ancients, which they found very much more accurate than those of the Middle Ages, but they discovered discrepancies when they matched the hallowed authority of the classical texts against the direct experience of the dissection table and learned to rely on the evidence of their own eyes. And the humanists, however great their enthusiasm for classical philosophy, did not become neo-pagans but went to great lengths trying to reconcile the heritage of the ancient thinkers with Christianity.

The men of the Renaissance then found themselves in the position of the legendary sorcerer's apprentice who set out to emulate his master's achievements and in the process released far greater energies than he had bargained for. But since their master was dead, rather than merely absent, they had to cope with these unfamiliar powers as best they could, until they became masters in their own right. This process of cultural growth is well represented by crises and tensions. The Renaissance must have been an uncomfortable, though intensely exciting, time to live in. Yet these very tensions, which appear in retrospect, called forth an outpouring of creative energy such as the world had never experienced before. It is a fundamental paradox that the desire to return to the classics, based on a rejection of the Middle Ages, brought to the new era and to the rebirth of antiquity, the birth of Modern Man.

PART THREE THE RENAISSANCE

1. "Late Gothic" Painting, Sculpture, and the Graphic Arts

As we narrow our focus from the Renaissance as a whole to the Renaissance in the fine arts, we are faced with a few questions that are still under debate. When and at what [illegible] the Gothic art originate in a specific center in what era, places, at the same time? Should we think of it as one new coherent style, or as a new attitude, a high, heroic, or even more humane style? Renaissance consciousness, we know, was a Italian idea, and there can be no doubt that Italy played the leading role in the development of Renaissance art, at least until the early sixteenth century. But when did this development get under way? Since architecture and sculpture are concerned, most scholars agree with the traditional view that it commenced more than five hundred years ago, that the Renaissance began soon after 1400. For painting, however, an even older tradition claims that the new era began with Giotto, who (as Boccaccio wrote about 1350) restored to light this art which had been buried for many centuries. We cannot disregard such testimony, yet we hesitate to accept it at face value, for we must then assume that the Renaissance in painting dawned about 1300, a full generation before Petrarch. Nor did Giotto himself reject the past as an age of darkness, of era, the two chief sources of his own style were the Byzantine tradition and the influence of Northern Gothic. The artistic revolution he created from these elements does not necessarily place him in a new era, since revolutionary changes had occurred in medieval art before. Nor is it fair to credit this revolution to him alone, disregarding Duccio and the other great Sienese masters. Petrarch was well aware of the achievements of all these men; he wrote admiringly of both Giotto and

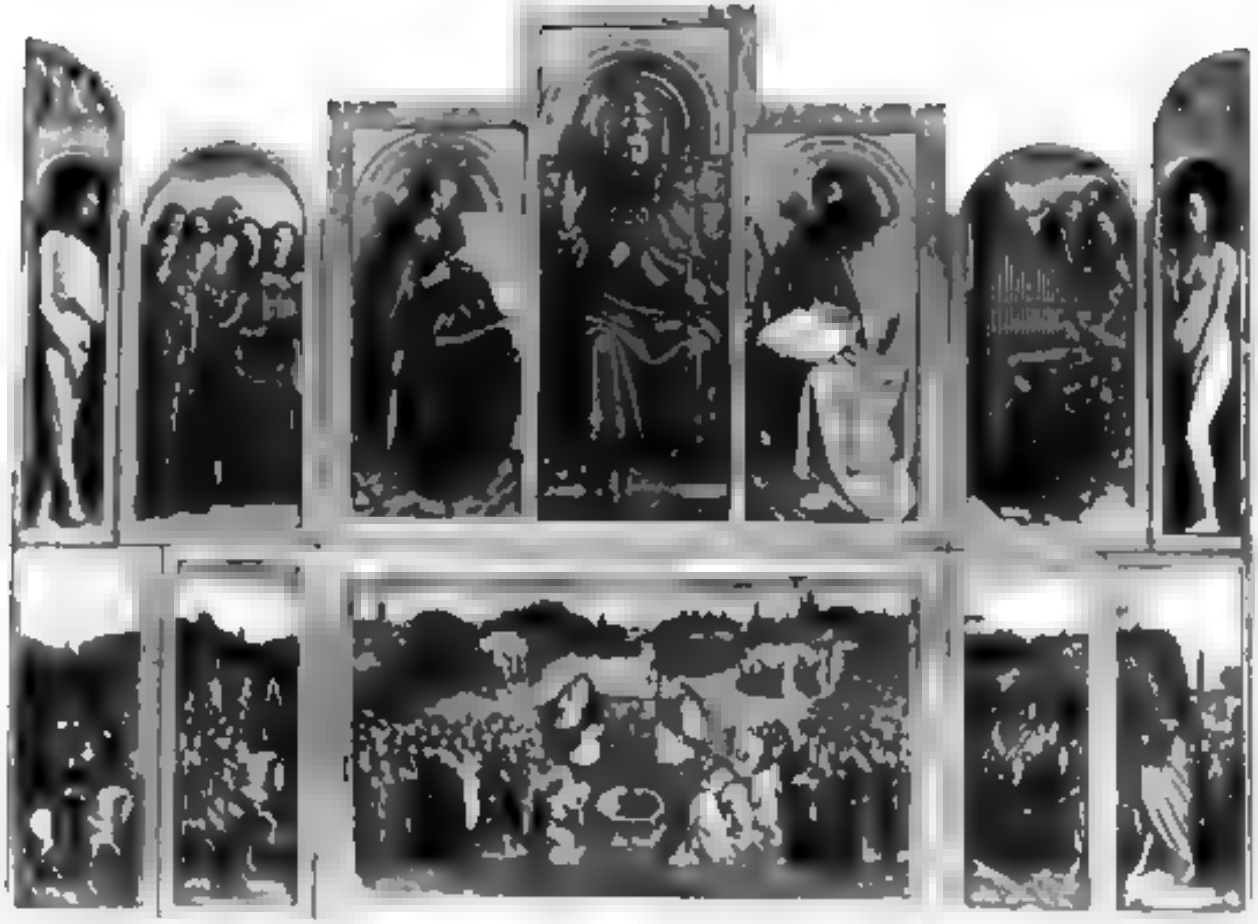


[illegible]

[illegible] but he [illegible] that he had [illegible] what he [illegible]

[illegible] painting [illegible] legendary [illegible] Renaissance [illegible] reflection [illegible] regardless what he has [illegible] he [illegible] apply [illegible] for the dark ages [illegible] though he did it somewhat prematurely [illegible] describing Giotto [illegible] that Giotto depicted [illegible] aspects [illegible] which we have people often [illegible] as well (see page [illegible]). Here he motifs have [illegible] antiquity themselves painters [illegible] ruins. And this as we shall see was [illegible] become a persistent theme in Renaissance thought [illegible] of nature as part of the great movement back to the classics and tending to humanize the post-medieval flock between these two arms.

Boccaccio, of course, was not in a position to know how many aspects of reality Giotto and his contemporaries had failed to investigate. These aspects, we recall, were explored by the painters of the International Style [illegible] thought in [illegible] tentative [illegible] fashion. To add [illegible] to the treatment of [illegible] painting such as [illegible] the high [illegible] and in [illegible] the Netherlands about [illegible] there [illegible] both [illegible] the request [illegible] the while [illegible] separate [illegible] every other [illegible] was the [illegible] necessary [illegible] the more fundamental [illegible] thought in architecture and sculpture as well as painting [illegible] the Renaissance. The [illegible] applied [illegible] the new style that [illegible] the South [illegible] Andrea [illegible] influence [illegible] the Southern [illegible] of the [illegible] minds about [illegible] the Renaissance [illegible] we customarily label [illegible] which we shall use [illegible] the sake of convenience with [illegible] doubtful status [illegible] does [illegible] the special character of Northern fifteenth-century painting. But it has some justification [illegible] that the features of the new [illegible] her Italian contemporaries did not reject the older [illegible] rather they [illegible] as their [illegible] departure [illegible] that the break with the past was [illegible] abrupt in the North than in the South [illegible] Gothic also reminds us that fifteenth-century architecture outside Italy remained firmly rooted in the Gothic tradition. Whatever we choose to call the style of Northern painters of this time, their artistic environment was clearly Late Gothic (see pages [illegible]). How could they create a genuinely post medieval style in such a setting



443. [illegible] and [illegible] *The New Altarpiece* [illegible] completed 14[illegible]. Plate [illegible] 4[illegible]. [illegible] Bar[illegible] Sheet

one wonders. Would it not be more reasonable to regard their work, despite its great importance, as the final phase of Gothic painting? If we treat them here as the Northern counterpart of the early Renaissance, we do so for several reasons. The great Flemish masters whose work we are about to examine had an impact that went far beyond their own region. In Italy they were as admired as the leading figures in an age of the perfect and their intense realism had a decisive influence on Italian Renaissance painting. (The Italians, we will recall, had associated the exact imitation of nature in painting with a return to the classics.) Italian Renaissance art in contrast made very little impression north of the Alps during the fifteenth century. To Italian eyes then, Late Gothic painting appeared deliberately premedieval. Moreover, the situation of the Flemish painters had a close parallel in the field of music. After about 1420 the Netherlands produced a school of composers who dominated the development of music throughout Europe for the next hundred years. How much the new style of these men was appreciated can be gathered from a contemporary source which states that "nothing worth listening to had been composed before their time." This remark, with its sweeping rejection of the "musical dark ages," links the attitude of the Flemish musicians with Italian "Renaissance-consciousness" (except for the absence of any reference to the revival of antiquity). We have no comparable testimony concerning the new style of the Flemish painters, but from what we know of the impact of their work it seems likely that people felt nothing worth looking at had been painted before their time.

The first phase, and perhaps the decisive one, in the history of Flanders is represented by an artist whose name we do not know for certain. We call him the Master of Flémalle after the fragments of a large altarpiece from Flémalle now in the Staedel Institute, Frankfurt, although he was probably identical with Robert Campin, the foremost painter of Tournai whose career we can trace in documents from 1406 to his death in 1444. Among his finest works is the *Merode Altarpiece* (fig. 444, colorplate 28), which he must have done soon after 1425. Comparing it with its nearest relatives, the Franco-Flemish pictures of the International Style (figs. 440–4, colorplate 25), we see that it belongs within that tradition, yet we also recognize in it a new pictorial experience. Here for the first time we have the sensation of actually looking *through* the surface of the panel into a spatial world that has all the essential qualities of everyday reality: unfeigned depth, stability, continuity, and completeness. The painters of the International Style, even at their most adventurous, had never aimed

at such consistency their commitment to reality was far from absolute. The pictures they created have the enchanting quality of fairy tales where the scale and relationship of things can be shifted at will, where fact and fancy mingle without conflict. The Master of Flémalle, in contrast, has undertaken to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He does not set down with ease his objects, every foreshortened, tend to waste each other in space. With a determination that seems almost obsessive, he endows every last detail with a maximum concreteness by defining every aspect of its physical shape and size, its color, material surface, texture, its degree of opacity, and its way of responding to illumination. The artist even distinguishes between the diffused light producing soft shadows and delicate gradations of brightness, and the direct light entering through the window, the latter accounting for the sharp shadows sharply outlined in the upper part of the center panel, and for the twin reflections of the brass vessel and candlestick.

The *Merode Triptych* is short, can perhaps be with shocking abruptness from the art of the International Style to the household of a Flemish burgher. The Master of Flémalle, whether or not we believe him to have been Robert Campin, was not a court painter, but a townsman catering to the tastes of such wealthy citizens as the two donors appearing kneeling outside the Virgin's chamber, a characteristically bourgeois feature of the Annunciation. In the foreground, equipped domestic [illegible] as well as [illegible] Saint Joseph, humble craftsman, by showing him at work on a mousetrap, his belt-tool hanging from a peg upon an altar, a problem no one had faced before: how to translate supernatural events from symbolic settings into an everyday environment without making them seem either trivial or incongruous. He has met the challenge by the method known as "disguised symbolism," which means that a most ordinary detail in the picture, however casual, may carry a symbolic message. Thus the rosebush, the lilies and daisies in the left wing and the lilies in the center panel are flowers associated with the Virgin: the roses denoting her charity, the violets her humility, and the lilies her chastity; the shiny water basin and the towel on its rack are not merely ordinary household equipment but further tributes to Mary as the "vessel most clean" and the "well of living waters." Perhaps the most intriguing symbol of this sort is the candle next to the vase of lilies. It was extinguished only moments ago, as we can tell from the glowing wick and the curl of smoke. But why, in broad daylight, had it been lit, and what made the flame go out? Was the divine radiance of the Lord's presence overcome the material light? Or did the flame of the candle itself represent the Divine light, now extinguished to show that God has become man, that in Christ "the Word was made flesh"?

Clearly, the entire wealth of medieval symbolism serves in our picture, but it is so completely immersed in the world of everyday appearances that we are often left to doubt whether a given detail demands symbolic interpretation. Observers had long wondered, for instance, why St. Joseph should be so concerned with the manufacture of mousetraps (one rests in the open window, another on his workbench), until the particular meaning of these humble objects was discovered a few years ago

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Augustine [illegible] had [illegible] appeared on earth [illegible] was for Satan [illegible] the Cross of the [illegible] was the devil's mousetrap. Since explanations of this sort require much [illegible] we tend to [illegible] the Merode Altarpiece and [illegible] pictures as [illegible] a special kind of puzzle. And so they often [illegible] the mode in which they can be en[illegible] [illegible] symbolic content. But what about the [illegible] for which these works were painted? Do they immediately grasp the meaning of [illegible] details? The [illegible] have had no difficulty with such [illegible] establishing [illegible] picture as the flowers [illegible] but they probably understood the sig[illegible] [illegible] the message of the extinguished [illegible] candle [illegible] the mousetrap [illegible] would not have seemed [illegible] charming [illegible] recognized [illegible] however [illegible] these [illegible] symbols and [illegible] their [illegible] grounds we [illegible] have [illegible] question that they are symbols [illegible] make the earliest appearance in the *Merode Altarpiece*. The [illegible] must be unusual [illegible] Joseph with the mousetrap has been [illegible] the other picture and the recently extinguished candle does not recur elsewhere so far as we know. Apparently then, the Master of Flémalle introduced these symbols into the visual arts, yet hardly any artists adopted them despite his vast influence. But if the candle and the mousetrap were difficult to understand even in the fifteenth century, why are they in our picture at all? Did the patron, who may have been exceptionally erudite, [illegible] the artist to put them in? Possibly, if this were the only case of its kind. Since, however, there are countless instances of equally subtle or obscure symbolism in Late Gothic painting, it seems more likely that the initiative came from the artists rather than from their various patrons. We have reason to believe, therefore, that the Master of Flémalle was either a man of unusual learning himself or had contact with the theologians and other scholars who could supply him with the references that suggested the symbolic meanings of things like the extinguished candle and the mousetrap. In other words, our artist discovered in [illegible] the symbolic tradition of medieval art, which the framework of the new realistic style he expanded and enriched. By his own [illegible] [illegible] would be pursuit [illegible] which we are accustomed to regard as the opposite poles, realism and [illegible]. In him, apparently, the [illegible] were not perceived as [illegible] [illegible]. We might say he [illegible] a [illegible] symbolic repertory because [illegible] [illegible] such as a [illegible] [illegible] a carpenter's shop [illegible] as the [illegible] the mousetrap [illegible] [illegible] with a [illegible] of [illegible] reverential attitude [illegible] the physical universe as a [illegible]. This [illegible] understand why in the Merode panels the smallest and least conspicuous details are rendered with the same concentrated attention as the [illegible] figures [illegible] almost everything [illegible] and has [illegible] an equally searching scrutiny. [illegible] symbolism [illegible] the Master of Flémalle [illegible] was not an [illegible] device grafted [illegible] but integrated in the creative process. The Italian contemporaries must have sensed [illegible] they praised both the miraculous realism and [illegible] the Flemish masters.

[illegible] compare our colorplate of the *Merode Annunciation* with those of earlier panel paintings (colorplates [illegible]) we see [illegible] that all other differences aside [illegible] makes the Master of Flémalle's picture stand out among the rest. The jewel-like brightness of his [illegible] works, their patterns of brilliant hues and lavish use of gold, have given way to a color scheme far less decorative but much more flexible and differentiated. The subdued tints, muted greens, bluish or brownish grays, show a new subtlety, and the scale of intermediate shades is smoother and has a wider range. All these effects are essential to the realistic style of the Master of Flémalle; they were made possible by the use

[illegible] the medium he was among the first to experiment. The basic technique of medieval panel painting had been tempera in which the finely ground pigments were mixed "tempered" with a binder, egg yolk, to produce a hard, tough, quick-drying, and admirably suited medium. Artists in high-keyed fashion could produce a range of the different tones in the paint, which could be smoothly blended, and the control of pigment values necessary for [illegible] coherence. [illegible] was difficult to achieve as the paint [illegible] and undifferentiated. For the Master [illegible] drawbacks which he overcame by [illegible] the water-and-egg [illegible] a matter of sense [illegible] but has been one [illegible] was the Master [illegible] with [illegible] effects [illegible] would have [illegible] unknown. [illegible]

Rembrandt

[illegible] view, for they deserve to be called the "fathers of modern painting." [illegible] has been the painter's basic medium ever [illegible]

Needless to say, the full range of effects made possible by oil was not discovered all at once, nor by any one man. The Master [illegible] less than an [illegible] much more [illegible] with [illegible] the actual [illegible] painting. About his life and career we know a great deal [illegible] about [illegible] he worked in [illegible] and from [illegible] 420 [illegible] was highly esteemed [illegible] of Burgundy, who commission[illegible] diplomatic errands. After [illegible] through a number of [illegible] the inscription on the frame [illegible] had been begun by his elder [illegible] 445 [illegible] rather developed [illegible] there are several [illegible] the *Ghent Altar*[illegible] been painted by either of the two [illegible] the [illegible] painting [illegible] part of [illegible] among the [illegible] and the [illegible] judgment [illegible] between [illegible] Hubert was [illegible]

[illegible] panels has many qualities [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the

[illegible] *Hyde*
1414 Panel [illegible] *indoor*
Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees

in the faces of the crowd beneath the cross, and the restrained but profoundly touching grief of the Virgin Mary and her companions in the foreground. In the *Last Judgment* panel this dual aspect of the Eyckian style takes the form of two extremes above the horizon, a [illegible] serenity and calm, while below it [illegible] on earth [illegible] in the subterranean realm of Satan, the opposite [illegible] prevails. The two stages thus correspond to [illegible] and Hell, contemplative bliss as against physical and emotional turbulence. The lower half clearly was the greater challenge to the artist's imaginative powers. [illegible] dead rising from their graves with frantic gestures of fear and hope, the damned being torn apart by demons [illegible] monsters more frightful than any we have seen before [illegible] have the awesome reality of a nightmare, but a nightmare observed with the same [illegible] as the nature [illegible] of the Crucifixion panel.

The Ghent Altarpiece (fig. 445–47) is the greatest [illegible] of all Flemish painting. Its [illegible] problems [illegible] that our discussion must be [illegible] hasty [illegible]. We have already mentioned the question [illegible] among us that the work began by Hubert was [illegible] by Jan van Eyck. Since Hubert died in 1426, the [illegible] a piece was presumably made in one or two years spent between 1426 and 1432. When Jan was [illegible] the effect [illegible] introduced [illegible] the next phase [illegible] the new style [illegible] that [illegible] the problem we have discussed [illegible]. A thoughtful [illegible] is a [illegible] with [illegible] hinged wings, each [illegible] panels and [illegible] the wings are painted on both sides, the altarpiece has a [illegible] component parts of assorted shapes and sizes. The ensemble makes what has rightly been called a superb altar [illegible] overwhelming but far from bizarre [illegible] which [illegible] could not have

[illegible] *goes [illegible]*

results. The [illegible] in the apparent size of objects as the distance from the observer increases [illegible] effect [illegible] only [illegible] away [illegible] our Crucifixion panel, even the foreground seems [illegible] with a delicate haze that softens contours, shadows, and colors, and thus the entire scene has a [illegible] and harmony quite beyond the pictorial range of the Master of Flemalle. How did the Van Eycks accomplish this effect? Their exact technical procedure is difficult to reconstruct, but there can be no question that they used the oil medium with extraordinary refinement. By alternating opaque and translucent layers of pigment they were able to impart to their pictures a sort of glowing radiance of tone that has never been equaled, probably because it depends as much on their admirable sensibility as it does on their skillful craftsmanship.

Viewed as a whole, the *Crucifixion* seems languid, devoid of drama, as if the scene had been gently becalmed by some magic spell. Only when we concentrate on the details do we become aware of the violent emotions

been planned this way from the start. Apparently an [illegible] over a number of panels left unfinished by Hubert completed them, added some of his own and assembled them at the behest of the wealthy donor whose portrait we see on the outside of the altar. The [illegible] and to determine each brother's share is a fascinating but treacherous game. Surface [illegible] Hubert remains a somewhat shadowy figure. [illegible] enriched with retouches by Jan van Eyck probably [illegible] panels although these could [illegible] belong to his original. The upper three, whose huge figures [illegible] the final arrangement [illegible] were intended [illegible] a [illegible] approach, the [illegible] between the [illegible] Mary [illegible] John the Baptist [illegible] probably [illegible] separate altarpiece [illegible] symbolizing [illegible] [illegible] Adam and Eve [illegible] Abel [illegible] [illegible] Nevertheless [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

exact se[illegible] balanced against each other so perfectly that no one can accept well at the expense of the rest. As an artist he was all capable of expressing emotion, we need only recall the faces of the women at the foot of the Cross in the scenes of Calvary and Christ in the *Crucifixion Triptych*. Each of his portraits subtly reflects his understanding of human character and his high sensitivity to nuance of mood.

The Flemish cities where the new style of painting flourished, Tournai, Ghent, Bruges, created those towns as centers of commerce, banking and trade. The Bruges residents included many Italian businessmen. For one of these Jan van Eyck produced what is now his most remarkable portrait, his masterpiece, the personal testament, *Arnolfini and His Bride* (fig. 445). The young couple, solemnly exchanging marriage vows, [illegible] the privacy of the bridal chamber. The scene is [illegible] quite a normal one, but as we look more [illegible] place behind them, [illegible] we discover the reflection that another person has entered the room. Since there must be the artist, [illegible] the mirror, [illegible] van Eyck was there and he dared [illegible] that he was a witness. The picture purports to show exactly what he saw and has the [illegible] of a legal marriage certificate. Yet the domestic setting, however persuasively realistic, is replete with disguised symbols of the most subtle kind, conveying the sacramental nature of marriage. The single candle in the handsome, burning on broad daylight, stands for the all-seeing Christ, while the Passion scenes of the mirror frame, the shoes which the couple has taken off remind us that they are standing on "holy ground" (for the origin of the theme refer to page 36), even the little dog is an emblem of marital faith, and the furnishings of the room invite similar interpretation. The natural world, as in the *Merode Altarpiece*, is made to contain the world of the spirit in such a way that the two actually become one.

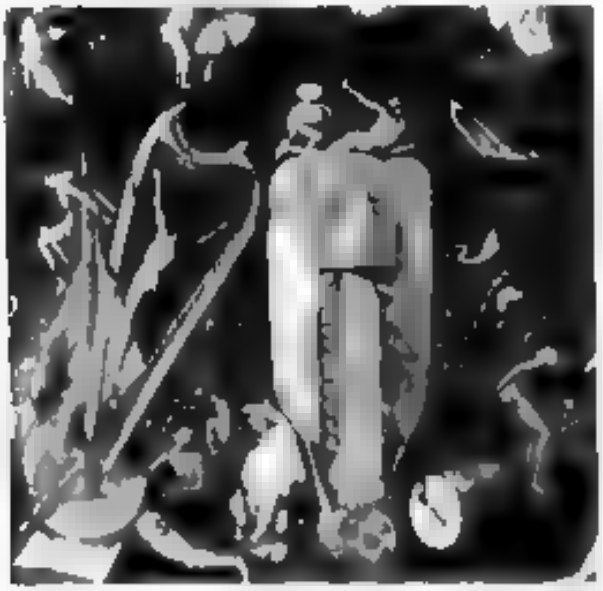
[illegible] the work of Jan van Eyck the exploration of the reality made visible by light and color had reached a limit that was not to be surpassed for another two centuries. Rogier van der Weyden, the third great master of early Flemish painting, set himself a different though equally important task: to recapture within the framework of the new style created by his predecessors the emotional drama, the *pathos*, of the Gothic past. We can see this immediately in his early masterpiece *The Descent from the Cross* (colorplate 29), which dates from about 1435, when the artist was in his mid-thirties. Here the modeling is sculpturally precise, with its brittle, angular

[illegible] fields recalling the Master [illegible] Flemish and he [illegible] shadows and rich glowing [illegible] show [illegible] knowledge of Jan van Eyck. Yet Rogier [illegible] more than a [illegible] the two older men whose [illegible] and [illegible] obviously a great [illegible] he [illegible] which are not theirs but his. The [illegible] in this case the [illegible] than the [illegible] human [illegible] [illegible] expressive [illegible] lamentation. The [illegible] gestures and faces [illegible] the Strasbourg [illegible] and the Nativity [illegible] [illegible] Rogier should have [illegible] a shallow [illegible] the [illegible] against an [illegible] background [illegible] [illegible] behind [illegible] [illegible] group [illegible] [illegible] influence [illegible] [illegible] idea rather than [illegible] [illegible] has been [illegible] [illegible] idea rather than [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] the Master [illegible] conveys a more [illegible] sense of [illegible] the psychological [illegible] portraits Rogier interprets the human personality by suppressing some [illegible] and emphasizing others. In consequence he tells us more about the [illegible] of his sitters, less about their outward appearance.

Among the artists who followed Rogier van der Weyden few succeeded in escaping from the great master's shadow. The most dynamic of these was Hugo van der Goes, an unhappy genius whose tragic end suggests an unstable personality pectoral [illegible] [illegible] After a spectacular rise to fame in the [illegible] and an atmosphere of Bruges he decided to [illegible] when he was about forty years of age to enter a monastery as a lay brother. For some time he continued to paint, but increasing fits of depression drove him to the verge of suicide and seven years later he was dead. His most

[illegible]

[illegible] work [illegible] [illegible] figures [illegible] [illegible] between the [illegible] the [illegible] he wrote [illegible] and his concern [illegible] the supernatural [illegible] for instance the angelic [illegible] of the Portinari Family [illegible] crowded to the point [illegible] whose gigantic size [illegible] as he [illegible] a higher [illegible] Joseph, the Virgin Mary, and the shepherds of the Nativity in the center panel [illegible] the same huge scale. But these latter figures [illegible] are larger than life [illegible] their heights [illegible] the architecture and the [illegible] which [illegible] the same scale [illegible] appear abnormally small. This [illegible] [illegible] although [illegible] symbolism and [illegible] the pure [illegible] stands outside the [illegible] [illegible] affirmed in the environment he artist has provided for his figures. There is another striking contrast between the frantic excitement of the shepherds (fig. 443) and the ritual solemnity of the other figures. These field hands, gazing in breathless wonder at the newborn Child, react to the dramatic miracle of the Nativity with



a wide-eyed directness never attempted before. They aroused particular admiration in the Italian painters who saw the work after it arrived in Florence about 1480.

During the last quarter of the fifteenth century there were no painters in Flanders comparable to Hugo van der Goes, and the most original artists appeared further north in the Dutch [illegible] Among these [illegible] Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Haarlem, who [illegible] the enchanting *Nativity* reproduced in figure 454, a picture as daring in its quiet way as the center panel of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. The idea of a nocturnal Nativity [illegible] illuminated mainly by radiance from the Christ Child goes back to the eternal [illegible] Style (see fig. 441), but Geertgen, applying the pictorial discoveries of Jan van Eyck, gives new intense reality to the theme. The magic effect of his little panel is greatly enhanced by the smooth, simple, hieratic shapes that record the impact of light with arresting clarity: the manger is a rectangular trough, the heads of the angels, the infant, and the Virgin are as round as objects turned on a lathe.

If Geertgen's uncluttered, abstract forms attract us especially today, another Dutch artist, Hieronymus Bosch, appeals to our interest in the world of dreams. Little is known about Bosch except that he spent his life in the provincial town of s'Hertogenbosch and that he died an old man in 1516. His work, full of weird and seemingly irrational imagery, has proved so difficult to interpret that much of it, despite the remarkable insights contributed by recent research, remains unsolved. We can readily understand this if we study the triptych known as *The Garden of Delights* (figs. 455, 456, color plate 30), the richest and most puzzling of Bosch's pictures. Of the three panels, only the left one has a clearly recognizable subject: the Garden of Eden, wherein the Lord introduces Adam to the newly created Eve. The landscape, almost Eyckian in its airy vastness, is filled with animals, among them such exotic creatures as an elephant and a giraffe, and also hybrid monsters of odd and unusual kinds. Behind them, the distant rock for-

[illegible] plate [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] Sebastian Altar [illegible]
Panel [illegible]
Kunsthistorisches Museum [illegible]

[illegible]mations are equally strange. The right wing, a nightmarish scene of burning ruins and fantastic instruments of torture, surely represents Hell. But what of the center? Here we see a landscape much like that of the Garden of Eden, populated with countless nude men and women performing a variety of peculiar actions. In the center they parade around a circular basin on the backs of all sorts of beasts, many of them in pools of water; most of them are closely linked with enormous fruits, flowers, or marine animals. Only a few are openly engaged in sexual making, yet there can be no doubt that the delights in this garden are those of carnal love, however strangely disguised. The basic fruit is an symbol, one of the devices which Bosch uses to depict this scene on earth as an alternative to the kingdom of God and Satan, and to whereby we are all doomed to be the prisoners of our appetites. Nowhere does he suggest that this is the place of Satan's temptation. The [illegible] has [illegible] asserted the [illegible] Eden [illegible] and we are [illegible] Satan with its goals [illegible] and [illegible] meaning of [illegible] have refused [illegible] the [illegible] they [illegible] according [illegible] which Bosch [illegible] has few adherents [illegible] ambiguity of the [illegible] a haunting [illegible] who intended his pictures [illegible] packed with [illegible] meaning [illegible] however, he must have been entranced by the sensuous appeal [illegible] the world of flesh that he images [illegible] with such prodigal [illegible] what he [illegible] mean [illegible] condemn. That [illegible] is the reason why *The Garden of Delights* [illegible] evokes so strong a response [illegible] even though we no longer understand every [illegible] of the sermon.

We must now glance briefly at fifteenth-century art in the rest of Northern Europe. After about 1430 the new realism of the Flemish masters began to spread into France and Germany and by the middle of the century its influence was paramount from Spain to the Baltic. Among the countless artists, many of them still anonymous, who turned out provincial adaptations of Netherlandish painting, only a few were gifted enough to impress us today with a distinctive personality. One of the earliest and most original was Conrad Witz of Basel, whose altarpiece for Geneva Cathedral, painted in 1444, includes the remarkable panel shown in figure 45.* To judge from the drapery, with its tubular folds and sharp, angular breaks, he must have had close contact with the Master of Flémalle. But the setting, rather than the figures, attracts our interest, and here the influence of the Van Eycks seems dominant. Witz, however, did not simply follow these great pioneers; an explorer himself, he knew more about the optical appearances of water than any other painter of his time (note especially the bottom of the lake in the foreground). The landscape, too, is an original venture, representing a specific part

[illegible]

45. Jean [illegible] *[illegible] and St. Stephen*, c. 1440. Panel, [illegible]. State Museums, Berlin.

449 Jean Fouquet, *Self Portrait*, c. 1450 (oil) and enamel on copper, diameter [illegible]. The Louvre, Paris

[illegible] the shores of the Lake of Geneva, the earliest landscape portrait [illegible] as

[illegible] France, the painter Jean Fouquet, twenty-odd years younger than Witz, had the exceptional opportunity to complete this training of a lengthy [illegible] about 1445. In consequence, his work represents a unique blend of Flemish and Early Renaissance elements, although [illegible] Northern. *Etienne Chevalier and St. Stephen* (fig. 448), painted about 1450, for the offering of a diptych, shows his masters as a portrait [illegible] the heads of the saints seem no less [illegible] than that of the donor. Italian influence can be seen in the style of the architecture and less directly in the voluptuous solidity and weight of the figures. The artist's self-portrait, from about the same time, [illegible] reflects his concern with the South [illegible] 449). [illegible] this picture executed in [illegible] enamel, which must have been inspired by a late Roman miniature like the one represented in figure [illegible] revives a species of portable portrait that was [illegible] become immensely popular, especially in England a century later. And [illegible] has the further distinction of being the earliest clearly identified self-portrait that is a separate painting, not an incidental part of a larger work. The style of the likeness is Flemish in origin, however, rather than ancient or Renaissance. In fact, the quality of the glazed [illegible] van Eyck's *Man in a Red Turban* (fig. 448) is so strongly that one is tempted [illegible] to suggest that Jan's picture too must be a self-portrait.

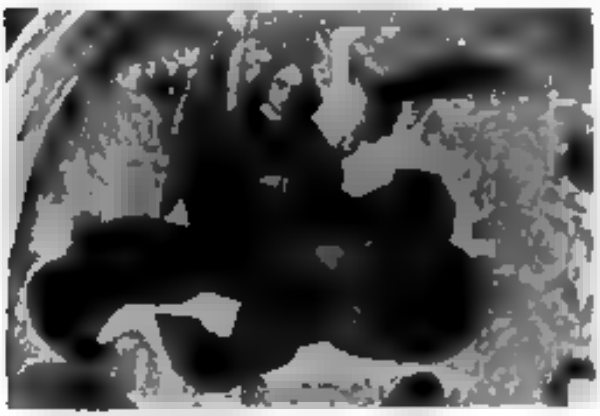
A Flemish style influenced by Italian art also characterizes the most famous of all French fifteenth-century pictures, *The Avignon Pietà* (fig. 460). As its name indicates, the panel comes from the extreme south of France. It was probably painted by an artist of that region, but the name of this important master is not recorded, and we know no other works by his hand. All we can say about his background is that he must have been thoroughly familiar with the art of Roger van der Weyden, for the figure types and the expressive content of the *Avignon Pietà* could be derived from no other source. At the same time, the design, magnificently simple and stable, is Italian rather than Northern; we first saw these qualities in the art of Giotto. Southern too is the bleak, featureless landscape emphasizing the monumental isolation of the figures. The distant buildings behind the donors, however, have an unmistakably Islamic flavor, and the artist meant to place the scene in an authentic Near Eastern setting. However that may be, he has created from these various features an unforgettable image of human pathos.

If we had to describe fifteenth-century art north of the Alps in a single phrase, we might label it the century of panel painting. Panel painting dominated the arts in the period between [illegible] and 1500 that [illegible] standards apply [illegible] and stained glass and [illegible] sculpture. After the [illegible] century, however, the emphasis has shifted from [illegible] sculpture [illegible] wood [illegible] and [illegible] Nuremberg [illegible] expression of weight and [illegible] the [illegible] sculpture [illegible] the [illegible] sculpture [illegible] begins to produce [illegible] these [illegible] sculpture because [illegible] painting may be seen in figures 461 and 462, the *Passion Altar* [illegible] Master of Hermann, about [illegible] plates are [illegible] features of a carved altar by a fine German sculptor of the sixteenth century. The most characteristic works of the late Gothic period are wooden altar shrines, often large in size and noted for intricate detail. Such shrines were especially popular in the Germanic countries. One of the richest examples is the *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 463) by the Tyrolean sculptor and painter Michael Pacher in St. Wolfgang, Austria. Its lavish gilt and colored forms make a dazzling spectacle as they emerge from the shadowy depth of the shrine under spiky Flamboyant canopies we enjoy [illegible] but in pictorial rather than plastic terms. We have no experience of volume, either positive or negative; the figures and setting seem to melt into a single pattern of agitated twisting lines that permits only the heads to stand out as separate entities. If we compare this *Coronation* with Rogier's *Descent from the Cross* (color plate 19), we realize that the latter paradoxically, is a far more "sculptural" scene. Did Pacher, the "Late Gothic

460. Netherlands French Master
The Avignon Pietà c. 1470
Panel 64 × 86. The Louvre, Paris

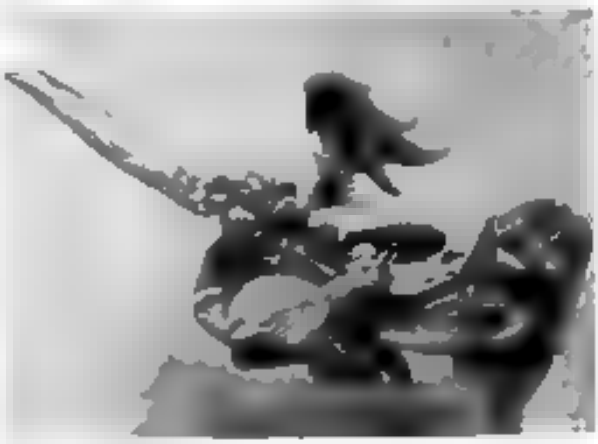
sculpture feel unable [illegible] Paris [illegible] painting [illegible] here [illegible] to meet [illegible] the pictorial [illegible] by contrasting he may [illegible] from contrasts of light and shade" [illegible] seems [illegible] support his view [illegible] at [illegible] Wolfgang shrine he made [illegible] with a painted center [illegible] Again we see [illegible] figures under [illegible] canopies [illegible] equivalent [illegible] a carved shrine but [illegible] with far greater emphasis on space and volume. I say that Parler is a painter when he sculpts and a sculptor when he paints [illegible] a slight exaggeration [illegible] this exchange sculpture inevitably gets the short end of the bargain.

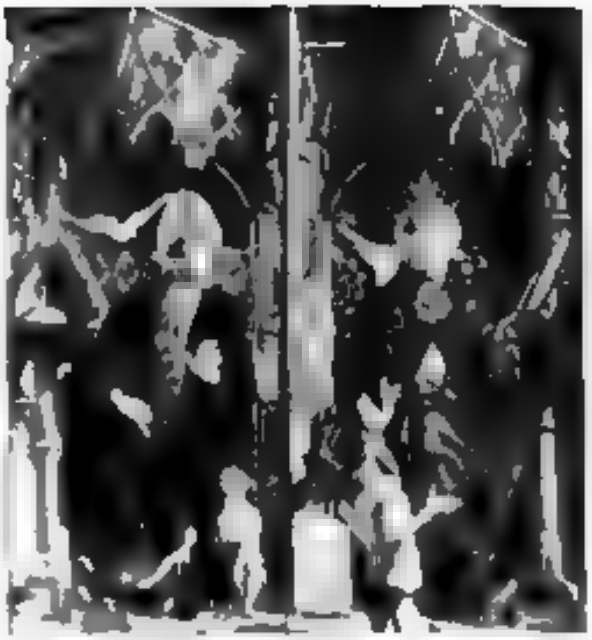
Before we turn to the Early Renaissance in Italy, we [illegible] an [illegible] important fifteenth-century phenomenon [illegible] the Alps: the development of printing techniques for pictures as well as books. Our earliest printed books in the modern sense were produced in the Rhineland [illegible] after 1454 we are no longer sure whether the famous Bible published by Johann Gutenberg at Mainz deserves [illegible] priority [illegible] claimed for it. The new technique spread across Europe and developed into an industry that had a most profound effect on Western culture. Some historians even use the introduction of the printed book to mark the boundary line between the Middle Ages and the modern era. Printed pictures however had [illegible] less importance; without them the printed book would not have replaced the

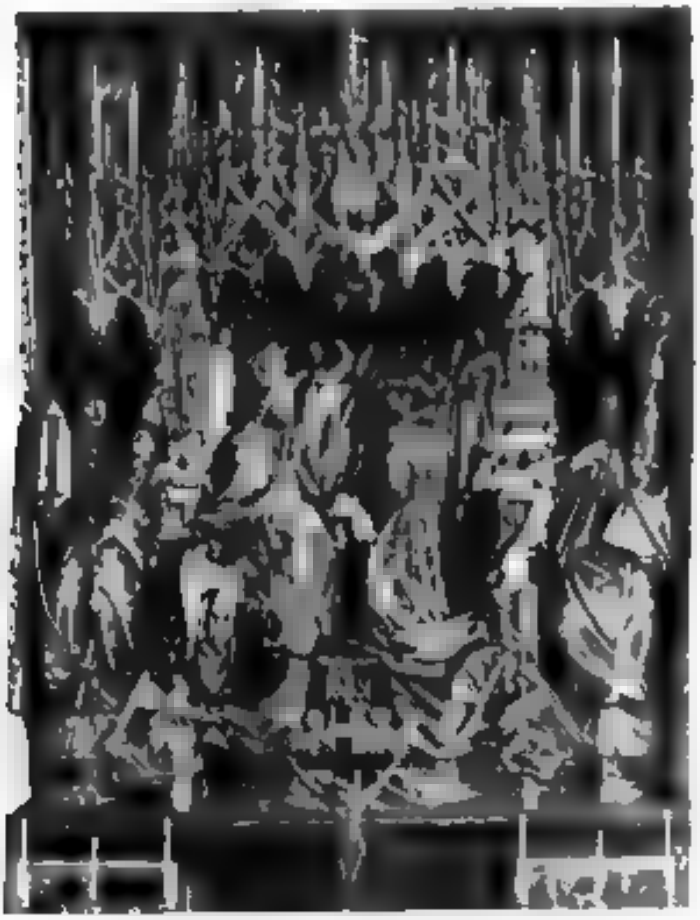


461. The Master of Flémalle (Robert Campin?).
Flying Angel detail of the *Entombment* c. 1430
Panel. Collection Count Antoine Seilern, London

462. Veit Stoss. *Flying Angel* detail
of the *Annunciation* c. 1477. St Lorenz, Nuremberg







[illegible]

[illegible] Mainz.

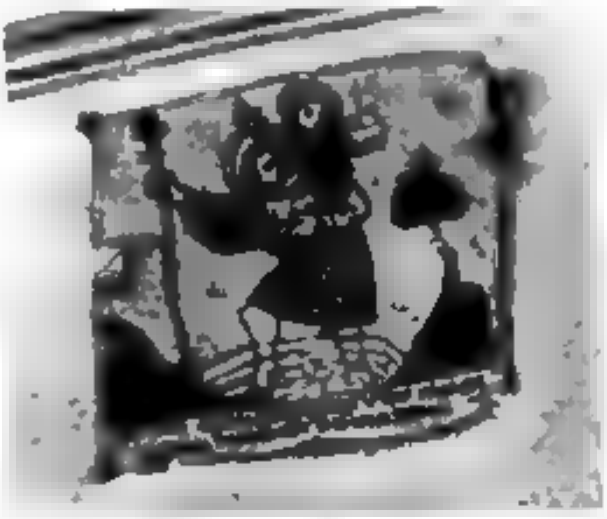
[illegible] Western [illegible] paper [illegible] Mainz [illegible] examples [illegible] called woodcuts [illegible] are German [illegible] are English and some may be French [illegible] simple qualities [illegible] engraving. Since the designs were probably furnished by painters or sculptors, but the actual carving of the wood blocks was done by the specialty craftsmen who also produced wood blocks for textile prints. As a result, early woodcuts, such as the *St. Dorothy* figure, [illegible], have a flat, ornamental pattern. Forms are defined by simple, heavy lines with little concern for three-dimensional effect (there is no hatching or shading). Since the stained shapes were meant to be filled in with color, these prints often recall stained glass. Compare fig. 42 [illegible] more than the miniatures which they replaced. Despite their aesthetic appeal to modern eyes, fifteenth-century woodcuts were popular art, on a level that did not attract masters of high ability until shortly before 1500. A single wood block yielded thousands of copies,

[illegible] be sold [illegible] a few pennies apiece, bringing the [illegible] ownership of pictures within [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible]

Whoever first thought of metal type probably had the [illegible] of goldsmiths [illegible] the technical production problem. This is [illegible] more plausible since many goldsmiths [illegible] already entered the field of printmaking. [illegible] a woodcut is printed [illegible] shape [illegible] a steel tool [illegible] metal [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Woodcut
[illegible] by Sandhiting Munich

[illegible] Woodcut [illegible] Christopher detail from [illegible] Munich



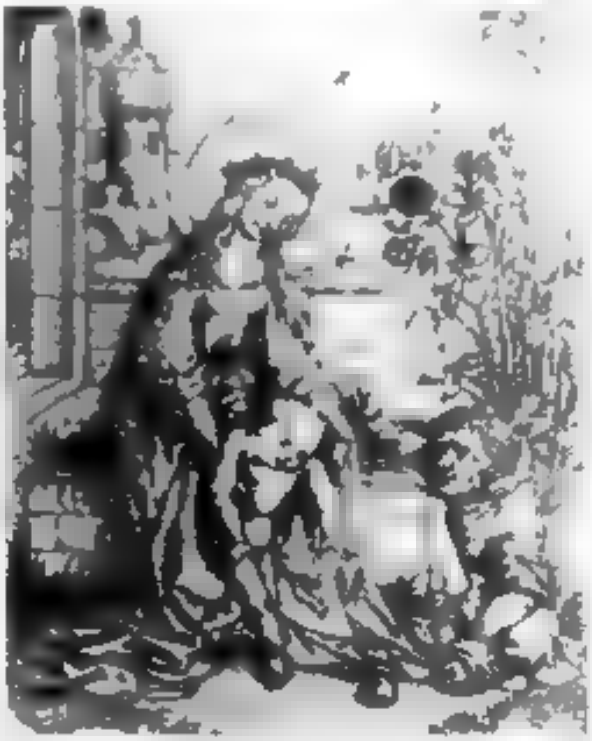
graphic [illegible] than [illegible] modestly. Especially in the [illegible] Rhine region we can trace a [illegible] of the engravers [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] Master Schongauer [illegible] he [illegible] a painter [illegible]

Schongauer [illegible] the Kupferstich der Westfalen [illegible] engraving. After [illegible] Rogier's art. [illegible] *The Temptation* [illegible] the great [illegible] Master [illegible] impressive power [illegible] engraving [illegible] and [illegible] paper [illegible] *The Temptation* [illegible] Master [illegible] hatching [illegible] gauge [illegible] by [illegible] not [illegible] unsurpassed [illegible]

the originality of conception and technique. Schongauer had only one rival among the printmakers of his time, the Master of the Hausbuch (so called after a book of drawings attributed to him). The very individualistic artist who was probably of Dutch origin although he seems to have spent most of his career in the Rhine and [illegible] of Schongauer's. His prints such as the *Hunt* [illegible] are small, intimate, [illegible] and spontaneous [illegible] sketches in execution. Even his [illegible] were different from the standard engraver's equipment, instead substituting the somewhat impersonal discipline demanded by the burin the Master of the Hausbuch [illegible] his designs into the copperplate with a steel needle. This technique [illegible] permitted him to draw almost as freely as [illegible] with a pen on a sheet of paper. The needle [illegible] deeply as [illegible] the burin [illegible] that a copper plate was upon [illegible] after [illegible] a [illegible] impression [illegible] a negative [illegible] technique [illegible] The [illegible] the [illegible] supreme [illegible] Rhine [illegible] graphic [illegible]

[illegible] Master [illegible] *Engraving* [illegible] Master [illegible] New York, Rogers [illegible]

[illegible] The Master [illegible] *The* [illegible] Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



2. The Early Renaissance in Italy

When we discussed the new style of painting that arose in Flanders about 1420, we avoided suggesting why this revolution took place at that particular time and in that particular area. This does not mean, however, that no explanation is possible. Unless we believe in sheer accidents of chance, we find no difficulty in placing the entire burden of responsibility on the Master of Flémalle and the Van Eycks. There must, we feel, be some connection between their accomplishments and the social, political, and cultural setting in which they worked. But this link is far less apparent, and less we understand the [illegible] Regarding the origins of Renaissance art, we are in a better position. Thanks to recent research, we have some insight into the special circumstances of its birth. Explanation [illegible] was born at the beginning of the fifteenth century, rather than somewhere else, at some other time.

[illegible] Italy [illegible] faced an acute [illegible] the northern Italian [illegible] had a [illegible] gulf [illegible] states [illegible] setting [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] these [illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] such [illegible] appeal [illegible] and rulers, the [illegible] whereas [illegible] raised public [illegible] by proclaiming [illegible] the champion of freedom against unchecked [illegible]. His propaganda was [illegible] on both sides by humanists, the heirs of Petrarch and Boccaccio, but the Florentines gave by far the better [illegible] of themselves. Their writings, such as Leonardo Bruni's *Praise of the City of Florence*, [illegible] a new focus: the Petrarchan ideal of a Rebirth of the classics. The humanist, speaking as the citizen of a free republic, asks why, among all the states of Italy, Florence alone had been able to defy the superior power of Milan. He finds the answer in her institutions, her cultural achievements, her geographical situation, the spirit of her people, and her descent from the city states of ancient Etruria. Does not Florence, today, he concludes, assume the same role of political and intellectual leadership as that of Athens at the time of the Persian Wars? The patriotic pride, the call to greatness implicit in this image of Florence as the "new Athens" must have aroused a deep response throughout the city, for just when the forces of Milan threatened to engulf them, the Florentines embarked upon an ambitious campaign to finish the great art and civic enterprises begun a century before at the time of [illegible]. Following the competition of [illegible] for the bronze doors of the Baptistery were [illegible] an extensive program [illegible] the sculpture [illegible] the cathedral [illegible] other churches, while deliberations were resumed on how to build the dome of the cathedral, the largest and most difficult problem of all. The campaign lasted more than thirty years; gradually, petered out after the completion of the dome [illegible] though difficulty of expression in present-day financial terms was considerable. [illegible] The huge [illegible] was [illegible] a guarantee of artistic quality but [illegible] such [illegible] enthusiasm [illegible] the emergence of [illegible] the new Athens. [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] They had been [illegible] with [illegible] of mechanical [illegible] and the Middle Ages [illegible] the [illegible] state [illegible] the [illegible] arts [illegible] the [illegible] Antiquity [illegible] was [illegible] acceptance throughout the Western world. What [illegible] the liberal arts were defined by a tradition going back [illegible] and imposed the intellectual [illegible] necessary for a gentleman's education: mathematics, [illegible] music, [illegible] dialectics, grammar, [illegible] and philosophy. The fine arts were excluded because they were handiwork, lacking a [illegible] basis. Thus even the artist gained admission into this select group, the nature of his work had to be redefined. He was acknowledged as a man of ideas rather than a mere manipulator of materials, and the work of art came to be viewed more and more as the visible record of his creative mind. This meant that works of art need not, indeed, should not, be judged by fixed standards of craftsmanship; even everything that bore the imprint of a great master—drawings, sketches, fragments, unfinished pieces—was eagerly collected, regardless of its incompleteness. The artist's outlook too underwent certain changes. Now in the company of scholars and poets, he often became himself a man of learning and literary culture; he might write poems, an autobiography, or theoretical treatises. As another consequence of this new social status, artists tended to develop into one of two contrasting personality types: the man of the world, self-controlled, polished, at ease in aristocratic

[illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] aristocratic subjects [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] be in conflict with his [illegible] [illegible] remarkable [illegible] this modern [illegible] and artists became a [illegible] [illegible] the Florentine [illegible] the Early Renaissance

[illegible] NANNI DI BANCO

The first half [illegible] the fifteenth century [illegible] the heroic age of the [illegible] Renaissance. [illegible] dominated by the original [illegible] of the new [illegible] [illegible] the undisputed leadership [illegible] the movement. [illegible] begin [illegible] things we have [illegible] sculpture [illegible] the sculptors had earlier [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(at left) 470 Detail of figure 469

left 471 *Portrait of a Roman* Early 3rd century A.D. Marble. Height [illegible]. State Museums, Berlin

[illegible] the Cathedral [illegible] San Michele. [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] in common. These and [illegible] Nanni [illegible] Donatello's [illegible] but Nanni's [illegible] the [illegible] Donatello needs such [illegible] he would [illegible] he were deprived [illegible] the [illegible] statue [illegible] put [illegible] page [illegible] a performance that [illegible] Donatello has mastered [illegible] the central achievement [illegible] treats the human body as an articulated structure capable of movement, and the drapery as a separate and secondary element determined by the shapes underneath. [illegible] patterns imposed from without [illegible] the [illegible] the S. Marco [illegible] he could [illegible] his [illegible]. And yet he [illegible] at all classicists, [illegible] ancient [illegible] are not [illegible] as they are in Nanni's figures. Perhaps classic is the right word for [illegible] instead.

A few years later, about [illegible], Donatello carved another statue for the San Michele, the famous S. George (fig. 474). This niche is shallower than that of the S. Marco, and the young warrior saint can actually protrude from it slightly. Although encased in armor, his body and limbs are not rigid but wonderfully elastic. His stance, with the weight placed on the forward leg, conveys his readiness for combat (the right hand originally held a lance or sword). The controlled energy of his body [illegible] reflected in his eyes, which seem to scan the horizon [illegible] the approaching enemy. He is the Christian Soldier in his [illegible] Renaissance version, spiritually akin to the S. Theodore at Harvard's service [illegible] the proud [illegible] the new Athens. Below his niche is a [illegible]

[illegible] the Triumphant [illegible] Donatello [illegible] Cathedral

above: 473. Donatello: St. George. 1416. Marble. 9' 9" (2.97 m). Or San Michele, Florence.

right: 474. Donatello: St. George. Tabernacle. c. 1415–17. Marble; the statue has been transferred to the Bargello Museum and replaced by a bronze copy. height of statue 6' 10" (2.08 m). Or San Michele, Florence.

relief panel showing the hero's best known exploit, slaying the dragon (fig. 475). The maiden on the right is the captive princess whom the saint had come to liberate. Donatello has here produced another revolutionary work, devising a new kind of relief that is physically shallow, cheese-called *schiacciato*, flattened-out, yet creates an illusion of infinite pictorial depth. This had already been achieved to some degree in certain Greek and Roman reliefs, and he may have (compare with figs. 66, 228, 32, 45). But in all these cases, the actual carved depth is roughly proportional to the apparent depth of the space represented: the forms in the front plane are in very high relief, while those more distant become progressively lower, seemingly immersed in the background of the panel. Donatello discards this relationship: behind the figures, the amazing wind-swept landscape consists entirely of delicate surface modulations which cause the marble to catch light from varying angles. Thus every tiny ripple becomes endowed with a descriptive power infinitely greater than its real depth, and the chisel, like a painter's brush, becomes a tool for creating shades of light and dark. Yet Donatello cannot have borrowed his landscape from any painting, for no painter, at the time he did the St. George relief, had achieved so coherent and atmospheric a view of nature.

On the campanile of Florence Cathedral, when it was built in 1334–50, a row of tall Gothic niches had been designed for statues (barely visible above the roof tops in fig. 180). Half of these niches were still empty

left 475 DONATELLO *St George and the Dragon* (detail of fig. 474) Marble, height 1.5[illegible]

below left 476 DONATELLO *Prophet Zuccone* (on the campanile of the Cathedral, 1415–20) Marble, height 6.5[illegible] The original is now in the Cathedral Museum, Florence

and between 1416 and 1433. Donatello filled five of them. The most impressive statue of his series (fig. 476) is the undeniably prophetic nicknamed *Zuccone* (pumpkin-head) made a dozen years after the *St Mark*. The figure has long enjoyed special fame as a striking example of the master's realism, and there is no question that it is indeed realistic, far more so than any ancient statue of [illegible] the prophets on the *Mexican Wall* see fig. 41). But we may ask, what kind of realism have [illegible] here? Donatello has not followed the conventional image of a prophet, a bearded old man in Oriental dress, holding a large scroll; he has invented an entirely new type, and it is difficult to account for his emphatic insistence of realism. Why did he not reinterpret the image from a realistic point of view, as Claus Sluter had done? Donatello obviously felt that the established type was inadequate to his own conception of the subject. But how did he conceive anew? Surely not by observing the people around him. More likely he imagined the personalities of the prophets from what he had read about them in the Old Testament. He gained an impression, we may assume, of divinely inspired orators arraigning the multitude, and this in turn reminded him of the Roman orators he had seen in ancient sculpture. Hence the classical costume of the *Zuccone*, whose mantle falls from one shoulder like those of the togas and patricians in figures 223 and 228. Hence also the astonishing head, ugly yet noble, like Roman portraits of the late 1st century A.D. (compare figs. 238, 239). To shape all these elements into a coherent whole was a revolutionary feat, an almost visible struggle. Donatello himself seems to have regarded the *Zuccone* as a particular hard-won achievement; it is the first of his surviving works to carry his signature. He is said to have sworn by the *Zuccone* when he wanted to emphasize a statement, and to have shouted at the statue during his work: "Speak, speak, or the plague take you!"

Donatello had learned the technique of bronze sculpture as a youth by working under Ghiberti on the Baptistery

426. LORENZO GHIBERTI, *The Feast of Herod and Exile*, detail of the Gates of Paradise, c. 1425–52. Gilt bronze, 31" square. Baptistery, Florence

doors. Now, in the 1420s, he began to rival his former teacher in that medium. *The Feast of Herod* (fig. 426), which he made about 1426 for the baptismal font of S. Giovanni, or the Baptistery, of Siena Cathedral, shows the same exquisite surface finish as Ghiberti's panels (see fig. 424), but it is an expressive power that we could expect only from the master of the Florence Baptistery. The classical architecture, scaled to the main scene, provides a composed backdrop for the drama. The executioner, presenting the head of the Baptist on a platter, the daughter of Salome and the spectators are massed on the right, the center remains empty. Now we see a prince who, [illegible] gaping in [illegible] less than effective as an expressive [illegible] part of the dancing scene. Most of the [illegible] the picture space [illegible] the point [illegible] a window through which we see [illegible] segment of [illegible] [illegible] depth [illegible] [illegible] but reflects [illegible] perspective [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] to see it properly. Thus the artist who knows in advance that his work will be seen from above or below [illegible] than at [illegible] eye level [illegible] make his perspective construction correspond [illegible] these conditions but [illegible] these are [illegible] abnormal. [illegible] design [illegible] an extreme degree he may [illegible] and assume instead an ideal behavior [illegible] normal [illegible] Such is the case in *The [illegible]* [illegible] perpendicular [illegible] Bartolommeo [illegible] [illegible] see page [illegible]

Renaissance treatise on painting and later an important architect (see pages [illegible]). The setting for Giuliano's narrative is a spacious hall, a fine example of Early Renaissance architectural design reflecting the mature art of Brunelleschi, which he figures as [illegible] remind us by [illegible] people and [illegible] assumed [illegible] alternating [illegible]

[illegible] major sculptor at that time was [illegible] Giovanni [illegible] Siena [illegible] Lorenzo Ghiberti. He [illegible] Renaissance in [illegible] though [illegible] with Donatello. Had [illegible] been [illegible] the [illegible] movement [illegible] but [illegible] remains [illegible] the main [illegible] the very [illegible] where [illegible] Michelangelo [illegible] admiration was aroused [illegible] the main [illegible] of [illegible] such as *The [illegible]* [illegible] of these [illegible] figure [illegible] and [illegible] Adam [illegible] the [illegible] recaptures the heroic beauty of classical athletic [illegible] again [illegible] the dignity and power [illegible] man as [illegible] classical [illegible] We [illegible] that [illegible] has [illegible] been freed [illegible] original [illegible]

48. Donatello, *David*, c. 1430–32. Bronze, height 62 in. National Museum, Florence.

Jacopo's Adam contains a hint of serpent conflict as he faces the Lord; he is surely fallen, but in pride of spirit rather than as a hapless victim of the Evil One.

It is instructive to compare Jacopo's Adam with the work that probably inspired it, an Adam in Paradise from an Early Christian ivory diptych (fig. 480). The latter figure represents a classicizing trend around 400 A.D. (compare fig. 264) a final attempt to preserve the Greek ideal of physical beauty within a Christian context. Adam appears as the Perfect Man, divinely appointed to "have dominion . . . over every living thing," but the classic form has already become a formula, a mere shell.

And the classical nude entered the tradition of medieval art in this desiccated condition. Whenever we meet the unclothed body from 800 to 1400 we may be sure that it is derived directly or indirectly from a classical source, no matter how unlikely this may seem (as in fig. 332). We may also be sure, except in a few special cases, that such nudity has a moral significance, whether negative: Adam and Eve, sinners in Hell, or positive: the nudity of the Christ of the Passion, or saints being martyred or mortifying the flesh. In the guise of Hercules, Finally, medieval nudes, even the most accomplished, are devoid of that sensuous appeal which we take for granted in every mode of classical antiquity. Such appeal was purposely avoided rather than unavailable. For the medieval mind the physical beauty of the ancient statues, especially nude statues, embodied the most dangerous seduction of paganism. The fifteenth century, however, revived the sensuous beauty of the unclothed body, by two ways of two separate paths. The Adam and Eve of Jacopo della Quercia (fig. 447) [illegible] the issues of Hell, [illegible] precedents in the ancient [illegible] nude [illegible] people who [illegible] be dressed [illegible] appear [illegible] Adam [illegible] the best [illegible] standing [illegible] Middle Ages [illegible] have [illegible] remained the [illegible] work [illegible] represent [illegible] symbolic reasons [illegible] been suggested are not very persuasive [illegible] weeds rather [illegible] the figure [illegible] there can be little doubt that [illegible] meant [illegible] be placed [illegible] perhaps in the center of a courtyard [illegible] in a sense partly dressed, we are less likely to wonder what happened to the rest of his costume than why he wears as much as he does. Nudity clearly is his natural state, although he resembles a classical statue only in his beautifully posed [illegible]. Donatello has chosen to model an adolescent boy, not a full-grown youth like the athletes of Greece, so that the skeletal structure here is less fully enveloped in swelling muscles, nor does he articulate the boy's torso according to the classical pattern (compare figs. 63, 144). If the figure nevertheless conveys a profoundly classical air, the reason lies beyond its anatomic perfection. As with ancient statues, the body speaks to us more eloquently than the face, which by Donatello's standards is strangely devoid of individuality.

Donatello was called to Padua in 1443 to produce the equestrian monument of Gattamelata, the recently de-

ceased commander of the Venetian armies (fig. 482). This statue, the artist's largest free-standing work in bronze, still stands in its original position on a tall pedestal near the façade of the church dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua. We already know its two chief precedents: the *Marcus Aurelius* in Rome (fig. 227) and the *Gattamelata* by Donatello (fig. 483). Without directly imitating either, the *Colleoni* shares its materials, its impressive scale, and its sense of balance and dignity. Donatello's horse, a heavy set animal fitted to carry a massive fully armed knight, is large that the rider must dominate it by his authority and command rather than by physical force. The horse with the *Colleoni* is, though less obvious, is equally significant: both statues stand next to a church façade, hence are memorials to the military prowess of the deceased. But the *Gattamelata*, in the new Renaissance fashion, is a monumental tomb, was designed to lie in immortalize the ashes of a great soldier. Nothing, the setting, indicating a grant of a state funeral authorized by the Republic. Venice, to special honor distinguished and faithful service, for this purpose, has chosen an image that is a complete unity of idea and reason. The general, in armor, combines modern construction with classical ideal. The head is powerful, individual, and serene, with a truly Roman nobility of character.

483. DONATELLO. *Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata*, 1447–50. Bronze. Piazza del Santo, Padua.

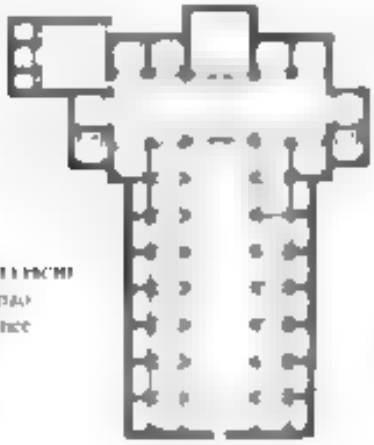
484. DONATELLO. *Mary Magdalen* (portion). 1454–55. Wood, height 6'2". Baptistery, Florence.

When Donatello went home to Florence after a decade's absence, he must have felt like a stranger. The political and spiritual climate had changed, and so had the taste of artists and public (see page 329). His subsequent works, between 1443 and 1466, stand apart from the dominant trend; perhaps that is why their fierce expressiveness and personal quality exceed anything the master had revealed before. The wooden *Mary Magdalen* (fig. 484) seems so remote from Renaissance ideals that at first we are tempted to see in her a return to such Gothic devotional images as the Boon *Pietà* (fig. 408). But then we recall the intensity of the *Zuccone* and we realize that the ravaged features of his *Mary Magdalen* betray an insight into religious experience not basically different from Donatello's earlier work. Far from being a retreat to the medieval past, the extreme individualism of his late style confirms Donatello's reputation as the earliest "solitary genius" among Renaissance artists.

Although he was its greatest and most daring master, Donatello had not created the Early Renaissance style in sculpture single-handed. The new architecture could, on the other hand, [illegible] in the man of genius, Brunelleschi. Ten years older than Donatello, Brunelleschi had begun his career as a goldsmith. After a long stay in Rome, he competed in 1420 for the Baptistery doors, but he reportedly went back to Rome with his friend Donatello. There he studied the architectural monuments of the ancients and seems to have been the first to take exact measurements of their structures. His discoveries, which did not perhaps have much influence on his own time, may well have guided his search for a new method of recording their appearance on paper. What else he did during his long gestation period we do not know, but in 1418 we again find him competing with others, this time for the job of building the cathedral dome (see fig. 484). His design had been established half a century earlier and could be altered only in details; but its vast size posed a difficult problem of construction. Brunelleschi's proposals, although contrary to all traditional practice, so impressed the authorities that his dome be built out over his wishes. Thus the dome deserves to be called the first work of post-medieval architecture as an engineering feat, not for style. The technical details need not concern us here. Brunelleschi's main achievement was to build the dome in two separate shells that are ingeniously linked to reinforce each other rather than form one solid mass. As the total weight of the structure was thereby lightened, he could dispense with the massive and costly wooden ironwork required by the method of construction. Instead of having building materials carried up on ramps to the vault, he designed hoisting machines. His entire scheme reflects a bold and practical mind always disciplined by [illegible] and never divorced from the desired effect. This approach distinguishes Brunelleschi from the [illegible] with their time-honored procedures.

[illegible] when he was working out his final plans for the dome, Brunelleschi received his [illegible] commission for a building of a very different design. It came from the heads of the Medici family, one of the leading merchants and bankers of Florence, who [illegible] and a church in Renaissance style. S. Lorenzo, the church, was [illegible] which was [illegible] as a basilica shape. [illegible] Medici [illegible] impressed with his performance, was [illegible] to develop a new design for the church. The [illegible] begun in 1421 was [illegible] but the church was not completed until 1469, more than twenty years after the architect's death. The exterior remains unfinished to this day. Nevertheless, the building in its present form is essentially what Brunelleschi had envisioned about 1420 and thus represents the first full statement of his architecture in a large-scale building (fig. 484).

The plan (fig. 484) seems very novel at first glance. It



484. FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI
Plan of S. Lorenzo
1421 ff., Florence

484. FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI
S. Lorenzo, Florence

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[illegible]
All rights
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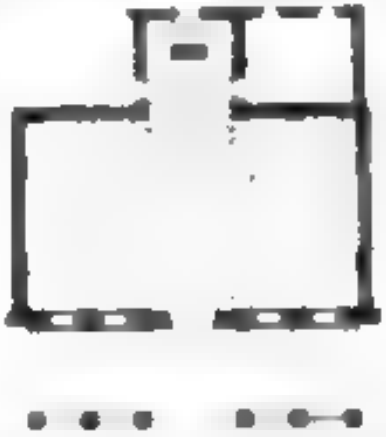
The [illegible]
New York
Copyright

[illegible]
Panel [illegible] Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts

[illegible] Brunelleschi, Begun [illegible]

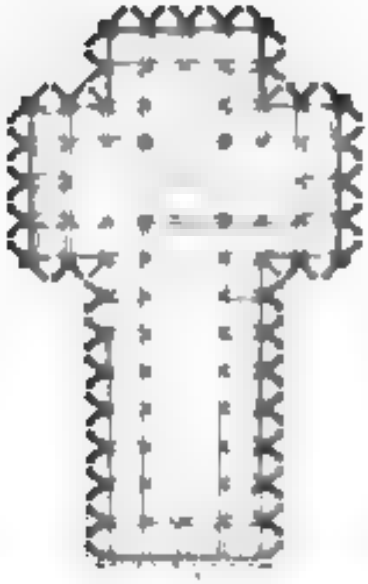
[illegible] Nave

[illegible] a rangement [illegible] church [illegible] the [illegible] shape [illegible] outside the aisles [illegible] part [illegible] design [illegible] the transept arms are [illegible] the nave and [illegible] which. A few simple [illegible] have apparently [illegible] Brunelleschi must have [illegible] make the floor area of each [illegible] square units, the nave and transept were thus [illegible] twice as wide as the aisles [illegible] shapes. But in fixing this system he made no allowance [illegible] the inevitable thickness of the walls between these compartments so that the transept arms have a width of two units and a length of two units plus one wall thickness, the nave is seven wall thicknesses longer than ideally speaking it should be. In other words Brunelleschi conceived S. Lorenzo as a grouping of abstract space blocks, the larger ones being simple multiples of the standard unit. Once we understand this we realize how revolutionary he was, for his clearly defined separate space compartments represent a radical departure from the Gothic architect's way of thinking.



[illegible] Plan of the Pazzi Chapel

The [illegible] heart of our [illegible] Gothic [illegible] has replaced the [illegible] warmth, the flowing spatial [illegible] concept of Gothic church interiors. S. Lorenzo does not sweep us off our feet, does not even draw us forward after we have entered [illegible] we are quite content to remain near the door. For our view seems to take in the entire structure almost as if from that vantage point we were confronted with a particularly clear and convincing demonstration of scientific perspective (compare fig. 4[illegible]). The total effect recalls the old-fashioned Tuscan Romanesque (such as Pisa Cathedral, fig. 148) and Early Christian basilicas (compare fig. 253). For these monuments, to Brunelleschi, exemplified the church



Left: 489. Filippo Brunelleschi. Plan of S. Spirito. Begun 1434–35, Florence.

Below: 490. Filippo Brunelleschi. Plan of Sta. Maria degli Angeli. 1434–37. Florence.

[illegible] classical [illegible] Brunelleschi [illegible] rather [illegible] these cathedral buildings [illegible] transparent lightness [illegible] Brunelleschi [illegible] larger and [illegible] of the aisles [illegible] Florentine Baptistery [illegible] Brunelleschi [illegible] classical temples. [illegible] Brunelleschi [illegible] classical vocabulary [illegible] ancient [illegible] quarters [illegible] square [illegible] simple [illegible] drawback [illegible] difficult [illegible] classical [illegible] sufficient [illegible] ancient [illegible] human [illegible] shape [illegible] classical [illegible] classical repertory [illegible] structures. [illegible] classical vocabulary [illegible] completely inflexible [illegible] could not have persisted from the seventh century [illegible] fourth century [illegible] ancient world [illegible] disciplined spirit of the Greek orders which can be felt even in the most original Roman buildings demands regularity and consistency and discourages sudden arbitrary departures from the norm. Without the aid of such a standardized vocabulary Brunelleschi would have found impossible to define the shape of his space blocks so convincingly. With remarkable logic he emphasizes the edges or "seams" of [illegible] disrupting the rhythmic sequence. [illegible] particularly in view of his example [illegible] of the aisles [illegible] Brunelleschi [illegible] square [illegible] simple and geometrically regular that [illegible] has a [illegible]

At this point we may well ask [illegible] the new architecture [illegible] separate elements added together [illegible] these spaces [illegible] faults how do Brunelleschi's [illegible] these elements [illegible] each other? What makes the interior of S. Lorenzo seem so beautifully integrated? [illegible] a controlling principle that accounts for the harmonious balanced character of his design. The secret of good architecture Brunelleschi was convinced [illegible] giving the right proportions that is, proportions [illegible] expressed in simple whole numbers [illegible] to all the significant measurements of a building. The ancients had possessed this secret he believed and he tried to recover it by painstakingly surveying the remains of their monuments. What he found and how he applied his theory to his own designs we do not know for sure. He may have been the first though, to think out what would be explicitly stated a few decades later in Leone Battista Alberti's treatise on architecture that the arithmetical ratios determining musical harmony must also govern architecture for they recur throughout the universe and are thus Divine in origin. Similar ideas

ultimately derived from the Greek philosopher Pythagoras had been current during the Middle Ages (see pp. 210ff.) but they had never before been expressed so radically, directly and simply. When Gothic architects borrowed the ratios of musical theory, they did so with the aid of the theologians and far less consistently than their Renaissance successors. But even Brunelleschi's faith in the universal validity of harmonious proportions did not tell him how, and about these, and to the parts of any given building. It left him many alternatives, and his choice among them was necessarily subjective. We may [illegible] fact that the main reason [illegible] was [illegible] introduce a single great mind. Brunelleschi endowed [illegible] a sense of proportion which permeates every detail [illegible] classical forms. Renaissance architecture [illegible] standard scholars, the heroes of harmonious proportions provided with the [illegible] that [illegible] been [illegible] absent in medieval architecture. [illegible] reflect his [illegible] be [illegible] perfect as [illegible] architecture [illegible] complete [illegible] we might carry [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] tempting [illegible] [illegible] be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] by a [illegible] broken sequence of [illegible] and chapels. These chapels are the most surprising feature of Santo Spirito. Brunelleschi had a [illegible] shunned the apsidal chapels before, but now he used them to express more human scale, to relate in between interior space and its boundaries. The wall seems to bulge under the outward pressure of space. In the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which Brunelleschi began about the same time as Santo Spirito, he drew [illegible] teaches [illegible] fig. 4[illegible]). A domed central plan church, it is the first [illegible] the Renaissance, inspired by the solid and [illegible] structures of Roman and early Christian times (compare figs. [illegible] 268). [illegible] difficulties in relation with completing the plan, [illegible] the ground floor, and we can not be sure of the design of the upper part or even if some deviation in the plan [illegible] is clear, nevertheless

[illegible]

that Brunelleschi here has recaptured the ancient Roman principle of the sculptured [illegible] the dome was to rest on eight heavy piers of complex shape, which belong to the same mass of masonry from which the eight chapels have been excavated. Wall and space are both charged with energy, and he plan reflects the precarious balance of their pressures and counterpressures. As a conception Santa Maria degli Angeli was so far in advance of Brunelleschi's [illegible] that it may have utterly bewildered his contemporaries. It had no [illegible] in colleagues until the end of the century.

The massive Roman [illegible] of Santa Maria degli Angeli may explain the great disappointment of Brunelleschi's final years. The rejection by the [illegible] patrons, the Medici, of his design for their new palace, the [illegible] had risen since the [illegible] such power that he were in prison [illegible] the [illegible] for debts. [illegible] that very reason they thought it prudent to avoid an [illegible] which might antagonize the public. [illegible] in their place [illegible] and the [illegible] of Santa Maria degli Angeli [illegible] and [illegible] Roman [illegible] the Medici [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] began in 1444 [illegible] Brunelleschi's death. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] What's more, I [illegible] was what I [illegible] will become. There as in the case of the *Mercule* [illegible] we seem to plunge into a new environment [illegible] a grandiose [illegible] the Master [illegible] seems had [illegible] that [illegible] sea [illegible] the measurements of the [illegible] what [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] Masaccio [illegible] figures [illegible] research [illegible] structure [illegible] vaulted chamber [illegible] but a deep space where the figures [illegible] Adam [illegible] the first [illegible] we are given a [illegible] measure [illegible] depth of this [illegible] I [illegible] note that all [illegible] perpendicular [illegible] the [illegible] plane [illegible] point [illegible] the platform [illegible] supports the kneeling donors. [illegible] see the fresco properly we must face his point which is a normal eye level somewhat more than 4 feet above the floor of the church. The figures within the vaulted chamber are 4 feet tall, slightly less than life size, while the donors, who are closer to us, are full-life size. The exterior framework is therefore life-size [illegible] since it is directly behind the donors. The distance between the pilasters corresponds [illegible] the span of the barrel vault, and both are [illegible] feet; the circumference of the arc over this span measures 12 feet. That arc is subdivided by eight square coffers and nine ridges, the coffers being 1 foot wide and the ridges 4 inches. Applying these measurements to the length of the barrel vault, which consists of seven coffers, the nearest one is invisible behind the entrance arch, we find that the vaulted area is 60 feet deep. We [illegible] draw a complete floor plan of the chamber, including the positions of all the figures. If we [illegible] we would find an [illegible] inconsistencies in the [illegible] and the [illegible] which [illegible] feet are in a [illegible] the back of the [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] Masaccio's [illegible] sense. Rather, he was a [illegible] caught between the [illegible] the new systematic perspective [illegible] image [illegible] the [illegible] drawing. We can diagram his [illegible] for [illegible] the number? [illegible] the weight of the [illegible] balance and [illegible] the present [illegible] the [illegible] the ridge forward [illegible] the depth of the chamber? Abolish the ridge and [illegible] the vault [illegible] with [illegible] support. That would [illegible] the cross [illegible] but Mary and John could no longer be present as witnesses of Christ's death on Golgotha. But Masaccio [illegible] cheat a bit for the least awkward [illegible] could be been reproached for it. He might [illegible] the measures within the power of the [illegible] suspend the laws of perspective.

The largest group of Masaccio's works to come down to us are his frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine. *The Tribute Money* (fig. 49) is the most renowned of these. It illustrates, by the age-old method known as continuous narration (see p. 66), the story in the Gospel of Matthew (17:24–26). In the center Christ instructs Peter to catch a fish whose mouth will contain the tribute money for the tax collector (on the far left) in the distance. Peter takes the coin from the fish's mouth (on the right) he gives it to the tax collector. Since the lower edge of the fresco is almost 14 feet above the floor of the chapel, Masaccio could not here co-orde-

ight: 404 Masaccio
The Expulsion from Paradise
c. 427. Fresco
Brancacci Chapel
Santa Maria del Carmine
Florence

far right: 405 Masaccio
Madonna Enthroned, 426
Panel, 96 × 54
The National Gallery
London. Reproduced by
courtesy of the Trustees

nate his perspective with the utmost precision. He can thus be expected to imagine that we are looking directly at the central vanishing point, which is located behind the head of Christ. Oddly enough, this fact is so easy that we take more of it only if we are in an anamorphic frame of mind. But then, the illusion of immediacy is always an imaginary experience, no matter how eager we are to believe in a picture. We never mistake it for reality itself, just as we are hardly in danger of confusing a statue with a living thing. If we could see the *Tribute Money* from the top of a suitable ladder, the painted surface would be more visible, of course, but the illusion of reality would not be markedly improved. This illusion depends to only a minor degree on Brunelleschian perspective. Masaccio's weapons here are exactly those employed by the Master of Hermanin and the van Eyks: he controls the flow of light, which comes from the right, where the window of the chapel is actually located, and he uses atmospheric perspective in the subtle changing tones of the landscape (the recession). Donatello's preview of such a setting, a decade earlier, in his small relief of St. George (compare fig. 475).

The figures in the *Tribute Money* even more than those in the *Expulsion from Paradise* (fig. 404) Masaccio subjects to merge the weight and substance of the figure with the new functional view of body and drapery. All stand in beautifully balanced contrapposto, and close inspection reveals fine vertical lines scratched on the plaster by the artist establishing the giustaposizione axis of each figure, from the head to the heel of the engaged leg. This makes the figures rather static; however, the narrative is conveyed—not by intense glances and a few emphatic gestures rather than by physical movement. But in another fresco of the Brancacci chapel, *The Expulsion from Paradise* (fig. 404), Masaccio proves decisively his ability to display the human body in motion. The tall, narrow format leaves little room for a spatial setting: the gate of Paradise is only indicated, and in the background are a few shadowy, barren slopes. Yet the soft atmospheric modeling, and especially the forward-moving angel, boldly foreshortened, suffice to convey a free, untrammeled space. In conception this scene is clearly akin to Jacopo della Quercia's Bolognese reliefs (see fig. 430). Masaccio's grief-stricken Adam and Eve, though less dependent on ancient models, are equally striking exemplars of the beauty and power of the nude human form.

While he had a mural painter's temperament, Masaccio was equally versed in panel painting. His large polyptych, made in 1426 for the Carmelite church in Pisa, has since been dispersed among various collections. Its center panel shows a *Madonna Enthroned* (fig. 495) of the monumental Florentine type introduced by Cimabue and reshaped by Giotto (see figs. 426–41) and may be instructively compared with its predecessors. The traditional elements—including the gold ground—are still present: a large, high-backed throne dominates the composition and on either side are adoring angels (here only two). The kneeling angels in Giotto's *Madonna* have become the players seated on the lowest step of the throne, and the Christ Child is no longer blessing us but eating a bunch of grapes, a symbolic act alluding to the Passion and the Eucharist, the grapes referring to wine, which represents the Savior's blood. It is no surprise, after the *Trinità* fresco, that Masaccio replaces Giotto's ornate but fragile throne with a solid and austere stone seat. [illegible] style of Brunelleschi, nor that he uses perspective expertly, particularly the [illegible]. We are perhaps less prepared for the mural's hard-edged delicacy and precise modeling. The light in the surfaces. Within the picture, light enters from the left, not the blazing glare of the sun, but the softer glow of the setting sun. [illegible] shadows in the throne permit us to determine the angles. There are consequently no harsh contrasts between light and shade, subtle half-shadows [illegible] adding a [illegible] and [illegible] to the [illegible] and [illegible] while adding a [illegible] to the [illegible] and [illegible] upon a [illegible] clearly Masaccio's awareness of [illegible] as a painter's [illegible] matches that of his Flemish contemporaries, he attacked the technical problems [illegible] explore [illegible] early death left a gap that was not filled for [illegible]. Among his younger contemporaries [illegible] Fra Filippo Lippi (b. 406?), seemingly [illegible] have had [illegible] contact with him. Fra Filippo's earliest dated work, the *Madonna Enthroned* of 1437 (fig. 496), evokes Masaccio's earlier *Madonna* in several important ways: the lighting, the heavy throne, the massive, broad-dimensioned figures, the drapery falling over the Virgin's legs. Nevertheless, the picture lacks Masaccio's monumentality and severity; it seems downright [illegible] by comparison. The background is a domestic interior (note the Virgin's bed in the right), and the vivid, patterned marble throne displays a prayer book and the [illegible] matched with the [illegible]. Such a quantity of realistic detail, as well as the rather undisciplined perspective, indicate an artistic temperament very different from Masaccio's. They also suggest that Fra Filippo must have seen Flemish paintings (perhaps during his visit to northeastern Italy in the mid-1430s). Finally, we must note another novel aspect of this *Madonna*: the painter's interest in movement, which is evident in the figures and, even more strikingly, in parts of the drapery, such as the curly, fluid edge of the Virgin's

[illegible] 437
Pater [illegible] Masaccio, [illegible]

head dress and the outside [illegible] of her mantle streaming to the left, accentuating her own turn to the right. These effects are foreshadowed earlier in the relief sculpture of Donatello and Ghiberti (compare the dancing Salome in *The Feast of Herod*, fig. 423, and the maidens in the lower left-hand corner of *The Story of Jacob and Esau*, fig. 428).

[illegible] surprising that [illegible] should have so strongly affected Florentine painting in the decade after Masaccio's death. Age, experience, and prestige gave them authority unmatched by any painter then active in the city. Their influence, and that of the Flemish masters, modified Fra Filippo's early Masaccesque outlook in a particularly significant way, for Fra Filippo lived until 1469 and played a decisive role in setting the course of Florentine painting during the second half of the century (see page 344).

If Fra Filippo depended more on Donatello than on Ghiberti, the opposite is true of his slightly older contemporary, Fra Angelico. He, too, was a monk. Fra means "Brother," but unlike Fra Filippo, he took his

497 Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation*, c. 1440. Fresco. S. Marco, Florence

was secularized and rose to a responsible position within his order. When, during the years 1437–43, the monastery of S. Marco in Florence was rebuilt, Fra Angelico embellished it with numerous frescoes. The large *Annunciation* (fig. 497) from this cycle has been dated about 1440 by some scholars, about 1445 by others; either date is plausible. For this artist, like the best Tuscan painters, and his style underwent no decisive changes during the 1440s. Fra Angelico preserves the new aspects of Masaccio: his dignity, directness, and spatial order, that Fra Filippo had rejected. But his figures, much as we may note their strong tenderness, do not achieve the physical and psychological self-assurance, but nevertheless the Early Renaissance image of man.

In 1439 a gifted painter from Venice, Domenico Veneziano, had settled in Florence. We can only guess at his age; he was probably born about 1400, training and previous work elsewhere. He must, however, have been in sympathy with the spirit of Early Renaissance art, for he quickly became a thoroughgoing Florentine by choice and a master of great importance in his new home. His *Madonna and Child with Saints* (shown in reconstructed state) is one of the earliest examples of a new type of altar painting that was to prove tremendously popular from the mid-fifteenth century on, the so-called *Sacra Conversazione* ("sacred conversation"). The scheme includes an enthroned Madonna framed by architecture and flanked by saints who may converse with her, with the beholder, or among themselves. Looking at Domenico Veneziano's panel, we can understand the wide appeal of the *Sacra Conversazione*. The architecture and the space it defines are supremely clear and tangible, yet elevated above the everyday world, and the figures, while echoing the formal solemnity of their setting, are linked with each other and with us by a thoroughly human awareness. We are aware of the presence of [illegible] them. The special [illegible] would allow [illegible] stage [illegible] painting by contrast, the pictures space seems [illegible] the beholder's real, day-to-day environment [illegible] place. The basic concepts [illegible] present in Masaccio's *Trinity* [illegible] must have studied [illegible] while painting [illegible] gesture of Masaccio's [illegible] perspective setting [illegible] the older master although [illegible] [illegible] Brunelleschian. His figures [illegible] are balanced and dignified like Masaccio's but without the same weight and bulk. The [illegible] besides the male saints with their highly individualized expressive faces show Donatello's influence, seeing 400 [illegible] however, Domenico was not the great Florentine master whose resources he treats [illegible] an integral part of his work, and the *Sacra Conversazione* is quite as remarkable for its color scheme as for its composition. The blond tonality, its harmony of pink, light green, and white set off by strategically placed spots of red, blue, and yellow, recapitulates the decorative brightness of Gothic panel painting with the demands of perspective space and natural light. Ordinarily a *Sacra Conversazione* is an indoor scene, but this one takes place in a kind of loggia flooded with sunlight streaming in from the right (note the cast shadow behind the Madonna). The surfaces of the architecture reflect the light so strongly that even the shadowed areas glow with color. Masaccio had achieved a similar quality of light in his *Madonna* of 1426 (which Domenico surely knew). In this *Sacra Conversazione* the older master's discovery is applied to a far more complex set of forms, and integrated with Do-

menico's exquisite color sense. The influence of its distinctive tonality can be felt throughout Florentine painting of the second half of the century.

When Domenico Veneziano settled in Florence, he had as an assistant a young man from southeastern Tuscany named Piero della Francesca, who became his most important disciple and one of the city's great artists of the Early Renaissance. Surprisingly enough, Piero left Florence after a few years never to return. The Florentines seem to have regarded his work as somewhat provincial, and from their point of view they were right. Piero's style, even more strongly than Domenico's, reflected the influence of Masaccio. He retained this allegiance to the painting father of Italian Renaissance painting, throughout his long career. He died in 1492, whereas Florentine art developed along a different direction. Piero's most impressive achievement, the fresco cycle in the church of San Francesco in Arezzo, which he painted around 1452, [illegible] scenes from the period of the Emperor [illegible] and [illegible] the Empress [illegible] the great [illegible] Tree had been made, the [illegible] [illegible] Piero's fame [illegible] greater today than it ever before.

In mid-fifteenth-century Florence there was only one painter who shared, and may have helped to inspire, [illegible] perspective. Paolo Uccello's *Battle of San Romano*, [illegible] painted about the same time as Piero's frescoes in Arezzo, shows an extreme preoccupation with stereometric shapes. The ground is covered with a grid-like design of discarded weapons and pieces of armor, a display of perspective studies neatly arranged to include one fallen soldier. The landscape

narrative. But Piero's figures have a harsh grandeur that recalls Masaccio or even Giotto, more than Domenico. These men and women seem to belong to a vast heroic race, beautiful and strong, and silent. Their inner life is conveyed by glances and gestures, not by facial expression. Above all, they have a gravity, both physical and emotional, that makes them seem kin to Greek sculpture of the Severe Style (see page 103). How did Piero arrive at these memorable images? Using his own testimony, we may say that they were born of his passion for perspective. More than any artist of his day, Piero believed in scientific perspective as the basis of painting. In a rigorously mathematical treatise, the first of its kind, he demonstrated how it applied to human bodies and architectural shapes and to the human form. This mathematical [illegible] permeates his work. When he drew a head, an arm, or a piece of drapery, he saw them as [illegible] compounds of spheres, cylinders, cones, cubes, and polyhedrons, endowing the visible world with some of the impressive clarity and permanence of geometric bodies. We may call him the earliest ancestor of the abstract artists of our own time, for they too work with simplified compositions of natural forms. The medieval artist, on the other hand, had used the opposite procedure, building natural forms on geometric scaffolds (see page [illegible]). It is surprising that Piero's fame is greater today than it ever before.

In mid-fifteenth-century Florence there was only one painter who shared, and may have helped to inspire, [illegible] perspective. Paolo Uccello's *Battle of San Romano*, [illegible] painted about the same time as Piero's frescoes in Arezzo, shows an extreme preoccupation with stereometric shapes. The ground is covered with a grid-like design of discarded weapons and pieces of armor, a display of perspective studies neatly arranged to include one fallen soldier. The landscape

has been subjected to a process of serpentine abstraction matching the foreground. Despite these strenuous efforts, however, the panel has none of the crystalline order and clarity of Piero della Francesca's work. In the hands of Uccello, perspective produces strangely disquieting, fantastic effects: what under his mixture is not [illegible] spatial construction but a surface pattern decorated [illegible] controlled by spirits of human [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] Uccello had been trained [illegible] the style of painting [illegible] [illegible] Rebus [illegible] dance [illegible] by the new science of perspective. This superimposition [illegible] result is a fascinating and highly unstable image. As we study his panel, we realize that surface and space are more at war than the [illegible] who get entangled with each other in a [illegible] implausible ways.

The third dimension held no difficulties, however, for Andrea del Castagno, who may [illegible] from the painters of Piero della Francesca's own generation (he was born about 1421) [illegible] less subtle but more powerful than Domenico Veneziano. Castagno recaptures something of Masaccio's monumentality in his *Last Supper* (fig. 499), one of the frescoes he painted in the refectory of the convent of S. Apollonia. The event is set in a richly paneled alcove designed as an extension of the real space of the refectory. As in medieval representations of the subject, Judas sits in isolation on the near side of the table opposite Christ. The rigid symmetry of the architecture, emphasized by the colorful inlays, enforces a similar order among the figures and threatens to imprison them. There is no little communication among the apostles: only a glance here, a gesture there, that a brooding silence hovers over the scene. Castagno, too, must have felt confined by a scheme imposed on him by the rigid demands both of tradition and perspective, for he used a daringly original device to break the symmetry and focus the drama of the scene. Five of the six panels

on the wall behind the table are filled with subdued varieties of colored marble, but above the heads of St. Peter, Judas, and Christ, the marble panel has a veining so garish and explosive that a bolt of lightning seems to descend on Judas's head. When Giotto revived the ancient technique of illusionistic marble textures, he hardly anticipated that it could hold such expressive significance.

Some five years after the *Last Supper*, between 1450 and 1457, the year of his death, Castagno produced the remarkable *David* shown in figure 500. It is painted on a leather shield, not to be used for display, not protection, and its owner probably wanted to convey an analogy between himself and the biblical hero, since David's heroic deliverance was as victorious. This figure differs fundamentally from the apostles of the *Last Supper*. Solid masses and statuesque immobility have given way to graceful movement, conveyed both by the pose and the wind-blown hair and drapery. The modeling of the earlier figures has been minimized so that the David seems more in relief rather than in the round; the forms now defined mainly by their outlines. This dynamic mannerism has important values, but they are far from those of Masaccio. During the 1450s the artistic climate in Florence changed greatly. Castagno's *David* is a transitional work, of the sort that was dominant for the second half of the century.

SCULPTORS IN ROME: NICCOLÒ LAMBERTI

A few outstanding fathers of early Renaissance art also had homecoming sons who disappointed the hopes of the middle years of the century. A younger generation began to assert itself. At the same time, the seed planted by Florentine masters in other regions of Italy, we recall, had matured. In Padua, where Donatello had spent years, a native school had grown up, probably by the mid-1440s, producing a distinctive version of the new style. Tuscans ceased to be the privileged nation that had enjoyed their lead.

In architecture, the death of Brunelleschi in 1446 brought to the fore Leone Battista Alberti (1404–72), whose career as a practicing architect had been long delayed, like Brunelleschi's, though, unlike his, it was fruitful. Alberti seems to have been interested in the fine arts only as an antiquarian and theorist. He studied the monuments of ancient Rome, composed the earliest Renaissance treatises on sculpture and painting, and began a third treatise, far more exhaustive than the other two, on architecture. After about 1430 he was met by the leading artists of his day, the treatise *On Painting* is dedicated to Brunelleschi and refers to "our dear friend" Donatello, and began to practice art as a dilettante; eventually he became a professional architect of outstanding ability. Highly educated in classical literature and philosophy, as an artist he exemplifies both the humanist and the man of the world.

The design for the Palazzo Rucellai (fig. 501) may be

60. LEONE BATTISTA ALBERTI
Palazzo Rucellai, 1446–51, Florence

Alberti's design, as yet, is only a facade. Medici Palace (see fig. 494) is a palace with a courtyard, and the three-story scheme, but the articulation of the facade is more [illegible] and more selfless [illegible] classical. It consists of shallow superimposed orders of pilasters separated by wide [illegible] (see fig. 208). Alberti's pilasters are flat, so that they remain part of the wall, and the entire facade seems to become a surface on which the [illegible] pattern of a linear diagram of the Colosseum [illegible]. To grasp the logic of this curious aesthetic and theoretical design, we must understand that Alberti has met here, perhaps for the first time, an issue which became fundamental to Renaissance architecture: how to apply a classical system of articulation to the exterior of a nonclassical structure. Whether Brunelleschi ever coped with the same problem is doubtful. Alberti's only other exterior design for the Pazzi Chapel (fig. 502) is too special a case to permit general conclusions. Alberti's solution acknowledges the primacy of the wall, reducing the classical system to a network of incised lines.

For his first church exterior, Alberti tried a radically different alternative. Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of the town of Rimini, engaged him toward 1450 to turn the Gothic church of S. Francesco into a "temple of fame

[illegible] Santa Maria
S[illegible]
Façade (begun 1470). Rimini

[illegible] and a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] difference would be even stronger for Alberti's design had no transept, dome, or choir—only a nave terminating in an apse. The aisles are replaced by chapels alternately large and small, and there are no clerestories. The colossal pilasters and the arches of the large chapels support a barrel vault of impressive span (the nave is as wide as the façade). Alberti has here drawn upon his memories of the massive vaulted halls in ancient Roman baths and basilicas (compare fig. [illegible]), but he interprets his classical models as freely as in his façade design. They no longer embody an absolute authority that must be quoted literally, but serve as a valuable store of motifs to be utilized at will. With his severely pure [illegible] and his sources, he was able to create a structure that bears no resemblance to the earlier Christian temple.

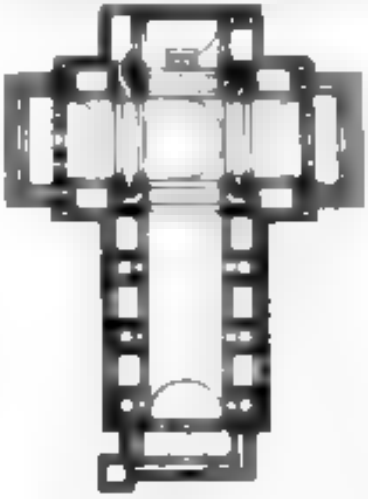
Nevertheless, S. Andrea, which occupies the site of an older church (note the [illegible] campanile next to the facade, which has been [illegible]), does not [illegible] the idea (shape of [illegible] buildings defined at Alberti's treatise on architecture). He [illegible] that or plan such a church should be [illegible] based on the [illegible] because he [illegible] a figure and here [illegible] image of [illegible] a gathered [illegible] [illegible] the standard form of both ancient temples and [illegible] church was [illegible] because the [illegible] church plan became [illegible] because [illegible] worshipped in [illegible] Roman basilicas. Since pagan basilicas were associated with the dispensing of justice, which originates from God, he admits that their shape has some relationship to sacred architecture, but since they cannot rival the sublime beauty of the temple, their purpose is human rather than divine. In speaking of temples, Alberti arbitrarily disregarded the standard form and relied instead on the Pantheon (see fig. [illegible]), the round temple at Tivoli (see fig. 2011), and the circular [illegible] ruins which he mistook for temples. Moreover, he asked, had not the early Christians themselves acknowledged the sacred character of these structures by converting them to their own use? Here he could point to such monuments as Sta. Costanza (see fig. [illegible]), which, like the Pantheon, which had been used as a church ever since the early Middle Ages, and the Baptistery of Florence (supposed a former temple of Mars).

Alberti's ideal church then demands a design in harmony with the [illegible] would be a resemblance of dignity and [illegible] people contemplating it. The worshipper [illegible] shoulders and [illegible] elevated above the surrounding city, daylight and sunlight should enter through openings placed high [illegible] so that the sky should be seen through them. That such an isolated central plan structure was not adapted to the requirements of Catholic ritual made no difference. A church, he believed, must be a visible embodiment [illegible] proportion, and the central plan [illegible] is the finest of this aim.

When Alberti formulated these ideas in his treatise, [illegible] as [illegible] (see fig. [illegible]) and S. Maria degli Angeli as a modern example of a central plan church (see fig. [illegible]). Though [illegible] Alberti's treatise became widely known, the central plan church gained general acceptance between [illegible] and [illegible] became a vague

Left: [illegible] Leon Battista Alberti
S. Andrea, designed 1470, Mantua

Below: Plan of S. Andrea, Mantua
(transept, dome, and choir are later additions.)



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

reigning supreme in High Renaissance architecture. It is no mere coincidence that Sta. Maria delle Carceri in Prato (figs. 505, 506) an early and distinguished example of this trend, was begun in 1485, the date of the first printed edition of Alberti's treatise. Its architect, Giuliano da Sangallo, must have been an admirer of Brunelleschi. Many features of the design recall the Pazzi Chapel, but the basic shape of the structure conforms closely to Alberti's ideal. Except for the dome, the entire church would fit neatly inside a cube, since its height up to the drum equals its length and width. By cutting into the corners of this cube, as were, Giuliano has formed a Greek cross, a plan he preferred for its symbolic value. The dimensions of the four arms stand in the simplest possible ratio to those of the cube: their length is one-half their width, their width one-half their height. The arms are barrel-vaulted, and the dome rests on these vaults, yet the drum rising above quite such the supporting arches, making the dome seem to have weightless, like the pendentive domes of Byzantine architecture (compare fig. 28). There can be no doubt that Giuliano wanted his dome to accord with the age-old tradition of the Dome of Heaven, the single opening in the center and the twelve in the perimeter recalling Christ and the apostles. Brunelleschi had anticipated this feature in the Pazzi Chapel, but Giuliano's structure, showing a perfectly symmetrical [illegible] symbolic value, far more striking.

Donatello left Florence for Padua in 1444. His long absence had an effect almost as [illegible] as Brunelleschi's death. But whereas Alberti took Brunelleschi's place in architecture, there was no [illegible] sculptor of that stature to take Donatello's place. The consequence of his absence was [illegible] greater prominence of other sculptors, [illegible] the new talents who appeared on the scene between 1443 and 1453 grew up under the influence of these men. It was these rather than their predecessors who brought about the changes Donatello must have seen with dismay upon his return. Aside from Ghiberti, the only sculptor of real significance in Florence at the time of Donatello's departure was Luca della Robbia (1400–82). He had made his reputation in the 1430s with the marble reliefs of his *Cantoria* (or singers' pulpit) in the cathedral. The panel reproduced here (fig. 507) shows the beguiling mixture of sweetness and gravity that is a hallmark of all of Luca's work. Its style, however, has very little to do with Donatello's. Instead, it recalls the classicism of Nanni di Banco (see fig. 409), with whom Luca may have worked as a youth. We also sense a touch of Ghiberti here and there, as well as the powerful influence of classicistic Roman reliefs (such as fig. 248). But Luca, despite his great gifts, lacked a capacity for growth. He never, so far as we know, did a free-standing statue, and the *Cantoria* remained his most ambitious achievement. For the rest of his long career, he devoted himself almost exclusively to sculpture in terra-cotta, a cheaper and less demanding medium than

ma his which he covered with enamel-like glazes to ma k it surface and make it impervious to weather. His nest works in this technique such as he lunette in Ig ver coll have the charm of the *Cantoria* panels. The white glaze for the figures and the frame creates the im pression of marble with a deep blue in the background ne unette. Other colors are combined almost ex he wreath of flowers. This tasteful restraint in flowers ornaments which e was in act ve charge of his w shop and the quality of the modeling deteriorated and the simple harmony white and blue often ga ve way an overmelange of more and more hues. At the end the century the della Robbia shop had become a fa dering factory. Madonna panels and garish altarpiece for rage churches by the score.

Because Luca's almost complete withdrawal from main of marble carving there was a tea shortage apable marble sculptors in the vicinity the age. H he time Donatello returned this gap had been filled a group of men most of them from the Tuscan and the neighbo ing towns which the north and east Tuscany had long supplied the city with stonemasons because the cathedral has a curious special appeal to the imaginations men developed into artists of considerable stature the oldest Bernardo Rossellino who had served begun as a sculptor and architect in Arezzo. He established himself in Florence about 1446 but received consequence only some eight years later when he was entrusted with the tomb of Leonardo Bruni. Bruni's tomb was his great humanist and the man had played a leading part in the Florentine the beginning of the century see page 105. When he died in 1444 he received a grand funeral in the man ner of the ancients and his monument was probably ordered by the government. Since he had been born in Arezzo however his native town may well have had him and its representatives may have insisted on secure

[illegible] Bruni [illegible] from the [illegible] Marble [illegible] National Museum Florence

the commission Bernardo whom they knew from his earlier activity here. One wonders what chance Ber nardo would have had Donatello had been available. Although the Bruni monument is not the earliest Rena issance tomb not even the earliest large-scale tomb

408 LUCA DELLA ROBBIA
Madonna and Angels c. 1460
Glazed terracotta, 63 in. diam.
National Museum, Florence

409. Bernardo Rossellino: Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, 1445–50. Marble, height of sarcophagus 5'3". Santa Croce, Florence.

of a human scale and claim to be the first memorial that fully expresses the spirit of the new era. Echoes of Bruni's funeral *oratio* are everywhere: the deceased reclines on a bier supported by Roman eagles, his head wreathed in laurel and his hands enfolding his *History of Florence* rather than a prayer book—a fitting tribute to the man who, more than any other, had helped to establish the new historical perspective of the Florentine Early Renaissance. On the classically severe sarcophagus, two winged genii display an inscription very different from those on medieval tombs: instead of recording the name, rank, and age of the deceased and the date of his death, it refers only to his timeless accomplishments. At Leonardo's passing history grieves, eloquence is mute, and it is as if the Muses, Greek and Latin, he cannot hold back their tears. The religious aspect of the tomb is confined to the lunette, where the Madonna is adored by angels. The entire monument may thus be viewed as an attempt to reconcile two contrasting attitudes toward death: the retrospective, commemorative one of the ancients (see pages [illegible]) and the Christian concern with [illegible] and salvation. Bernardo Rossellino's design is admirably suited to such a program, balancing architecture and sculpture with a massive, self-contained frame which is dominant [illegible]: the two pilasters supporting a round arch resting on a strongly accented architrave suggest Alberti, who employed [illegible] repeatedly. It is derived from the entrance to the Pantheon, seen [illegible] which accounts for its use in church portals such as that of Sant'Andrea in Mantua (fig. 403). While Bernardo Rossellino may have adopted [illegible] for the Bruni tomb on purely aesthetic grounds, it is possible that on a [illegible] level it is a symbolic arrangement: the deceased, on his bier, stands at the gateway between [illegible] and [illegible]. Perhaps he even wanted to [illegible] associations: the tomb [illegible] Pantheon, the temple of the immortal [illegible] pagans, and [illegible] dedicated to [illegible] gods of the Roman [illegible] had been rededicated to the Christian saints, where it became a [illegible] and, in the High Renaissance, [illegible] the resting place of yet another hero-immortal, such famous artists as Raphael.

The sculptural style of the Bruni tomb is not easy to define since it is in fact partly a good deal higher [illegible]. Broadly speaking, it reflects the classicism of Ghiberti

[illegible] Rossellino: [illegible] Alberti, [illegible]

[illegible] de l'Académie [illegible]

[illegible] Pinacoteca, Volterra

been and Luca della Robbia. Echoes of Donatello are [illegible] and indirect. Bernardo Rossellino's success employed [illegible] here [illegible] he said in his subsequent commissions [illegible] during the latter [illegible] his workshop [illegible] ground for [illegible] young marble sculptors such [illegible] trained by the Antonio [illegible] and other members of the same generation [illegible] share. Bernardo [illegible] sculptural [illegible] hard [illegible] however [illegible] the personal [illegible] were [illegible] this began [illegible] suspended [illegible] Naples [illegible] Bernardo [illegible] as a sculptor [illegible] Mino [illegible] between [illegible] and [illegible] Bernardo [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Bernardo Rossellino [illegible] sculptural [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Pollaiuolo, *Battle of Naked Men*, [illegible] engraving, [illegible] inches. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, Fr[illegible] Bequest, [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] Pollaiuolo's [illegible] seem to [illegible] a [illegible] movement and we see the [illegible] complex [illegible] series of [illegible] when we [illegible] the statuette before our eyes. Despite [illegible] as in the group [illegible] perfect balance [illegible] he cast a [illegible] as were grafted to upper parts. Attacco [illegible] lower parts [illegible] Here [illegible] among [illegible] groups of [illegible] Bengal [illegible] given a [illegible] dimension [illegible] the [illegible] drawing [illegible] painting [illegible] Pollaiuolo was a painter and engraver as well as a bronze sculptor and we know that about [illegible] he did a [illegible] and [illegible] Medici [illegible] Medici. Few [illegible] paintings have survived, and only a single engraving, the *Battle of Ten Naked Men* (fig. [illegible]). This print [illegible] represents [illegible] most valuable aspect [illegible] design [illegible] subject [illegible] has never been [illegible] but that matter is not [illegible] the prime purpose of the engraving. Its [illegible] was to display [illegible] movements [illegible] human body in action. About [illegible] when the print must have been produced, this was still a novel problem, and Pollaiuolo contributed more than any other master [illegible]. An interest in movement, coupled with a wonder for proportions and an emphasis on [illegible] hand in modeling, had been shown by a [illegible] example (see fig. [illegible]) which in these respects [illegible] the progenitor of the *Naked Men*. Pollaiuolo [illegible] drew upon the action poses he found in certain types of ancient painted vases (compare fig. [illegible]). But he realized that a full understanding of bodily movement demands a detailed knowledge of anatomy, down to the last muscle and sinew. While we do not know for sure, he may well have been the first artist to dissect human bodies for firsthand knowledge of their [illegible] and [illegible] Later [illegible] have an [illegible] flayed appearance [illegible] had been [illegible] even the [illegible] of muscle [illegible] somewhat [illegible] depiction [illegible] Equally [illegible] facial expression [illegible] the best [illegible] Pollaiuolo's work of [illegible] and Masaccio [illegible] about [illegible] August [illegible] the extreme physical [illegible] The [illegible] of the [illegible] emotion [illegible] single [illegible] group [illegible] by Nanni [illegible] about [illegible] We know [illegible] between that work and [illegible] came from Apulia and spent most [illegible] Bologna [illegible] have been created [illegible] influence. Again, he [illegible] expression itself [illegible] presented by sculptors [illegible] the movement of the entire figure [illegible] as one in the *Vase of Somachoe* (see fig. [illegible]).

Although Pollaiuolo during the late years of his career did [illegible] monumental bronze tombs for St. Peter's in Rome, he never had an opportunity to execute a large-scale free-standing statue. For such works we must turn to his slightly younger contemporary, Andrea del Verrocchio (1435–88), the greatest sculptor of his day and the only one to share some of Donatello's range and ambition. A modeler as well as a carver, we have works of his in marble, terracotta, silver, and bronze. He combined elements from Antonio Rossellino and Antonio del Pollaiuolo into a unique synthesis. He was also a respected painter and the teacher of Leonardo da Vinci (something of a misfortune, ever since he has inevitably suffered slighting comparisons). His most popular work in Florence, because of its location in the courtyard of

[illegible] (detail) [illegible] San Martino, Bologna

[illegible] Verrocchio's [illegible] charm [illegible] *Putto with Dolphin* (fig. 4[illegible]) [illegible] designed as the [illegible] the dolphin's sprightly [illegible] spouting a jet of water [illegible] the fountain [illegible] the Medici [illegible] Florence. The term *putto* (plu[illegible] *putti*) designates the nude winged [illegible] than [illegible] more weighty subjects [illegible] ancient [illegible] spirits of various kinds, such as the [illegible] in which case we call them cupids, usually [illegible] and play in way. They were revived during the early Renaissance, both in their pagan identity and as [illegible] angels. The dolphin associates Verrocchio's *Putto* with the classical [illegible] to compare the putto and dolphin (fig. 324). Artistically, however, he [illegible] Pollaiuolo's *Hercules and Antaeus* than [illegible] ancient art, despite his [illegible] larger size and greater sense of volume. Again the form flows out in every direction from a central axis, but here the movement is graceful and continuous rather than jagged and broken. The stretched-out leg, the dolphin, and the arms and wings fit into an upward spiral, making the figure seem to revolve before our eyes.

By a strange coincidence, the crowning achievement of Verrocchio's career, as of Donatello's, was the bronze equestrian monument of a Venetian army commander, Bartolommeo Colleoni (fig. 415). In his will, Colleoni had requested such a statue and, by way of encouragement, had left a sizeable fortune to the Republic of Venice. He obviously knew the Gattamelata monument and wanted to ensure the same honor for himself. Verrocchio, too, must have regarded Donatello's work as the prototype of his own statue. Yet he did not simply [illegible] his predecessor's model; he reinterpreted the theme [illegible] perhaps [illegible] less impressively. The horse, graceful and spirited rather than [illegible] and placid, is [illegible] with the same sense of [illegible] in action that we saw in the nudes of [illegible] hide reveals [illegible] and [illegible] with the [illegible] surfaces of the armored figure [illegible] it. Since the horse's [illegible] the rider than [illegible] Gattamelata's, [illegible] seems to the saddle like the very embodiment of [illegible] dominance. Legs [illegible] straight [illegible] thrust [illegible] ward, he surveys the scene before him with the [illegible] concentration [illegible] Donatello's St. George (see fig. 474), but his lip is now [illegible] contemptuous curled

[illegible] (fig. 4[illegible]) [illegible]

Neither Gattamelata nor Colleoni are portraits in the specific sense of the term; both project an idealization of the personality which each artist associated with successful leadership in war. Gattamelata conveys steadfast purpose and nobility of character; Colleoni radiates an almost frightening sense of power. As an image of awesome self-assurance, he recalls the Can Grande (see fig. 423) rather than the Gattamelata monument. Perhaps Verrocchio visited the tomb of the Can Grande (who was well remembered in Florence as the patron of Dante) and decided to translate the wonderful arrogance of the statue into the style of his own day. In any case, Bartolommeo Colleoni got a great deal more than he had bargained for in his will.

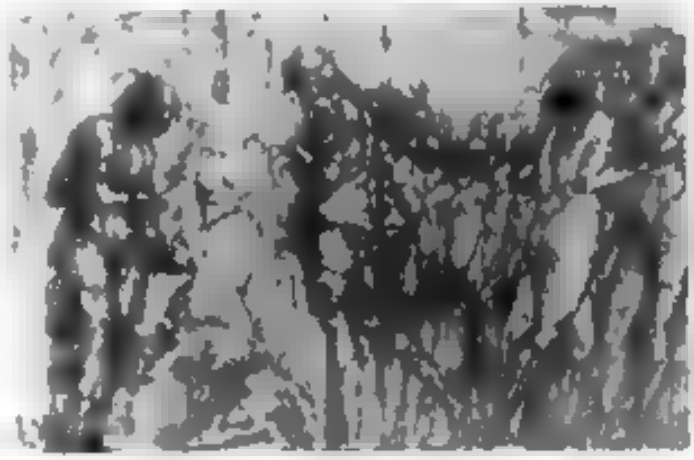
Before we resume our discussion of Florentine painting, we must consider the growth of Early Renaissance art in Northern Italy. The international Style in painting and sculpture lingered there until the mid-century, and architecture retained a strongly Gothic flavor long after the adoption of a classical vocabulary. We shall disregard North Italian architecture and sculpture between 1450 and 1500, as there are hardly any achievements of major consequence in either field. Instead, we shall focus upon painting in Venice and its dependent territories, for during these same years a great tradition was born here that was to flourish for the next three centuries. The Republic of Venice, although more oligarchic and unique in its eastward orientation, had many ties with Florence; it is not surprising, therefore, that she rather than the Duchy of Milan, should have become the leading center of Early Renaissance art in Northern Italy. Florentine masters had been carrying the new style to Venice and the neighboring city of Padua since the 1420s. Fra Filippo Lippi, Uccello, and Castagno had all worked there at one time or another. Still more important was Donatello's seven-year sojourn. Their presence, however, evoked only rather timid local responses until shortly before 1450 the young Andrea Mantegna emerged as an independent master. Born in 431, he had been trained by a minor Paduan painter, but his early development was decisively shaped by the impressions he received from locally available Florentine works and, we may assume, by personal contact with Donatello. Next to Masaccio, Mantegna was the most important painter of the Early Renaissance. And he too was a precocious genius, fully capable at seventeen of executing commissions on his own. Within the next decade he reached artistic maturity, and during the next half century he, like all the age of seventy-five, he broadened the range of his art but never departed in essence from the style he had formulated in the 1450s. Its greatest achievement of that time, the frescoes in the Church of the Eremitani in Padua, was almost entirely destroyed by an accidental bomb explosion in 1944—a more grievous loss than the mutilation of the Lamentation (see page 254). The scene we reproduce in figure 5-7, *St. James Leaving His Executioner*, is the most dramatic of the cycle because it is painting with eye-level perspective, which is based on the beholder's actual eye level. The central vanishing point is below the bottom of the picture, somewhat to the right of center. The architectural setting consequently seems large, as in Masaccio's *Trinity* fresco (see fig. 492). Its main feature, a huge triumphal arch, although not a copy of any specific Roman monument, looks so authentic in every detail that it might as well be. Here Mantegna's devotion to the visible remains of antiquity almost—but not quite—that of an archaeologist shows his close association with the learned humanists at the University of Padua (who had the same reverence for every word of ancient literature). No Florentine painter or sculptor of the time could have transmitted such an attitude to him. The same desire for authenticity can be seen in the costumes of the Roman soldiers (compare fig. 224); it even extends to the use of "wet" drapery patterns, an invention of Classical Greek sculpture inherited by the Romans (see fig. 223). But the tense figures, lean and firmly constructed, and especially their dramatic interaction, clearly derive from Donatello. Mantegna's

SEE AS WELL: VERROCCHIO, *Equestrian Monument to Colleoni*, 1481–88. Bronze, height c. 13'. Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

subject hardly demands this agitated staging: the saint, on the way to his execution, blesses a paralytic and commands him to walk. But the large crowd of bystanders, many of them expressing by glance and gesture how deeply the miracle has stirred them, generates an extraordinary emotional tension that erupts into real physical violence on the far right. The great spiral curl of the halberd more than echoes the turbulence below. By rare good luck, a sketch for our fresco has survived (fig. [illegible]), the earliest instance we know of a drawing that permits us to compare the preliminary and final versions of such a design. Among the drawings by earlier masters, none seems to have related to a known picture in the same way. This sketch differs from the [illegible] drawing [illegible] (see fig. 436) in its tentative, unsettled quality. The composition has not yet taken on shape; the drawing as it were the image [illegible] drawing [illegible] both in conception and in the sense that [illegible] are set down in a quick, shorthand style. We note, for example, that here the perspective is not [illegible] normal, [illegible] but he artist worked out the exact scheme [illegible] on the wall. Our drawing also offers proof of what was postulated in the case of Masaccio: that Early Renaissance artists [illegible] conceived their compositions [illegible] whole figures. The group on the right [illegible] stage, and [illegible] the bodies [illegible] beneath their [illegible]. But the drawing [illegible] handwriting [illegible] Many of the essential qualities [illegible] engraving *Battle of Nudi* [illegible] years later [illegible] *Ten Naked Men* as we [illegible]

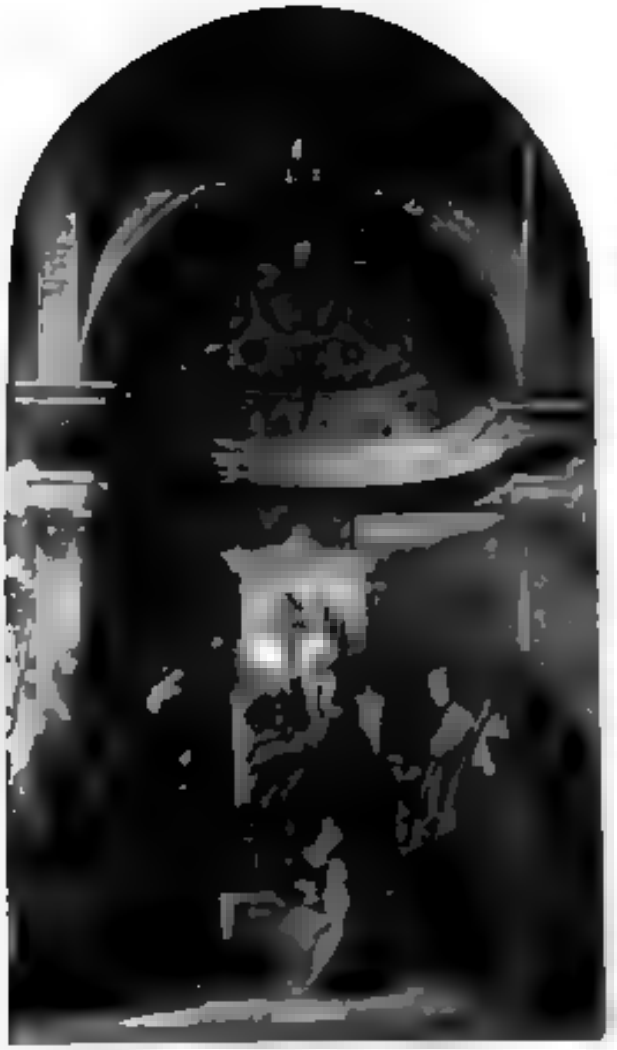
[illegible] these works, we would hardly expect Mantegna to be much concerned with light and [illegible]. The panel reproduced [illegible] painted [illegible] a few years after the Paduan frescoes, proves that he was. In the background, behind the [illegible] array of classical remains including this time the artist's signature in Greek, [illegible] more [illegible] than a [illegible] long [illegible]. But beyond we see a wider [illegible] atmospheric landscape and a deep blue sky [illegible] with the softest of white clouds. The entire scene is bathed in the warm radiance of late afternoon sunlight, which creates a gently melancholy mood, making the plight of the dying saint doubly poignant. The background of our panel would hardly be conceivable without the influence, direct or indirect, of the Van Eycks (compare color plate 25, left). Some works of the great Flemish masters had surely reached Florence as well as Venice between 1430 and 1450, and must have been equally admired in both cities, but in Venice they had more immediate effect, evoking the interest in lyrical, light-filled landscapes that became an ingrained part of Venetian Renaissance painting. In the work of Giovanni Bellini

[illegible]



[illegible] ANDREA MANTEGNA, *St. James Led to His Execution*
[illegible] 1455. Pen drawing, [illegible]
Collection G. M. Catherine-Hardy
Donnington Priory, Newbury, Berkshire, England

(c. 1437–1516), Mantegna's brother-in-law, we can trace the further growth of this tradition. Bellini was slow to mature; his finest pictures, such as *St. Francis in Ecstasy* (colorplate 35), date from the last decades of the century or later. The saint is here so small in comparison to the setting that he seems almost incidental, yet his mystic



[illegible] Madonna and [illegible]
Panel [illegible]

rapture before the beauty of the visible world sets our own response to the new that is spread out before us ample and immediate at the same time. He has left his wooden patens behind and stands barefoot on holy ground like Moses in the Lord's presence (see page 16). Bellini's colors are less brilliant than those of Mantegna; the colors are [illegible] and bright more glowing and he shares the erudite regard of the great Flemings for every detail of nature. In the Northerner, however, he can define the behavior of passing cloudshapes in the landscape; the [illegible] expressions are structurally clear and fine; the architecture rendered by the rules of scientific perspective.

As the foremost painter of the city of Venice, Giovanni Bellini produced a number of formal altar panels of the *Sacra Conversazione* type. His compositional pattern is well exemplified by the latest and most monumental member of the series, the *Madonna and Saints* of 1505 in S. Zaccaria (fig. 4.8), compared to Domenico Veneziano's *Sacra Conversazione* (colorplate 111). The architectural setting is a good deal simpler but no less impressive: we stand in the nave of a church near the crossing, which is partly visible, with the apse filling almost the entire panel. The figures appear in front of the apse, however, under the great vaulted canopy of the crossing. The structure is not a real church, for its sides are open and the entire scene is flooded with gentle sunlight, just as Domenico Veneziano had placed his figures in a semi-outdoors setting. The Madonna is seated high on her throne and the music-making angels in the west [illegible] are devised (though many intermediaries no doubt from Masaccio's *Madonna of [illegible]*, fig. 4.5). What differentiates this altar immediately from a Fiorentine altarpiece is not merely the ample spaciousness of the stage but its wonderfully warm, mellow, [illegible] atmosphere. We sense the figures deeply immersed in [illegible] makes all their [illegible] gestures [illegible]. We sense another thing that is again and again in Venetian painting: here the [illegible] was the agent, man or has had [illegible] seems to delegate action to have, we sense, as he stands flooding [illegible] atmosphere. [illegible] handling [illegible] managed light and shadow [illegible] visible gradations [illegible] with [illegible] depth [illegible] Bellini [illegible] greatest [illegible] the [illegible] Masaccio [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] subjects [illegible] painting [illegible] Sandrart [illegible] 444 [illegible] painted by [illegible] under [illegible] influenced by Polaiuolo. But [illegible] became [illegible] part of the [illegible] Mantegna [illegible] scholars and poets surrounding Lorenzo the Magnificent, the heart of the Medici palaces and for all practical purposes the court of Florence. [illegible] member of this group, Botticelli, did *The Birth of Venus* (colorplate [illegible]) probably his most famous picture. Its kinship with Pollaiuolo's *Battle of Ten Naked Men* is unmistakable. In both the shallow modeling and the emphasis on [illegible] produce an effect of low relief rather than of solid, three-dimensional shapes. In both we note a lack of concern with deep space. The ornamentated thicket forms a screen behind the *Naked Men* much like the grasses on the right-hand side of the *Venus*. But the differences are just as striking. Botticelli's residents does not share Pollaiuolo's passion for anatomy; his bodies are more attenuated, and drained of all weight and muscular power; they seem to float even when they touch the ground. All this seems to deny the basic values of the founding fathers of Early Renaissance art, yet the picture does not look medieval: the bodies, ethereal though they be, retain their voluptuousness; they are genuine

nudes (see our discussion page 312) enjoying full freedom of movement.

To understand this paradox, we must consider the meaning of our picture and the general use of classical subjects in Early Renaissance art. During the Middle Ages, classical form had become divorced from classical subject matter. Artists could only draw upon the ancient repertory of poses, gestures, expressions, etc., by changing the identity of the characters: philosophers became apostles, Orpheus turned into Adam, Hercules into Samson. When medieval artists had occasion to represent the pagan gods, they based their pictures on certain descriptions, or at least that visual models [illegible] and a great [illegible] the mid-fourteenth century [illegible] and Mantegna [illegible] begin to represent classical content. [illegible] paintings of the abbots of Hercules about [illegible] [illegible] ancient monuments [illegible] Mantegna [illegible] Middle Ages [illegible] the analogy [illegible]

[illegible]

cepts. Europa abducted by the bull, for instance, could be declared to signify the soul redeemed by Christ. But such pallid constructions were hardly an adequate [illegible] reinvesting the pagan gods with their ancient beauty and strength. To fuse the Christian faith with an alien mythology, which had never even [illegible] them, required a more sophisticated [illegible] arguments. This was provided by the Neo-Platonic philosophers, whose foremost representative, Marsilio Ficino, enjoyed tremendous prestige [illegible] the later years of the fifteenth century and after. [illegible] thought, based on the mysticism of Plotinus [illegible] discussed page [illegible] authentic works of Plato, was the very opposite [illegible] system of [illegible] he believed [illegible] the universe [illegible] that man was linked [illegible] by a [illegible] man's ascending and descending [illegible] the Bible. Plato's or classical myth was one [illegible] Simonides he puts into [illegible] that beauty [illegible] and beatitude, being phases [illegible] this same [illegible] Thus Neo-Platonism [illegible] invoke the [illegible] Venus [illegible] through [illegible] the sea [illegible] Mary [illegible] the [illegible] Christ. We [illegible] Venus [illegible] gods [illegible] and [illegible] Venus [illegible] the [illegible] Baptist [illegible] Christ [illegible] As [illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible] Venus takes [illegible] name. Thanks to the flowers [illegible] Neo-Platonic [illegible] the number of possible [illegible] which [illegible] be linked with our painting is [illegible] numerous. [illegible] of them, however, [illegible] the Christian [illegible] be [illegible] the sphere of Mind [illegible] Both [illegible] ideas would hardly be [illegible] [illegible] of them [illegible] less ethereal.

Neo-Platonic philosophy and its expression in art were obviously [illegible] to become popular outside the select and highly educated [illegible] of its devotees. In 1494 the suspicions of the man in the street were confirmed by the monk Savonarola, an ardent ascetic of religious reform, who gained a huge following with his sermons attacking the "cult of paganism" among the city's ruling circle. Botticelli himself became a follower of Savonarola and reportedly burned a number of his pagan pictures. In his last works he seems to have stopped painting entirely after 1500; he returns to traditional religious themes but with no essential change in style.

Colorplate 37, a panel by Botticelli's contemporary Piero di Cosimo, illustrates a view of pagan mythology diametrically opposed to that of the Neo-Platonists. Instead of "spiritualizing" the pagan gods, it brings them

down to earth as beings of flesh and blood. In this alternate theory, man had slowly risen from a barbaric state through the discoveries and inventions of a few exceptionally gifted individuals, gratefully remembered by posterity. These men were then accorded the status of gods. St. Augustine subscribed to such a view, which can be traced back to Hellenistic times, without acceptance of the implications expressed by ancient authority. The complete theory was not revived until the late fifteenth century. It postulates a gradual evolution of man from the animal level, which has conflicted with the scriptural account of Creation. This could be glossed over, however, by making a gaudy display of the achievements of these pagan culture heroes. It would be impossible to compliment seriousness, exactly what Piero di Cosimo did in our picture. Vasari's *The Discovery of Honey* refers to the central episode: a group of satyrs busying themselves about an old willow tree. They have discovered a swarm of bees, and are making as much noise as possible with their pots and pans to induce the bees to cluster on one of the branches. The satyrs will then collect the honey from which they will produce mead. Behind them, to the right, some of their companions are about to discover the source of another fermented beverage: they are climbing trees to collect wild grapes. Beyond is a barren wasteland, while on the left there are gentle hills and a town. This contrast does not imply that the satyrs are only dwellers in merely juxtaposes civilization, the goal of the future, with untamed nature. Here he [illegible] her [illegible] of course Bacchus, who appears to be [illegible] right-hand corner, a tipsy grin on his face, next to his lady-love, Ariadne. Despite their classical appearance, Bacchus and his companions do not in the least resemble the frenzied revelers of ancient mythology. They have an oddly domestic air, suggesting a fun-loving family clan on a picnic. The brilliant sunlight, the rich colors, and the far-ranging landscape make the scene a vision more plausible extension of everyday reality. We can well believe that Piero di Cosimo, in contrast to Botticelli, admired the great Flemish realists, and this landscape would be inconceivable without the strong influence of the Portinari Altarpiece (compare fig. 45).

Not only Piero was receptive to the realism of the Flemings. Domenico Ghirlandaio, another contemporary of Botticelli, shared his admiration. Ghirlandaio's frescoes are so replete with portraits that they almost serve as family chronicles of the wealthy patrician who sponsored them. Among his most affecting individual portraits is the name of an old man with his grandson (fig. 4). Lack of the meticulous accuracy of Flemish portraits, these never entirely reflects the precise attention to surface texture and [illegible]. But no Northern painter would have rendered like [illegible] the tender human relationship between the old man and his grandson. Psychologically, the painter speaks as Italian [illegible].

Rome, long neglected during the papal exile to Avignon, became once more the center of Christendom, an important center of art patronage. As the papacy regained its political power, [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

LUCA SIGNORELLI
The Damned Cast into Hell
1499–1502, Fresco
S. Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral

[illegible] Luca Signorelli's [illegible] Rome [illegible] pagan [illegible] The [illegible] the [illegible] Among the [illegible] New Testament [illegible] the important painters [illegible] Florence and Urbania [illegible] the whole represent the [illegible] finished work [illegible] however [illegible] *The Deluge* [illegible] *the Keys* [illegible] by Pietro Perugino [illegible] architectural achievement. Born near Perugia in [illegible] the region southeast of Tuscany, Perugino maintained close ties with Florence. Its early development had been decisively influenced by Verrocchio [illegible] the statuesque balance and solidity of the figures in *The Deluge* [illegible] *the Keys* still suggest. The graceful symmetrical design conveys the special importance of the subject in this particular setting: the authority of St. Peter as the first pope and that of all his successors rests on his having received the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven from Jesus Himself. A number of contemporaries with powerfully individualized features witness the solemn event. Equally striking is the vast expanse of the background, a row of Roman triumphal arches, both modeled on the Arch of Constantine, flanking a domed structure in which we recognize the ideal church of Alberti's *Treatise on Architecture*. The spatial clarity, the mathematically exact perspective of this view, are the heritage of Piero della Francesca, who spent much of his later life working for Urbino [illegible] the Duke of Urbino. And also from [illegible] shortly before 1500 Perugino received a pupil whose [illegible] overshadowed his own, Raphael, the most [illegible] master of the High Renaissance.

[illegible] Signorelli [illegible] Perugino by a similar background and [illegible] his personality is infinitely more dramatic. Of [illegible] Tuscan origin, he had been a [illegible] before coming to Florence in the 1470s [illegible] Perugino. Signorelli was strongly impressed by [illegible] but he also admired the energy, expressiveness, and anatomical precision of Pollaiuolo's nudes, combining these influences with Piero's [illegible] solidity, form, and [illegible] perspective foreshortening. Signorelli achieved a [illegible] of epic grandeur that later made a lasting impression upon the mind of Michelangelo. He reached the [illegible] of his career just before 1500 with the frescoes representing the end of the world in the vault of the S. Brizio chapel in Orvieto Cathedral, especially the most dynamic of these, *The Damned Cast into Hell* (fig. 42). What most strikes us is not Signorelli's use of the nude body as an expressive instrument, even though he far surpasses his predecessors in this respect, but the deep sense of tragedy that pervades the scene. Signorelli's Hell, the exact opposite of Bosch's (compare fig. 436), is illuminated by the full light of day, without nightmarish machines of torture or grotesque monsters. The damned retain their human dignity, and the devils, too, are humanized: even in Hell, the Renaissance faith in man does not lose its force.

3. The High Renaissance in Italy

[illegible] be taken for granted that the High Renaissance followed upon the Early Renaissance as naturally and necessarily as night follows morning. The great masters of the sixteenth century—Leonardo, Bramante, Michelangelo, Raphael, Giorgione, Titian—were the eight to have shared the ideals of their predecessors but to have expressed them so completely that their names became synonyms for perfection. They represented the climax, the classic phase, of Renaissance art, just as Phidias seemed to have brought the art of ancient Greece to its highest point. This view could also explain why these so-called classic phases were so short: if art is assumed to develop along the pattern of a bell-shaped curve, its highest point cannot be expected to last more than a moment.

Some of the art historians have come to realize the shortcomings of this scheme. When we apply it literally, the High Renaissance becomes so absurdly brief, for example, that we wonder whether it happened at all. Moreover, we hardly increase our understanding of the Early Renaissance if we regard it as a not-yet-perfect High Renaissance, any more than an Archaic Greek statue can be satisfactorily viewed from a Phidian standpoint. Nor is it very useful to insist that the subsequent post-Classical phase, whether Hellenistic or Late Renaissance, must be decadent. The image of the ballistic curve has now been abandoned, and we have gained a less assured, but also less arbitrary, estimate of what, for lack of another term, we still call the High Renaissance.

In some fundamental respects, we shall find that the High Renaissance was indeed the culmination of the Early Renaissance, while in others it represented a departure. Certainly the tendency to view the artist as a sovereign genius, rather than as a devoted craftsman, was never stronger than during the first half of the sixteenth century. That is a concept of genius—the spirit entering into the poet that causes him to compose in a divine frenzy—had been broadened by Marsilio Ficino and his fellow Neo-Platonists to include the architect, the sculptor, and the painter. Men of genius were thought to be set apart from ordinary mortals by the divine inspiration guiding their efforts and worthy of being called divine, "immortal," and creative (before 1500 *creating*, as distinct from making, was the privilege of God alone). This idea of genius had a profound effect on the artists of the High Renaissance. It spurred them to vast and ambitious goals, and prompted their awed patrons to support such enterprises. But since these ambitions often went beyond the humanly possible, they were apt to be frustrated by external as well as internal difficulties, leaving the artist with a sense of having been defeated by a malevolent fate. At the same time, the artist's faith in the divine origin of inspiration led him to rely on subjective rather than objective standards of truth and beauty. If Early Renaissance artists felt bound by what they believed to be universally valid rules, such as the numerical ratios of musical harmony and the laws of scientific perspective, the High Renaissance successors were less concerned with what is true than with what is effectiveness. They evolved a new drama and a new rhetoric to engage the emotions, the behavioral, whether sanctioned or not by classical precedent. In fact, the works of the great High Renaissance masters immediately became classics, but [illegible] the pattern equal to that of the [illegible] pattern of painting. But here we encounter a paradox: the creations of genius are viewed as unique by definition, but they cannot be successfully imitated by lesser men [illegible] worthy they may seem of such [illegible] understanding fathers. The Early Renaissance [illegible] artists of the High Renaissance [illegible] based [illegible] that [illegible] the High Renaissance produced astonishing [illegible] who had reached [illegible] before. Of the great personalities mentioned above, only Michelangelo and Titian survived beyond [illegible] date were undoubtedly less [illegible] the High Renaissance style had [illegible] the first [illegible] decades of the century. For the High Renaissance might [illegible] under such circumstances its harmony, grandeur, was wherein [illegible] a balance of divergent qualities. But these qualities and the balance itself could be transmitted to the artists who reached maturity after [illegible]. In pointing out the limited and precarious nature of the High Renaissance we do not mean to deny its tremendous impact upon later art. For most of the next three hundred years, the great personalities of the early sixteenth century loomed so large that the achievements of their predecessors seemed to belong to a forgotten era. Even when the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was finally rediscovered, people still acknowledged the High Renaissance as the turning point, referring to all painters before Raphael as "the Primitives."

One of the strangest aspects of the High Renaissance—and one important reason why, within the limitations set forth above, it rightfully deserves to be called a period—is the fact that its key monuments were all produced be-

tween 1495 and 1520 despite the great differences in age of the men creating them. Bramante (the oldest, was born in 1444), Raphael (in 1483) and Titian (about 1488 or so). Yet the distinction of being the earliest High Renassance master belongs to Leonardo da Vinci (born in Bramante's Born in 1452 in the little Tuscan town of Vinci, Leonardo was trained by Verrocchio. Conditions in Florence must have suited him: at the age of thirty he went to work for the duke of Milan, as a military engineer, also (his secondary) as an architect, sculptor and painter. Leaving behind unfinished the most ambitious work he had then begun, a large *Adoration of the Magi* for which he had made many preliminary studies. Its design shows a pyramidal order and a precise, systematic perspective space that recalls Florentine painting of the week. Ma[illegible] rather than the [illegible] meaning about [illegible] the way [illegible] completed the underpainting [illegible] when [illegible] which [illegible] seem [illegible] gradual [illegible] detail by [illegible] Florence [illegible] but [illegible] degrees by [illegible] dence of light. In the shadow [illegible] shape [illegible] modeling [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] partake of a new pictorial unity, the barriers between [illegible] having been partially breached. And here is a [illegible] as well, the gestures and faces of the [illegible] the reality of the miracle they have come to behold. We will recognize the influence of both Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio in the mobile expressiveness of these figures, but Leonardo may also have been impressed by the breathless shepherds in the Portinari Altarpiece (then newly installed in Florence: see fig. 431). Soon after arriving in Milan, Leonardo did *The Virgin of the Rocks* (fig. 511), another [illegible] which suggests what the *Adoration* would have [illegible] had been completed. Here the figures emerge from the semidarkness of the grotto, enveloped in a [illegible] atmosphere but delicately [illegible] by the hazy [illegible] (*sfumato*), more [illegible] than [illegible] effects in Flemish and Venetian painting. It is a peculiar warmth and intimacy to the scene. [illegible] a [illegible] dreamlike quality and makes the picture seem a poetic vision rather than an image of [illegible] pure and simple. The subject, the infant St. John adoring the Christ Child in the presence of the Virgin and an angel, is [illegible] in many ways with [illegible] the setting, the [illegible] and the [illegible] chosen and [illegible] rendered [illegible] symbolic meanings that [illegible] John. And in what [illegible] of [illegible] relationships among the four figures. Perhaps the key is the conjunction of gestures [illegible] pointing and blessing. Toward the center of the group, [illegible] puzzling [illegible] few [illegible] as a more [illegible] spe[illegible]

Despite the [illegible] the *Adoration* and the *Virgin of the Rocks* do not yet differ clearly in conception from the [illegible] of the Early Renaissance. But Leonardo's *Last Supper*, [illegible] by a dozen years, has always been recog[illegible] the first [illegible] statements of the ideals of High

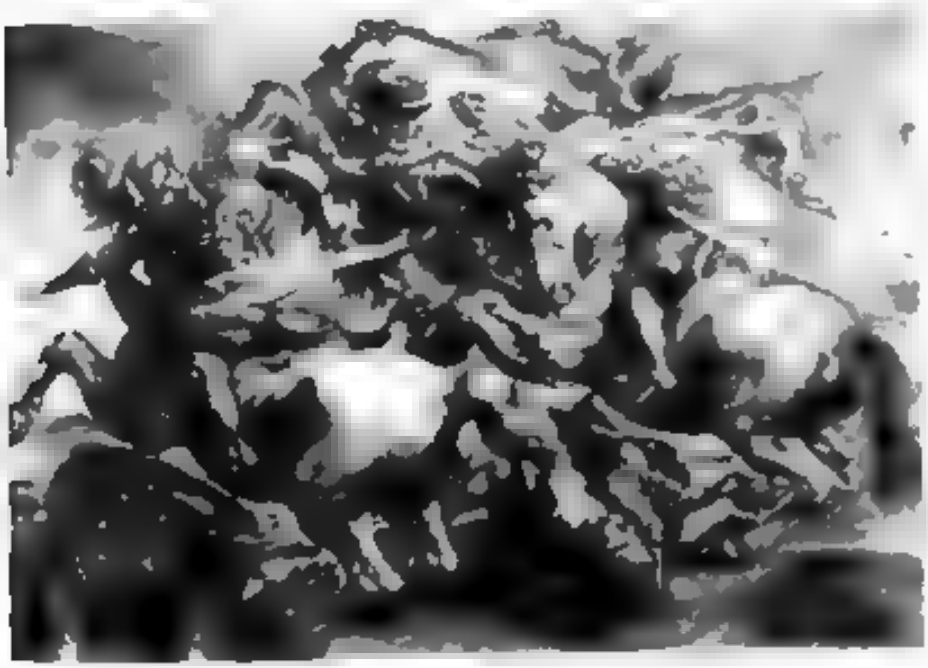
511. LEONARDO DA VINCI
Adoration of the Magi (detail, c. 1481). Panel
size of area shown c. 24 × 30"
Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Renaissance painting (fig. 5-42). Unhappily, the famous mural began to deteriorate a few years after its completion, the artist, dissatisfied with the limitations of the traditional fresco technique, experimented in an oil-tempera medium that did not adhere well to the wall. We thus need some effort to imagine its original splendor. Yet what remains is more than sufficient to account for its tremendous impact. Viewing the composition as a whole, we are struck at once by its balanced stability; only afterward do we discover that this balance has been achieved by the reconciliation of competing, even conflicting, claims such as no previous artist had attempted. A comparison with Castagno's *Last Supper* (fig. 4-94), painted half a century before, is particularly instructive here. The spatial setting in both cases seems to be an annex to the real interior of the refectory, but Castagno's architecture has a strangely oppressive effect on the figures, while Leonardo's, despite its far greater depth, does not. The reason for this becomes clear when we realize that in the earlier work the perspective space has been conceived autonomously; it was there before the figures entered, and would equally suit another group of diners. Leonardo, in contrast, began with the figure composition, and the architecture had merely a supporting role from the start. The central vanishing point, which governs our view of the interior, is located behind the head of Christ in the exact middle of the picture, and thus becomes charged with symbolic significance. Equally plain is the symbolic function of the main opening in the back wall: its projecting pediment acts as the architectural equivalent of a halo. We thus tend to see the perspective framework of the scene almost entirely in relation to the figures, rather than as a pre-existing entity. From vista, this relationship we can easily test by covering the upper third of the picture. The composition then takes on the character of a frieze; the grouping of the apostles is less clear, and the calm, triangular shape of Christ becomes merely passive, instead of acting as a physical and spiritual focus. The Saviour presumably has just spoken the fateful words, "One of you shall betray me," and the disciples are asking, "Lord, is it I?" We actually see nothing that contradicts this interpretation, but viewed as one particular moment in a psychological drama, it hardly does justice to Leonardo's intentions. These were, we have seen, a literal rendering of the biblical narrative. The crowded tapestry behind the disciples on the far side of the table, in a space quite inadequate for so many diners, is clearly wasted if condensation is sought physically by the compact, monumental grouping of the figures, and spiritually by presenting many levels of meaning at one time. Thus the gesture of Christ, a sign of submission to his fate, and of offering, is a foretaste of Christ's death at the Last Supper, the institution of the Eucharist. "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood . . ." And the apostles do not merely react to this words; each of them reveals his own personality, his own relationship to the Saviour. Note that Judas is no longer segregated from the rest; his dark, defiant profile sets him apart well enough. This exemplifies what the artist wrote in one of his notebooks, that the highest and most difficult aim of painting is to depict "the intention of man's soul through gestures and movements of the limbs," a dictum not to be interpreted as referring to momentary emotional states but to man's inner life as a whole.

In 1499, the duchy of Milan fell to the French, and Leonardo, after brief trips to Mantua and Venice, returned to Florence. He must have found the cultural climate very different from his recollections of it, the Medici had been expelled, and the city was briefly a republic again, until their return. For a while, Leonardo seems to have been active mainly as an engineer and surveyor, but in 1503 the city commissioned him to

5-41. LEONARDO DA VINCI. *The Virgin of the Rocks*. c. 1484. Panel, 78 × 48". The Louvre, Paris.

above: 434 Leonardo da Vinci
The Last Supper, c. 1495–98. Mural
Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan



left: 435 Peter Paul Rubens
Drawing after Leonardo's Cartoon for The Battle of Anghiari
c. 1605. The Louvre, Paris

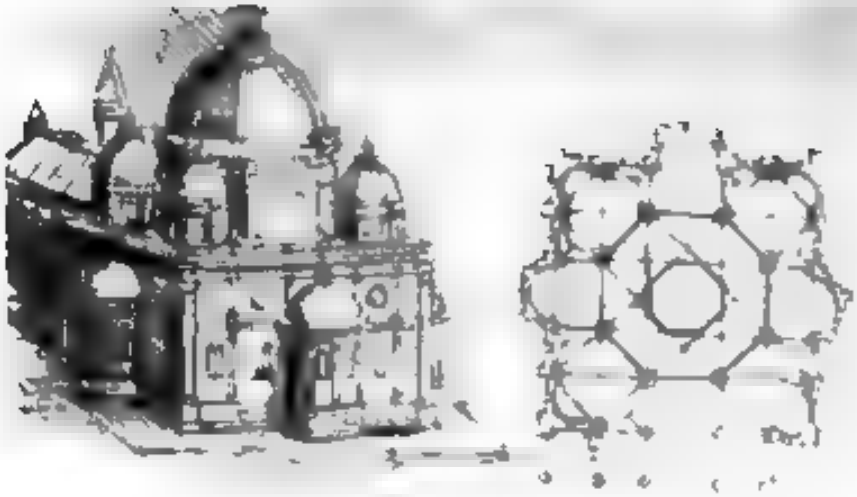
decorate the council chamber of the Palazzo Vecchio with some famous events from the history of Florence as its subject. Leonardo chose the Battle of Anghiari, where the Florentine forces had once defeated a papal army. He completed the cartoon (a full-scale drawing) and had just begun the mural itself when, in 1506, he returned once more to Milan at the request of the French, abandoning the commission. The cartoon for *The Battle of Anghiari* survived for more than a century and enjoyed enormous fame. Today we know it only through Leonardo's preliminary sketches and through copies of the cartoon by later artists, notably a splendid drawing by Peter Paul Rubens (fig. 435). Leonardo had started with the historical accounts of the engagement as his plans crystallized; however, he abandoned factual accuracy and created a monumental group of soldiers on horseback that convey a condensed, timeless image of the spirit of battle rather than any specific event. His concern with the intention of man's soul—in this case, a savage furs that has seized not only the men but the animals as well—is even more evident here than in the *Last Supper*. *The Battle of Anghiari* stands at the opposite end of the scale from Uccello's *Battle of San Romano* (colorplate 33), where

[illegible] *Mona Lisa*
Paris [illegible]

nothing has been omitted except the lighting itself. Yet Leonardo's hand is seen [illegible] the [illegible] modeled with [illegible] symmetry [illegible] by the hexagonal [illegible] that stabilizes this swirling glass. Once again a balance has been achieved by the reconciliation of [illegible] opposing forces.

While working on *The Madonna of the Rocks* [illegible] Leonardo painted his most famous portrait, the *Mona Lisa* (fig. [illegible]). The delicate female [illegible] in the *Madonna of the Rocks* [illegible] seemed miraculous [illegible] the artist's [illegible] temperament. The forms are [illegible] from [illegible] gazes so [illegible] than that the entire [illegible] seems [illegible] from within. But the family of the *Mona Lisa* [illegible] this past [illegible] subtlety [illegible] the possibility of a fascination of the [illegible] personality. Why among all the smiling faces ever painted has this particular [illegible] been singled out as [illegible]? Perhaps the reason [illegible] as a portrait the picture does not fit our expectations. The features are [illegible] Leonardo [illegible] have simply depicted an ideal type, yet the element of idealization is so strong that it blurs the sitter's character. Once again the artist has brought two opposites into harmonious balance. The smile, too, may be read in two ways: as the echo of a momentary mood, and as a timeless, symbolic expression somewhat like the "Archaic smile" of the Greeks (see figures 26, 27, 129 and colorplate 6). Clearly the Mona Lisa embodies a quality of maternal tenderness which was to Leonardo the essence of womanhood. Even the landscape in the background, composed mainly of rocks and water, suggests elemental generative forces.

In the later years of his life Leonardo devoted himself more and more to his scientific interests. Art and science, we recall, were first united in Brunelleschi's discovery of systematic perspective. Leonardo's work is the climax of this trend. The artist, he believed, must know not only the rules of perspective but also all laws of nature, and the eye was to him the perfect instrument for gaining such knowledge. The [illegible] scope of his inquiries is attested by the hundreds of drawings and notes which for him perhaps [illegible] appropriate [illegible] research. It was [illegible] was as a [illegible] debate but in one [illegible] [illegible] painted [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



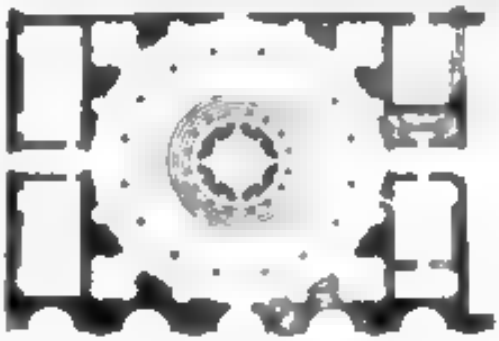
left 328 LEONARDO DA VINCI
Project for a Church (Ms. B)
c. 1490. Pen drawing
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris

below 329 DONATO BRAMANTE
The Tempietto, 1502
S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome

bottom 330 Plan of the Tempietto with proposed cour saint, after Serlio

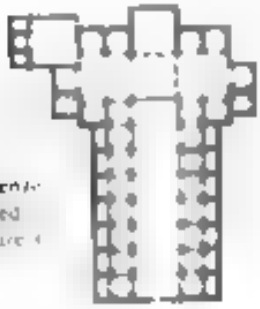
[illegible] how can we trace the transition from the Early to the High Renaissance in architecture. The domed centralized churches, of the type illustrated in figure 328, [illegible] interest for us, the plan [illegible] Brunelleschi's Sta. Maria degli Angeli [illegible] seeking [illegible] more complex [illegible] Renaissance of culture [illegible] between [illegible] and the classic [illegible] the new [illegible] Bramante [illegible] during the [illegible] Bramante, who was [illegible] the Duke [illegible] Milan. Bramante [illegible] Rome after Milan's [illegible] High Renaissance achievement [illegible] shown [illegible] Bramante [illegible] Tempietto in Montorio [illegible] This shape marks the [illegible] and was planned [illegible] be surrounded [illegible] courtyard. The Tempietto [illegible] appeared [illegible] environment [illegible] Bramante intended [illegible] with a molded exterior space [illegible] as the design of the shape itself [illegible] little temple seems well deserved in the three-step platform and the severe Doric order of the colonnade. Classical temple architecture is more directly [illegible] than in any fifteenth-century structure. Equally striking is Bramante's application of the sculptured wall principle in the Tempietto itself and in the court [illegible] not since Brunelleschi's Sta. Maria degli Angeli have we seen such deeply recessed niches excavated from heavy masses of masonry. These cavities are counterbalanced by the convex shape of the dome and by strongly projecting moldings and cornices. As a result, the Tempietto has a monumental weight that belies its modest size.

The Tempietto is the earliest of the great achievements



[illegible] Bramante's Original Plan for St. Peter's, Rome (1506), after Geymüller

[illegible] Medal Showing Bramante's Design for St. Peter's [illegible]



[illegible] Plan of S. Lorenzo, Florence, reproduced to the same scale as figure [illegible]

[illegible] that made Rome the [illegible] of Europe during the [illegible] quarter of the sixteenth century. Most of them belong to the decade [illegible] the papacy of Julius II. It was he who decided to replace the old basilica of St. Peter, which had long been in precarious condition, with a church of a magnificence as [illegible] as the monuments of ancient imperial Rome. The cash nexus [illegible] Bramante, the foremost architect in the city, [illegible] his design [illegible] known to us only from a plan (fig. [illegible]) and from the medal commemorating the start of the building campaign (fig. [illegible]), which shows the exterior in rather impressive perspective. These are sufficient, however, to [illegible] how Bramante reportedly used [illegible] he shall place the Pantheon on top of the Basilica of Constantine. To surpass the two most famous structures of Roman antiquity by a Christian edifice of unexampled grandeur—nothing less would have satisfied [illegible] a pontiff of vast ambition, who wanted to unite all Italy under his command and thus to gain a temporal power matching the spiritual authority of his office. Bramante's design is indeed of truly imperial magnificence: a huge dome, hemispherical like that of the Tempietto, crowns the crossing of the [illegible] arms of a Greek cross with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Plate [illegible] [illegible] Madonna [illegible] Raphael
About [illegible] Pitti [illegible] Gallery, Florence

Fig. Michelangelo, *David*, 1504. Marble, height 4 m. Accademia, Florence

moted designs of far greater flexibility than the building methods of the medieval masons. The possibilities of the material, however, were not fully exploited for some time to come. The construction of St. Peter's progressed at so slow a pace that on 1514, when Bramante died, only the four crossing piers had actually been built. For the next three decades the campaign was carried on hesitantly by architects trained under Bramante, who modified his design in a number of ways. A new and decisive phase in the history of St. Peter's began only in 1546, when Michelangelo took charge. The present appearance of the church (fig. 546) is largely shaped by his ideas. But this must be considered in the context of Michelangelo's career as a whole.

The concept of genius as divine inspiration, a superhuman power granted to a few rare individuals and enabling them to achieve what is nowhere exemplified more fully than in the life and work of Michelangelo, [illegible] Neo-Platonism, accepted the idea of his genius as a blessing rather than a curse, although it seemed to him at times a curse rather than a blessing. The extremes that beings [illegible] his long and [illegible] career, the sovereign power of his personality, [illegible] the subjective rightness of everything he created, [illegible] conventions, standards, and traditions might be [illegible] by lesser spirits, for [illegible] knowledge [illegible] higher than the dictates of his genius.

[illegible] which painting was the noblest [illegible] because it embraced every visible aspect of the [illegible]. Michelangelo was a sculptor, more specifically a

right 336 MICHELANGELO
The Dying Slave 1513–16 Marble
height 89 The Louvre, Paris

far right 337 MICHELANGELO
The Rebellious Slave
1513–16 Marble, height 83
The Louvre, Paris

carver of marble statues to the core. Art, he felt, was not a science but "the making of men" analogous, however imperfectly, to divine creation, hence the limitations of sculpture that Leonardo decried were essential virtues in Michelangelo's eyes. Only the "liberation" of real, three-dimensional bodies from recalcitrant matter could satisfy the urge within him. (For a discussion of his procedure, see page [illegible].) Painting, he believed, should imitate the roundness of sculptured forms, and architecture, too, must partake of the organic qualities of the human figure. Michelangelo's faith in the image of man as the supreme vehicle of expression gave him a sense of kinship with Classical sculpture closer than that of any Renaissance artist. Among recent masters he admired Giotto, Masaccio, Donatello, and Jacopo della Quercia more than the men he knew as a youth in Florence. Yet his mind was decisively shaped by the cultural climate of Florence during the 1480s and 90s, both the Neo-Platonism of Marsilio Ficino and the religious reforms of Savonarola profoundly affected him. These conflicting influences reinforced the tensions within Michelangelo's personality, his violent changes of mood, his sense of being at odds with himself and with the world. As he conceived his statues to be bodies released from their marble prison, so the body was the earthly prison of the soul—noble, surely, but a prison nevertheless. This dualism of body and spirit endows his figures with their extraordinary *pathos*: outwardly calm, they seem stirred by an overwhelming psychic energy that has no release in physical action.

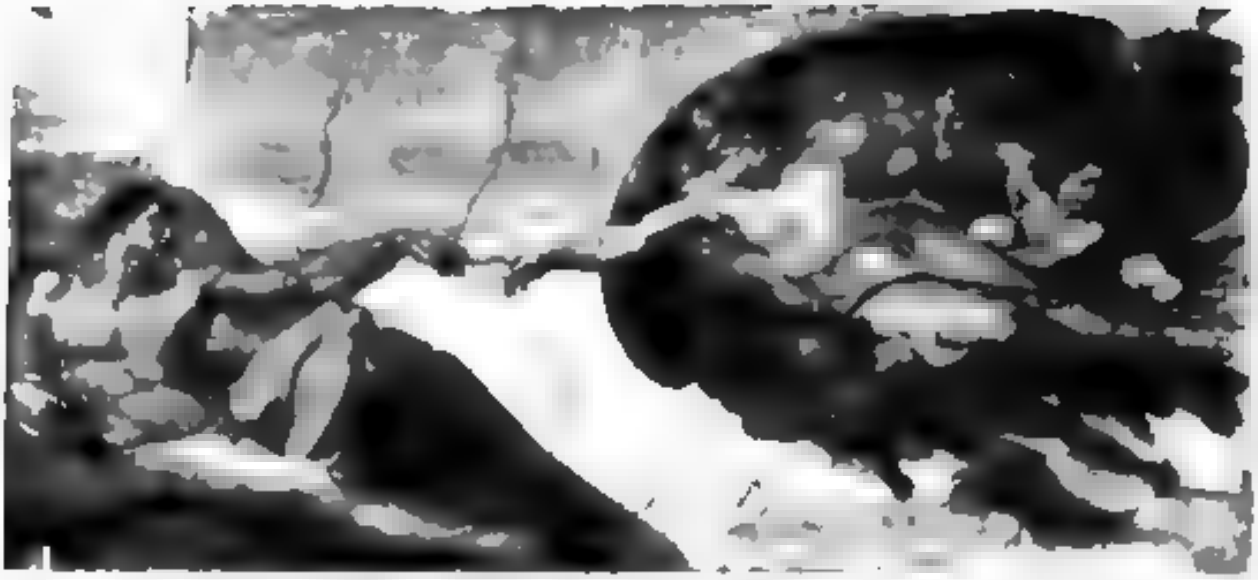
The unique qualities of Michelangelo's art are fully present in the *David* (fig. 334), the earliest monumental statue of the High Renaissance. Commissioned of the artist in 1501, when he was twenty-six, the huge figure was designed to be placed high above the ground, on one

of the buttresses of the Cathedral. The city fathers chose instead to put it in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, as the civic-patriotic symbol of the Florentine republic (see fig. 394). It has since been replaced by a modern copy. We can well understand their decision. The head of [illegible] being [illegible] Michelangelo's *David* looks challenging, not at [illegible] here, but the champion of a just cause. Vibrant with pent-up energy, he faces the world like Donatello's St. George (see fig. 474), although his [illegible] makes him [illegible] the older master's heroic [illegible] [illegible]. But the style of the figure presents major ideas [illegible] different from those of Renaissance humanism. Donatello [illegible] with Michelangelo had just spent several years in Rome [illegible] he had been deeply impressed with the emotionally charged muscular bodies of Hellenistic sculpture. Although his [illegible] (fig. 474) [illegible] he made the [illegible] [illegible] had not then been discovered, he [illegible] [illegible] were accessible to him. The [illegible] [illegible] through beauty and power [illegible] the [illegible] became part [illegible] Michelangelo [illegible] and [illegible] Renaissance artist [illegible] [illegible] taken from an ancient statue [illegible] [illegible] comparing [illegible] [illegible] suggestions which he *David* [illegible] [illegible] Michelangelo [illegible] [illegible] originally [illegible] [illegible] meant [illegible] he seen from [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] suggests a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] belonged to a series representing [illegible] [illegible] by his death of their greatest patron [illegible] apparently [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] figures [illegible] contrasting [illegible] called *Prime* [illegible] (fig. [illegible]) yielding [illegible] [illegible] the *Rebellious Slave* (fig. [illegible]) struggling [illegible] free himself. Perhaps the [illegible] allegorical meaning mattered less to them than the expressive content, so evocative of the Neo-Platonic image of the body as the earthly prison of the soul.

The tomb of Julius II remained unfinished when the pope interrupted Michelangelo's labors on the project at an early stage, half-forcing, half-cajoling the reluctant artist to fresco the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (fig. 338). Driven by his desire to resume work on the tomb, Michelangelo completed the entire ceiling in four years (1508–12). He produced a masterpiece of truly epochal importance. The ceiling is a huge organism with hundreds of figures rhythmically distributed within the painted architecture framework, dwarfing the fifteenth-century

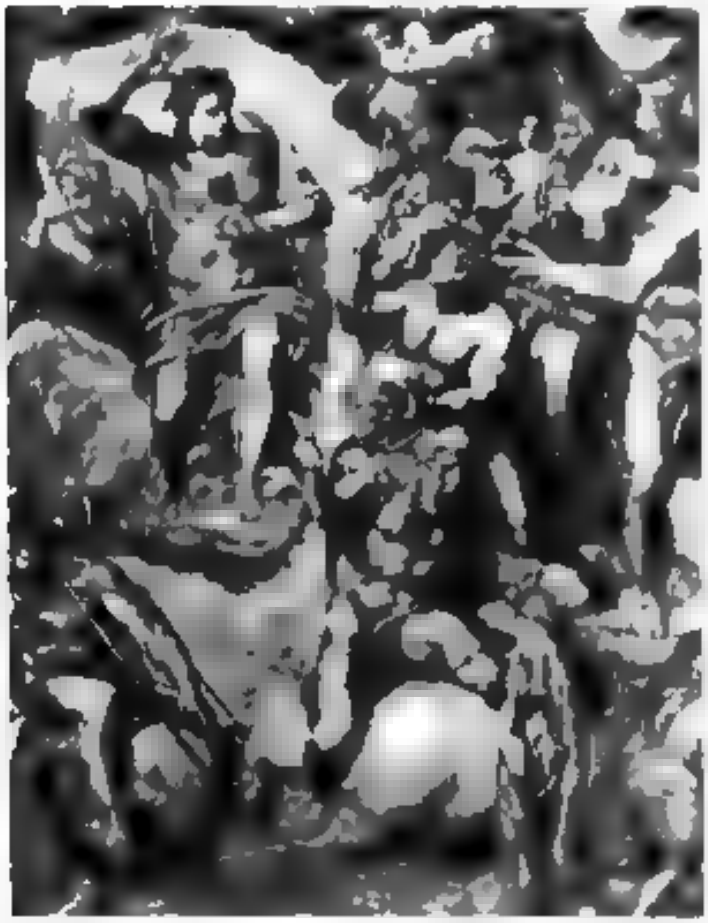
[illegible] Michelangelo's ceiling fresco and *Last Judgment*. The Vatican, Rome

[illegible] by its size and [illegible] more by its compelling [illegible] area subdivided by five parts. Figures are the scenes from Genesis, from the Creation of the World at the far end of the Chapel to the drunkenness of Noah. The theological scheme behind the choice of these scenes and the rich program accompanying them, the nude youths, the medallions, the prophets and sibyls, the scenes in the spandrels, has not been fully explained, but we know that it links the early history of man and the coming of Christ, the beginning of time and its end. The *Last Judgment* on the wall above the altar, although it was painted a quarter of a century later, must have been intended from the start. We do not know how much responsibility Michelangelo had for the program; he was not a man to submit to dictation, and the subject matter of the ceiling as a whole fits his cast of mind so perfectly that his own desires cannot have conflicted strongly with those of his patron. What greater theme could he wish than the creation of the World, Man's Fall, and his ultimate reconciliation with the Lord? A detailed survey of the Sistine Ceiling would fill a book; we shall have to be content with two of the four major scenes in the center portion. Of these, the *Creation of Adam* (fig. 339) must have stirred Michelangelo's imagination most deeply. It shows not the physical molding



above: [illegible] *The Creation of Adam*
detail of the Sistine Ceiling [illegible]

below: [illegible] *The Last Judgment*
detail of the left portion [illegible]



of Adam's body but the passage of the Divine spark [illegible] and thus achieves a dramatic [illegible] and God just [illegible] Quercia approximated [illegible] but with the [illegible] dynamism of Michelangelo's design [illegible] earth-bound Adam and the figure [illegible] through the sky. [illegible] even more dramatically [illegible] when we realize that Adam stretches [illegible] his Creator but toward [illegible] he sees yet [illegible] *The Fall* [illegible] *Adam and Eve in the Garden* [illegible] Michelangelo has been [illegible] perhaps [illegible] figures the quality [illegible] painted sculpture and integrate them with their architectural setting. [illegible] narrative scenes are the pictorial counterpart of [illegible] range of hues. [illegible] subtle gradations [illegible] the areas with the [illegible] brush strokes in the [illegible] and Masaccio. The *Expulsion* is particularly close to Masaccio's [illegible] pare fig. 444. [illegible] permits [illegible] glimpse the garland-bearing nude youths that accompany the main sections of the ceiling. These wonderfully animated figures, recurring at regular intervals, play an important role in Michelangelo's design. They form a kind of chain linking the Genesis scenes, yet their significance remains uncertain. Are they images of human souls? Do they represent the world of pagan antiquity? Whatever the answer, they seem to belong to the same category of being as the "slaves" from the Tomb of Julius II—again the symbolic intent is overpowered by the wealth of expression Michelangelo has poured into these figures.

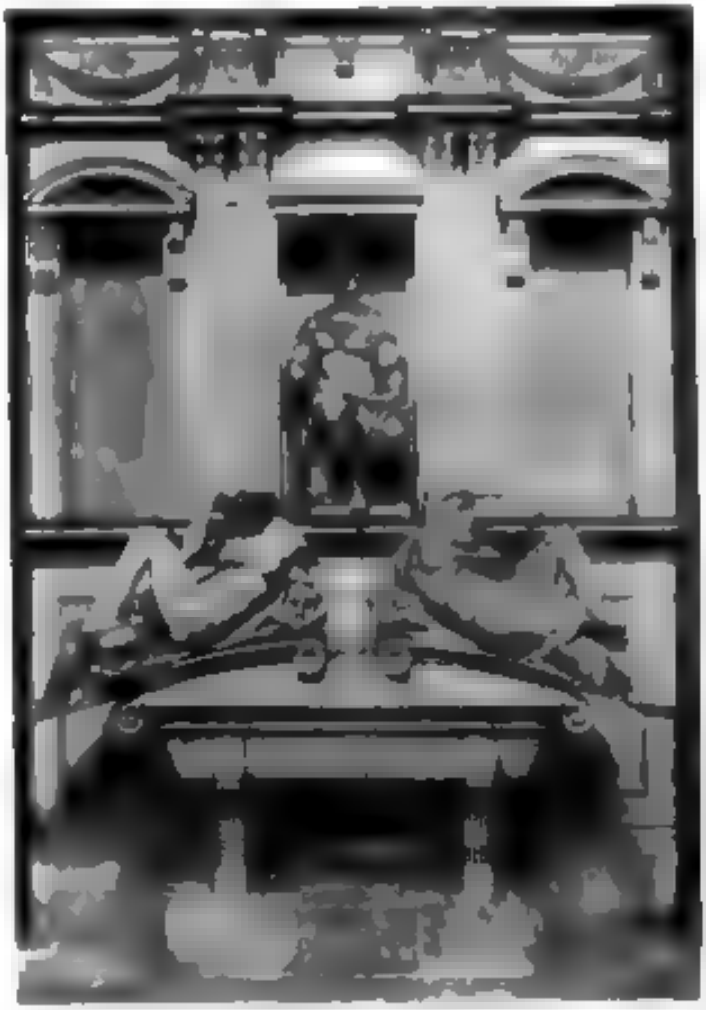
When Michelangelo returned to the Sistine Chapel in 1534, over twenty years later, the Western world was

enduring the spiritual and political crisis of the Reformation (see page 388). We perceive with shocking directness how the mood has changed as we turn from the radiant vitality of Michelangelo's ceiling fresco to the sombre vision of his *Last Judgment*: Mankind Blessed and Damned alike hoodlums together, high jumps pleading for mercy before a wrathful God, big 54 seated on a cloud just below the Lord is the Apostle Bartholomew, holding a human skin to represent his martyrdom (he had been flayed). The face in his hand, however, is not the saint's but Michelangelo's own. In his gloomy, sardonic self-portrait we hear a burden that was recognized in modern times: he artist has become the personification of guilt and unworthiness.

The interval between the Sistine Ceiling and the Last Judgment coincides with the papacies of [illegible] and [illegible] 54 both were members of the Medici family and preferred Florentine Michelangelo [illegible] Clement VII was [illegible] Florence, the Medici church. A century after Brunelleschi's revolution [illegible] of the sacristy (see page 54) [illegible] New Sacristy, the Magnificent [illegible] the Medici family [illegible] 54 [illegible] the decease[illegible] what he really wished like. Michelangelo's vast [illegible] remarked. What [illegible] the meaning [illegible] question, but countless times has never found a satisfactory answer. Michelangelo's plans for the Medici tombs underwent so many changes of form and program while the work was under way that the present state of his monument is can hardly be the final solution. Can be the dynamic process of design was arbitrarily halted by the artist's departure for Rome in 54. *Night* and *Day* were certainly designed for horizontal surfaces, not the curved sloping lids of the present sarcophagus. Perhaps they were not even intended for this particular tomb. Giuliano's niche is too narrow and too shallow to accommodate him comfortably. Other figures and reliefs were planned but never executed. Was their omission intentional or accidental? Despite all this, the tomb of Giuliano remains a compelling visual unit. The great triangle of the statues is held in place by a network of verticals and horizontals whose slender, sharp-edged forms heighten the roundness and weight of the sculpture. Giuliano, the ideal image of the prince, is a younger and more pensive counterpart of the Moses; the reclining figures, on the sarcophagus, resemble the slaves. Derived from ancient river gods [illegible] *Night* and *Day* embody the [illegible] more dramatically than any other work by Michelangelo [illegible] the brooding menace of *Night*, the dull [illegible] of *Day* are expressed with unforgettable grandeur.

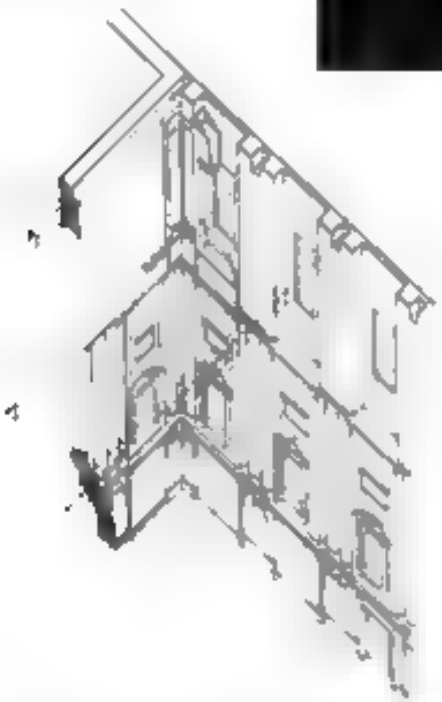
Concurrently with the New Sacristy, Michelangelo built the Laurentian Library [illegible] Lorenzo [illegible] the public [illegible] books and manuscripts belonging to the Medici family [illegible] Nothing [illegible] powers as a creative new architect [illegible] are displayed in the library. Its the stairc

54. Michelangelo [illegible] Medici [illegible] 54. Marble, height [illegible] figure [illegible] New [illegible]



right: 544. MICHELANGELO. Vestibule of the Laurentian Library, Florence. Begun 1524; staircase designed 1558–59.

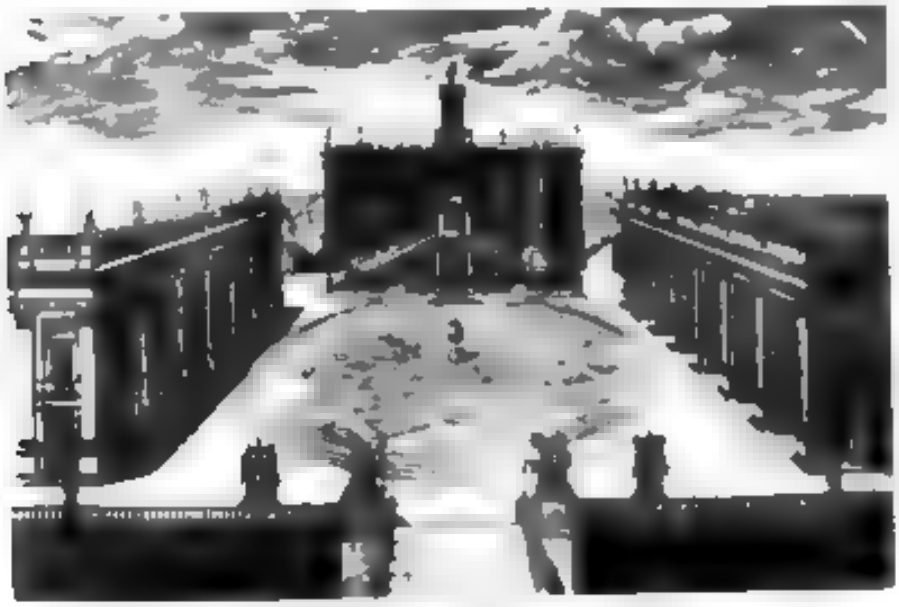
below: 543. Structural system of the Library Vestibule (after Ackerman).



ards of the 1420s based on the classical ideal of Bramante: everything here is wrong. The pediment above the door is broken; the pilasters of the niches taper downward; the columns belong to no recognizable order; the scroll brackets sustain nothing. Most paradoxical, however, from the point of view of established practice are the recessed columns: though structurally logical—the columns support heavy piers, which in turn support the roof beams (fig. 543)—this feature upsets a hallowed rule of architectural propriety—that in the classical post-and-lintel system the columns (or pilasters) and entablature must project [illegible] the wall [illegible] not be superimposed [illegible] to express their separate functions. The system could be reduced to a linear pattern as in the Palazzo Ruccellai (fig. 501), but no one before Michelangelo had dared to detach the orthogonal columns from the wall. The entire design demonstrates what Vasari, the artist's friend and biographer, had [illegible] when he wrote that Michelangelo [illegible] the hinges and chains of [illegible] common usage. The purpose of these innovations is [illegible] expressive rather than functional: the walls push forward between the columns, making the vestibule a kind of compression chamber where the beholder experiences an almost physical stress. Our unease is heightened by the blank stare of the empty niches and by the nightmarish way in which the stairs flow downward and outward so relentlessly that we wonder if we dare brave the current by mounting the steps.

During the last thirty years of his life, architecture became Michelangelo's main preoccupation. In 1537 he received the most ambitious commission of his career: to reshape the Campidoglio, the top of the Capitoline Hill, into a square with a monumental frame worthy of this venerable site, once the symbolic center of ancient Rome. Art at last could plan on a grand scale, and he took full advantage of the opportunity. Although not completed until long after his death, the project was carried out essentially as he had designed it—the most imposing civic center ever built, and a model for countless others. Pope Paul III took the initiative by transferring the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius (see fig. 237) to the Campidoglio, and Michelangelo designed its base; the statue became the focal point of his entire scheme.

placed at the apex of a gently rising oval mound. Three sides of the piazza are defined by palace facades, so that the visitor, after ascending the flight of steps on the north side, finds himself enclosed in a huge "outdoor room." The effect of the ensemble cannot be rendered by photographs. Even the best view, an engraving based on Michelangelo's design (fig. 544), conveys very imperfectly it shows the complete bilateral symmetry of the scheme and the energetic sense of progression along the main axis toward the Senators' Palace, but it distorts the shape of the piazza, which is not a rectangle but a trapezoid, the flanking facades converge towards the rear. This peculiarity was imposed on Michelangelo by the existing site, the Senators' Palace and the Conservators' Palace on the right were older buildings which had to be preserved behind newly designed exteriors, and they were placed at an angle of 80 instead of 90 degrees. But he turned this to an asset: what would have hindered a less imaginative architect, the divergence of the flanks makes the Senators' Palace seem larger than it is, dramatically dominating the piazza. The whole conception has the visual effectiveness of a stage set, note that in the engraving the New Palace on the left is a mere show-front, with nothing behind it. The New Palace's facade and its window on the opposite side are not shallow screens but vigorously three-dimensional structures (fig. 545) with [illegible] muscular juxtaposition of voids and solids [illegible] and vertical elements of this piece of architecture



544. Michelangelo
The Campidoglio
engraving by Lorenzo
Vaprio, after
Gabinetto Nazionale
delle Stampe, Rome

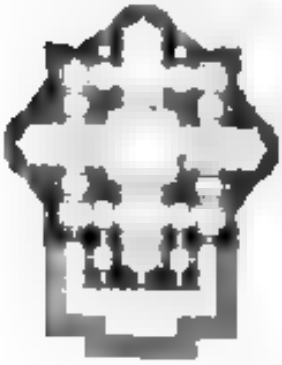
545. Michelangelo
The Conservators' Palace
Campidoglio, Rome
Designed c. 1545

ancient Roman antiquities. They share the striking feature of an open portico, which links the piazza and façades as a courtyard is related to the arcades of a cloister. The columns and stone beams of the porticoes are inscribed within a colossal order of pilasters, which supports a heavy cornice topped by a balustrade; the entire design is based on the classical post and lintel principle. We have encountered these elements on the façades of the Pazzi Chapel and Abbey of S. Andrea, and in the Tempietto of Bramante (see figs. 408–403, 419), but it remained for Michelangelo to weld them into a coherent system. For the Senators' Palace he employed the colossal order and balustrade above a tall basement which emphasizes the massive quality of the building. The single entrance at the top of the huge double ramped staircase seems to gather in the spatial forces set in motion by the statue mounted on the divergent flanks, and thus provides a dramatic climax for the visitor traversing the piazza.

With the Campidoglio, the colossal order became firmly established in the repertory of monumental architecture. Michelangelo himself used it again on the exterior of St. Peter's (fig. 546), with equally impressive results. The system of the Conservators' Palace, with windows now replacing the open loggias, and an attic instead of the balustrade, could here be adapted perfectly to the jagged contour of the plan. Unlike Bramante's many-layered elevation (see fig. 533), the colossal order emphasizes the compact body of the structure, thus setting off the dome more dramatically. The same desire for compactness and organic unity led Michelangelo to simplify the interior, without changing its centralized character (fig. 547). He integrated the complex spatial sequences of Bramante's plan (see fig. 533) into one cross-and-square and defined its massing by modeling the exterior of the eastern apse and projecting a portico. This part of his design was never carried out. The dome, however, although built largely after his death, reflects his ideas in every important respect. Bramante had planned his dome as a stepped hemisphere above a cylindrical drum, which would have seemed to press down

right: 546. MICHELANGELO
St. Peter's, Rome
seen from the west
1546–64 (dome completed by Giacomo della Porta, 1590)

below: 547. MICHELANGELO
Plan for St. Peter's



in the church below. Michelangelo's conveys the opposite sensation, a powerful thrust that draws energy upward from the main body of the structure. The high drum, the strongly projecting buttresses accented by double columns, the ribs, the raised curve of the cupola, the lantern, all contribute vertical lift at the expense of the horizontals. We may recall the serene, adhesive dome (see fig. 180) from which Michelangelo borrowed not only the double-shell construction but the solution to this problem. Yet the effects are immense different: the smooth planes of Brunelleschi's dome give no hint of the internal stresses, while Michelangelo's body is a sculptured shape in these contending forces, and relates them [illegible] in the rest of the building, the response of the parts [illegible] pressures be [illegible] taken up by the double [illegible] in the drum [illegible] the ribs and [illegible] in the lantern. The logic of this design is so persuasive that few domes but [illegible] have [illegible] acknowledged its [illegible].

Michelangelo's magnificent assurance in handling such problems as the Sistine ceiling and St. Peter's seems [illegible] as a mirror of the [illegible] *Judgment* [illegible] the most grandiose aspects of the Renaissance [illegible] perhaps [illegible] and grace [illegible] that [illegible] soaring Platonic bodies? In the [illegible] sculpture, the *Pietà* [illegible] (fig. 348), the grouping [illegible] the [illegible] had become [illegible] fragmentary [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] especially [illegible] [illegible] High Renaissance [illegible] the [illegible] the master's self-portrait, the *Pietà Rondanini* [illegible] offers an intense [illegible] redemption is addressed [illegible] human [illegible].

If Michelangelo exemplifies the [illegible] genius, Raphael belongs [illegible] as [illegible] the opposite type, the artist as a man of the world. The contrast between the [illegible] was as great to their contemporaries as it is to us. Although each had his partisans, both enjoyed equal fame. Today our sympathies are less evenly divided.

> In the room the women come and go
> Talking of Michelangelo.
>
> T. S. Eliot

So do a lot of us, including the authors of historical novels and fictionalized biographies, while Raphael is usually discussed only by historians of art. The younger master's career is too much of a success story, his work too replete with seemingly effortless grace, to match the tragic heroism of Michelangelo. As an innovator Raphael seems to contribute less than Leonardo, Bramante, and Michelangelo, the three artists whose achievements were basic to his. Yet he is the central painter of the High Renaissance; our conception of the entire style rests

348. Michelangelo, *Pietà Rondanini*, c. 1555–64. Marble, height [illegible]. Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

more on his work than on any other master's. The genius of Raphael was a unique power of synthesis that enabled him to merge the qualities of Leonardo and Michelangelo, creating an art at once lyric and dramatic, pictorially rich and sculpturally solid. This power is already

549 Raphael, *Madonna [illegible]*, c. 1504. Panel, [illegible]. Pitti Palace, Florence.

present in the first works he made in Florence (1504–1508) after completing his apprenticeship with Perugino. The meditative calm of the *Madonna dei Granduca* (fig. 549) still reflects the style of his teacher (compare fig. 520). But the forms are ampler and enveloped in Leonardesque *sfumato*; the Virgin, grave and tender, makes us think of the *Mona Lisa* without engendering any of her mystery.

Michelangelo's influence on Raphael asserted itself somewhat later. Its full force can be felt only in Raphael's Roman works. At the time Michelangelo began to paint the Sistine Ceiling, Julius II summoned the younger artist from Florence and commissioned him to decorate a series of rooms in the Vatican Palace. The first room, the Stanza della Segnatura, may have housed the pope's library, and Raphael's cycle of frescoes on its walls and ceiling refers to the four domains of learning: theology, philosophy, law, and the arts. Of these, *The School of Athens* (fig. 550) has long been acknowledged as Raphael's masterpiece and the perfect embodiment of the classical spirit of the High Renaissance. Its subject is "the Athenian school of thought": a group of famous Greek philosophers gathered around Plato and Aristotle, each in a characteristic pose or activity. Raphael must have already seen the Sistine Ceiling, then nearing completion. He evidently owes to Michelangelo the expressive energy, the physical power, and the dramatic grouping of his figures. Yet Raphael has not simply borrowed Michelangelo's repertory of gestures and poses; he has absorbed it into his own style and thereby given it different meaning. Body and spirit, action and emotion, are now balanced harmoniously, and every member of this great assembly plays his role with magnificent purposefulness. The total conception of *The School of Athens* suggests the spirit of Leonardo's *Last Supper* rather than that of the Sistine Ceiling. This holds true of the way Raphael makes each philosopher reveal "the intention of his soul," distinguishes the relations among individuals and groups, and links them in forms of rhythm. A Leonardesque is the centralized, symmetrical design and the interdependence of the figures and their architectural setting. But compared with the hall of the *Last Supper*, Raphael's classicalized free-vault, lofty dome, barrel vault, and colossal statuary share far more of the compositional burden inspired by Bramante (seems to be an advance view of his new St. Peter's). In geometric precision and spatial grandeur, he brings to a climax the tradition begun by Masaccio (see fig. 492), carried much by Ghiberti, Uccello, and Piero della Francesca, and transmitted to Raphael by his teacher Perugino.

Raphael never again set so splendid an architectural stage. To create pictorial space, he relied increasingly on the movement of human figures rather than perspective vistas. In the *Galatea* (fig. 551), the subject is again classical: the beautiful nymph Galatea is pursued by Polyphemus, the giant of Greek mythology, but here the gay and sensuous aspects of antiquity are celebrated in contrast to the austere idealism of *The School of Athens*. Its composition recalls *The Birth of Venus* (color plate 16), a picture Raphael knew from his Florentine days, yet their very resemblance emphasizes the profound dissimilarities. Raphael's full-bodied, dynamic figures take on the expansive spiral movement from the vigorous *contrapposto* of Botticelli's picture; the movement is not generated by the figures but imposed on them from without, so that it never detaches itself from the surface of the canvas.

Early in his career, Raphael had already shown a special talent for portraiture. It is another tribute to his genius for synthesis that he combined the realism of fifteenth-century portraits (such as fig. 519) with the human ideal of the High Renaissance (which, in the *Mona Lisa*, nearly overpowers the sitter's individuality). Raphael did not flatter or conventionalize his subjects: surely Pope Leo X (color plate 40) looks here no handsomer than he did in reality. His sullen, heavy-jowled features have been recorded in concrete, almost Flemish detail. Nevertheless, the pontiff has a commanding presence: his aura of power and dignity emanating more from his inner being than from his exalted office. Raphael, we feel, has not falsified the sitter's personality but

[illegible] Raphael [illegible] Rome

[illegible]

[illegible] Leo X [illegible] his reasons heightened by [illegible] light, color and texture.

The distinction between Early and High Renaissance art is so marked in Florence and Rome, is far less sharp in Venice. Giorgione (1478–1510), the best Venetian painter belonging to the new sixteenth century, left the [illegible] of Giovanni Bellini during the final years of his short career. Among his very few mature works, *The Tempest* (colorplate 40) is here the most individual and the most enigmatic. Our first glance may show us no more than a particularly charming reflection of Bellinesque qualities familiar from the *St. Francis in Ecstasy* (colorplate 35) and the *St. Zaccaria Altar* (fig. 328). The difference is one of mood, and this mood in *The Tempest* is subtly pervasively pagan. Bellini's landscape is meant to be seen through the eyes of St. Francis, as a piece of God's creation. Giorgione's figures, by contrast, do not interpret the scene for us; belonging themselves to nature, they are passive witnesses, victims almost, of the thunderstorm about to engulf them. Who are they? So far, the young soldier and the nude mother

with her babe have refused to disclose their identity and the subject of the picture remains unknown. The present title is a confession of embarrassment, yet it is not inappropriate for the only "action" is that of the tempest. Whatever its intended meaning, the scene is like an enchanted idyl, a dream of pastoral beauty soon to be swept away. Only poets had hitherto captured this kind of nostalgic reverie, now it entered the repertory of the painter. *The Tempest* initiates what was to become an important new tradition.

Giorgione died before he could explore in full the sensuous lyrical world he had created in *The Tempest*. He bequeathed this task to Titian (1488/90–1576), an

Titian, Madonna with Members of the Pesaro Family, [illegible] Venice

artist of comparable gifts who was decisively influenced by Giorgione and who dominated Venetian painting for the next half-century. Titian's *Bacchanal* of about 1518 (colorplate 4) is frankly pagan, inspired by an ancient author's description of such a revel. The landscape, rich in contrasts of cool and warm tones, has all the poetry of Giorgione, but the figures are of another breed: active and muscular, they move with a joyous freedom that recalls Raphael's *Galatea*. By this time, many of Raphael's compositions had been engraved (see fig. 9), and from these reproductions Titian became familiar with the Roman High Renaissance. A number of the celebrants in his *Bacchanal* also reflect the influence of classical art. Titian's approach to antiquity, however, is very different from Raphael's. He visualizes the realm of classical myth as part of the natural world, inhabited not by animated statues but by beings of flesh and blood. The figures of the *Bacchanal* are idealized beyond everyday reality just enough to persuade us that they belong to a long-lost golden age. They invite us to share the classical scene in a way that makes Raphael's *Galatea* seem cold and remote by comparison.

This quality of intense animation reappears in many of Titian's religious paintings, such as the *Madonna with Members of the Pesaro Family* (fig. 55). Although we recognize the Madonna as a variant of the Sacra Conversazione type (fig. 53), Titian has brought it down to earth by replacing the saints with members of a real family. The Virgin is seen in a great, barrel-vaulted interior, a High Renaissance contemporary of the architecture in Raphael's *Madonna of the Fish* (fig. 8). Because the view is high, the open sky is visible in the upper right corner. The dark portal and columns appear to have been added much later, except for the kneeling donors. Its figure is in motion, turning, leaning, gesturing; the effect is as if a flag were a moment ago in a change in the storm. Yet the design remains harmoniously self-contained despite the strong element of drama. Brilliant sunlight makes every color and texture sparkle, in keeping with the joyous spirit of the painting. The only hint of tragedy is the cross of the Passion held by an angel-putto, hidden by clouds from the participants in the *Sacra Conversazione* but not from us, a reminder adding poignancy to the scene.

After Raphael's death, Titian became the most sought-after portraitist of the age. His proud, glorious gifts evident in the donors' portraits in the altar just discussed, are even more striking in the *Man with the Glove* (fig. 56). The dreamy intimacy of his portrait, with its soft outlines and deep shadows, still reflects the style of Giorgione. Lost in thought, the young man seems quite unaware of us; the slight melancholy in his features conjures up the poetic appeal of *The Tempest*. The breadth and power of form, however, goes far beyond Giorgione. In Titian's hands, the possibilities of oil technique—rich, creamy highlights, deep, dark tones that are yet trans-

parent and delicately modulated — now are fully realized the separate brush strokes hardly visible before become increasingly free. We can see the rapid pace of this development when we turn from the *Man with the Glove* to the group portrait *Paul III and His Grandsons* (fig. 554) painted a quarter century later. The quick sketching strokes here endow the entire canvas with the spontaneity of a first sketch; some parts of it are in fact unfinished, even though the formal composition is derived from Raphael's *Leo X* (plate 10). In the rest, technique Titian's uncanny grasp of human character also comes out: the tiny figure of the pope shrinks, the whole image dominates his tall, aristocratic with awesome authority. Comparing these portraits (figs. 553 and 554), we see that a change of personal technique is no mere surface phenomenon; it always reflects a change in the artist's vision. This correspondence is even clearer in *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (fig. 555), a masterpiece of Titian's old age. The shapes emerging from the semi-darkness now contrast with light and color; despite the heavy impasto, the shimmering surfaces have lost every trace of material solidity and seem transparent, aglow from within. In consequence, the violent physical action has been in fact suspended. What impressionistic minds [illegible] the drama but the strange mystic serenity [illegible]

above 554 TITIAN. *Paul III and His Grandsons*. 1546–48. 5' 3" × 4' 9". National Museum, Naples

right 555 TITIAN. *Christ Crowned with Thorns*. c. 1570. 9' 2" × 6'. Pinakothek, Munich

4. Mannerism and Other Trends

What happened after the High Renaissance? Fifty years ago the question would simply have been answered: after the High Renaissance came the Late Renaissance, which was dominated by shadowy imitators of the great masters of the previous generation, and ended with the Baroque style emerged at the end of the century. Although today we take a far more positive view of the artists who reached maturity around 1520, and generally discard the terms Late Renaissance as misleading, we have not yet agreed on a name for the seventy-five years separating the High Renaissance from the Baroque. Any one label implies that the period has one style, and nobody has succeeded in defining such a style. But if there is no single style in the years 1520–1600, how, why should this span be regarded as a period at all, except in the negative sense of an interval between two high points, as the Renaissance viewed the Middle Ages? Perhaps this difficulty can be resolved by thinking of this period as a time of crisis that gave rise to several competing tendencies rather than one dominant idea, and as a time full of inner contradictions much like the present, and thus peculiarly fascinating to us.

Among the various trends in art after the High Renaissance, that of Mannerism is the most discussed today. But in scope and significance the term remains problematic. Its original meaning was narrow and derogatory, designating a group of mid-sixteenth-century painters in Rome and Florence whose self-consciously artificial mannered style was derived from certain aspects of Raphael and Michelangelo. More recently, the cold and rather barren formalism of their work has been recognized as a special form of a wider movement that placed inner vision, however subjective or fantastic, above the authority of nature and the ancients. Some scholars have broadened the definition of Mannerism to include even the later style of Michelangelo himself, which is rather like calling Phidias a classicist. The first signs of disquiet in the High Renaissance appear shortly before 1520, in the work of some young painters in Florence. By 1521 Rosso Fiorentino, the most eccentric member of this group, expressed the new attitude with full conviction in *The Descent from the Cross* (colorplate 42). Nothing has prepared us for the shocking impact of this latticework of spidery forms spread out against the dark sky. The figures are agitated yet rigid, as if congealed by a sudden icy blast; even the draperies have brittle, sharp-edged planes. The acid colors and the light, brilliant but uneasy, reinforce the nightmarish effect of the scene. Here is what amounts to a revolt against the classical balance of High Renaissance art, a profoundly disquieting, willful, visionary style that indicates a deep-seated inner anxiety. Vasari's statement that Rosso committed suicide is probably untrue, yet seems plausible enough as we look at this picture. Pontormo, a friend of Rosso, had an equally strange personality: introspective and shy, he shut himself up in his quarters for weeks on end, inaccessible even to his friends. His wonderfully sensitive drawings, such as the *Study of a Young Man* (fig. 556), well reflect these facets of his character: the sitter, moodily gazing into space, seems to shrink from the outer world as if scarred by the trauma of some half-remembered experience.

Jacopo Pontormo, *Study of a Young Man*, c. 1520. Sanguine drawing, 10½ × 7½ in. (26.7 × 19.1 cm). Florence

This "anticlassical" style of Rosso and Pontormo, the first phase of Mannerism, was soon replaced by another aspect of the movement. This was less overtly anti-classical, less laden with subjective emotion, but equally far removed from the confident, stable world of the High Renaissance. Parmigianino's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 457) suggests no psychological tumult: the artist's appearance is bland and well groomed, veiled by a delicate Leonardesque sfumato. The distortions too are objective, not arbitrary, for the picture records what Parmigianino saw as he gazed at his reflection in a convex mirror. Yet why was he so fascinated by his own image through the looking glass? Earlier painters who used the same device as an aid to observation had [illegible] the distortions [illegible] (pp. 448, 450) except when the mirror image was [illegible] with a direct view of the same subject [illegible] glass. Parmigianino however substitutes his own [illegible] of the mirror itself, even employing a special [illegible] panel [illegible] panel, but he perhaps wanted to demonstrate that here is the single correct reading, that distortion is as natural as the normal appearance of things. [illegible] artistically [illegible] the detachment [illegible] change [illegible] Vasari [illegible] that Parmigianino [illegible] the end of his brief career he died [illegible] was obsessed with alchemy, also became a [illegible] neglected, and a [illegible] savage [illegible] evaluation [illegible] strange [illegible] *The Madonna with the Long Neck* [illegible] name after he had returned [illegible] from several years sojourn in Rome. He had been deeply impressed with the [illegible] of Raphael's [illegible] painting (fig. 456), but [illegible] the court master's figures into a [illegible] breed, their limbs elongated and [illegible] with effortless [illegible] embodying an [illegible] of beauty as remote from nature as any Byzantine [illegible]. The setting is equally arbitrary, with a gigantic and apparently purposeless row of columns rising behind the tiny figure of a prophet. Parmigianino seems determined to prevent us from measuring anything in this picture by the standards of ordinary experience. Here we have approached that artificial style for which the term Mannerism was originally coined. *The Madonna with the Long Neck* is a vision of unearthly perfection, its cold elegance no less compelling than the violence of Rosso's *Deposition*.

Keyed to a sophisticated, even rarified, taste, the elegant phase of Italian Mannerism appealed particularly to such aristocratic patrons as the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of France, and soon became international (see page 401). The style produced splendid portraits like that of Eleonora of Toledo, the wife of Cosimo I de Medici, by Cosimo's court painter Agnolo Bronzino (fig. 458). The sitter here appears as the member of an exalted social caste, not as an individual personality, congealed into immobility behind the barrier of her lavishly ornate costume. Eleanora seems more akin

457 PARMIGIANINO: *Self-Portrait*, 1524. Panel, diameter 9". Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

458 [illegible]

to Parmigianino's *Madonna*: compare the hands—hard to ordinary flesh and blood.

In Venice, Mannerism appeared only toward the middle of the century. Its leading exponent, Tintoretto (1518–94), was an artist of proud glowing energy and inventiveness, combining qualities of both Venetian classical and elegant phases in his work. He reportedly wanted to paint like Titian and to design like Michelangelo, but his relationship to these two masters, though real enough, was as peculiar as Parmigianino's was to Raphael. *Christ Before Pilate* (color plate 44), one of his many huge canvases for the Scuola di San Rocco, the home of the Confraternità di St. Roch, contrasts tellingly with Titian's *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (fig. 555): the bold brushwork, the glowing colors, and the sudden lights and shadows show what Tintoretto owed to the older artist, and indeed the entire composition recalls the *Madonna with Members of the Pesaro Family* (see fig. 552). Yet the total effect is unmistakably Mannerist: the feverish emotionalism of the flickering, unreal light and the ghostly Christ, pensive and motionless among the agitated Michelangelesque figures, reminds us of Rosso's *Descent*. Even more spectacular is Tintoretto's last major work, *The Last Supper* (fig. 556). This canvas denies in every possible way the classic values of Leonardo's version of the subject, painted almost exactly a century before. Christ, to be sure, still occupies the center of the composition, but now the table is placed at right angles to the picture plane in exaggerated perspective. His small figure in the middle distance is distinguishable mainly by the halo, and Tintoretto has gone to great lengths to give the event an everyday setting, cluttering the scene with attendants, containers of food and drink, and domestic animals. But this serves only to contrast dramatically the natural with the supernatural—for there are also celestial attendants, the smoke from the blazing oil lamp miraculously turns into clouds of angels that converge upon Christ, just as he offers his body and blood in the forms of bread and wine to the disciples. Tintoretto's main concern has been to make visible the institution of the Eucharist, the transubstantiation of earthly food into Divine food. He barely hints at the human drama of Judas' betrayal, so important to Leonardo: Judas can be seen isolated on the near side of the table, but his role is so insignificant that he could almost be mistaken for an attendant.

The last—and perhaps the greatest—Mannerist painter was also trained in the Venetian School. Domenikos Theotocopoulos (1541–1614), nicknamed El Greco, came from Crete, which was then under Venetian rule. His earliest training must have been from a Cretan artist still working in the Byzantine tradition. Soon after 1560 El Greco arrived in Venice and quickly absorbed the lessons of Titian, Tintoretto, and other masters. A decade later, in Rome, he came to know the art of Raphael, Michelangelo, and the Central Italian Mannerists. In 1576–77 he went to Spain, settling in Toledo for the rest of his life. Yet he remained an alien in his new homeland, although the spiritual climate of the Counter Reformation, which was especially intense in Spain, may

[illegible] Charles [illegible] roi de France [illegible]

account for the exalted emotionalism of his mature work contemporary Spanish painting was too provincial to impress him. His style had already been formed before he arrived in Toledo nor did he ever forget his Byzantine background. With the very end of his career he signed his pictures in Greek. The largest and most resplendent of El Greco's masterpieces, *The Burial of Count Orgaz* (fig. 560, color plate 43), the huge canvas in the church of Santo Tome honors a medieval benefactor so pious that St. Stephen and St. Augustine miraculously appeared at his funeral and themselves lowered the body into his grave. The burial took place in 1323, but El Greco represents it as a contemporary event, portraying among the attendants many of the local nobility and clergy. The dazzling display of color and texture in the armor and vestments could hardly be surpassed by Titian himself. Directly above the counts soul, a small cloud like figure, like the angel in Rembrandt's great *Supper at Emmaus*, carries it to heaven as an angel. The celestial assembly filling the upper half of the picture is painted with a different technique from the lower half. Instead of opaque impasto, drapery takes part in the weeping flame like movement toward the divine light. Christ, Peter, even more than in Tintoretto's art, has an aspect of Mannerism. Instead of a single [illegible] we see the work [illegible] like an enormous window. It fills one entire wall of its chapel. The bottom of the canvas is 6 feet above the floor, and as the chapel is only about 8 feet deep, we must look sharply upward to see the upper half of the picture. El Greco's evident foreshortening is calculated to achieve an illusion of boundless space above, while the lower foreground figures appear as if on a stage (their feet cut off by the moulding just below the picture). The large stone plaque also belongs to the ensemble representing the front of the sarcophagus into which the two saints lower the body of the saint. It thus explains the action within the picture. The beholder then perceives three levels of reality: the grave itself supposedly seen at the [illegible] level and [illegible] by an actual tomb slab, the contemporary re-enactment of the burial, and the celestial glory witnessed by the participants. By these changes El Greco's task here was analogous to Masaccio's in his *Tribute Money*, seeking as he does the contrast measures the dynamism [illegible]. Western art since the Early Renaissance [illegible] El Greco's Venetian training came his mastery of portraiture. We generally know little of his relations with his sitters but in his memorable portrait of Fray Hortensio Paravicino (fig. 561) the sitter, an important scholar and poet, was also a friend whom El Greco's genius immortalized. This portrait is an artistic descendant of Raphael's *Man with the*

[illegible] Chapel with The Burial of Count Orgaz, [illegible] El Greco, Toledo, Spain. [illegible] color plate 43

[illegible] Paravicino, [illegible] Museum [illegible], Boston

above: 563. [illegible] *Assumption of the Virgin*, detail. [illegible] Fresco. Dome, Parma Cathedral.

right: 563. CORREGGIO: *Jupiter and Io*, c. 1532. Oil, [illegible] × 27". Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Glove (see fig. 554) and the portraits of Pontormo (see fig. 556) yet the mood is one of neither reverie nor withdrawal. Parmigianino's fragile, expressive hands and the pained face, with its sensitive mouth and burning eyes, convey a spiritual ardor of compelling intensity. Such, we like to think, were the saints of the Counter Reformation—mystics and intellectuals at the same time.

If Mannerism produced the personalities that today seem most "modern," El Greco's fame is greater now than it ever was before; its dominance was not uncontested in the sixteenth century. Another trend that also emerged about 1520 anticipated so many features of the Baroque style that it might be labeled Proto-Baroque. Correggio (1489/94–1534), the most important representative of this trend, was a phenomenally gifted North Italian painter who spent most of his brief career in Parma. He absorbed the influence of Leonardo and the Venetians as a youth, then of Michelangelo and Raphael, but their ideal of classical balance did not [illegible] of the Assumption of the Virgin in the dome of Parma (cashed a [illegible] fig. 563) is a masterpiece of illusionistic perspective: a vast, luminous space filled with soaring figures. Although they move with such exhilarating ease that the force of gravity seems not to exist for them, they are healthy, energetic beings of flesh and blood, not disembodied spirits, and they frankly delight in their weightless condition. For Correggio there was little difference between spiritual and physical ecstasy, as we see by comparing the *Assumption of the Virgin* with his *Jupiter and Io* (fig. 563), one canvas in a series illustrating the Loves of the Classical Gods. The nymph, swooning in the embrace of a cloudlike Jupiter, is the direct kin of the jubilant angels in the fresco. Leonardesque *sfumato*, combined with a Venetian sense of color and texture, produces an effect of exquisite voluptuousness that far exceeds Titian's in his *Bacchanal* (see colorplate 41). Correggio had no immediate successors nor any lasting influence on the art of his century, but toward 1600 his work began to be widely appreciated. For the next century and a half he was admired as the equal of Raphael and Michelangelo—while the Mannerists, so important before, were largely forgotten.

A third trend in sixteenth-century painting in Italy

[illegible] be associated with the towns along the northern edge of the Lombard plain, such as Brescia and Verona. A number of artists in that region worked in a style based on Giorgione and Titian, but with a stronger interest in everyday reality. One of the earliest and most attractive of these North Italian Realists was Girolamo Savoldo from Brescia, whose *St Matthew* (fig. 564) must be contemporary with Parmigianino's *Madonna with the Long Neck*. The broad, fluid manner of painting reflects the Venetian influence of Titian, yet the great Venetian master would never have placed the Evangelist in so thoroughly domestic an environment. The humble scene in the background shows the saint at his task, the lowly angel indeed, and makes the presence of the angel doubly miraculous. [illegible] tendency [illegible] even among ramshackle buildings and simple people had been characteristic of "Late Gothic" painting. Savoldo must have acquired it from that source. The nocturnal lighting, too, recalls such Northern pictures as the *Nativity* by Geertgen tot Sint Jans (fig. 454). But the main source of illumination in Geertgen's panel is the divine radiance of the Christ Child, and Savoldo uses an ordinary oil lamp for his similarly magical, intimate effect.

In the work of Paolo Veronese (1528–88), North Italian Realism takes on the splendor of a pageant. Born and trained in Verona, Veronese became after Tintoretto the most important painter in Venice, although utterly unlike each other in style, both found favor with the public. The contrast is sharply evident if we compare Tintoretto's *Last Supper* and Veronese's *Christ in the House of*

left 564. Girolamo Savoldo, *St Matthew*, c. 1535–36? 40 × 49. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Marquand Fund, 1913)

below 565. Paolo Veronese, *Christ in the House of Levi*, 1573. 18 × 42. Academy, Venice

Feast (fig. 565), which deals with a similar subject, Veronese avoids any reference to the supernatural. His symmetrical composition harks back to Leonardo and Raphael; the festive mood of the scene reflects Titian's work of the 1520s (compare fig. 554), and at first the picture looks like a High Renaissance work by thirty years or so. Yet we miss one essential, the elevated ideal conception of man underlying the work of High Renaissance masters. Veronese paints a sumptuous banquet, a true feast for the eyes, but in the depiction of man's soul he is significantly weak. We are not even sure which event from the life of Christ the painter originally meant to depict. Did he paint the canvas as present, then, or after he had been summoned by the religious tribunal to the inquisition on the charge of filling his picture with buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs, and similar vulgarities unsuited to its sacred character? The account of the trial shows that the tribunal, though the painting represented the Last Supper, Veronese's testimony never made clear whether it was the Last Supper or the Supper in the House of Simon. To him apparently the distinction made little difference; in the end he settled on a convenient third title, the Supper in the House of Levi, which permitted him to leave the offending incidents in place. He argued that they were no more objectionable than the nudity of Christ and the heavenly host in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, but the tribunal failed to see the analogy: in the Last Judgment it was not necessary to paint garments, and there is nothing in those figures that is not spiritual. The inquisition, of course, concerned only the moral propriety of Veronese's art; not its concern with spiritual depth. His suggestive refusal to admit the justice of the charge by insistence on his right to introduce directly observed details, however inappropriate, and his indifference to the subject of the picture, spring from an attitude so startlingly extraordinary that it was not generally accepted until the nineteenth century. The painter's domain, Veronese seems to say, is the entire visible world, and here he acknowledges no authority other than his senses.

Italian sculpture of the late sixteenth century fails to match the achievements of the painters. Perhaps Michelangelo's overpowering personality discouraged new talent in this field, but the dearth of challenging new tasks is a more plausible reason. In any case, the most interesting sculpture of this period was produced outside of Italy, and in Florence, after the death of Michelangelo, the leading sculptor was a Northerner. The anticlassical phase of Mannerism, represented by the style of Rosso and Pontormo, has no sculptural counterpart; the work of the Spaniard Alonso Berruguete most closely approaches it. Berruguete had been associated with the founders of the anticlassical trend in Florence around 1520; his *St. John the Baptist* (fig. 566), one of the reliefs carved twenty years later for the choir stalls of Toledo Cathedral, still reflects this experience. The angular emaciated body, clawlike hands, and fixed, wide-eyed stare recall the otherworldly expressiveness of Rosso's *Descent* (see colorplate 42). El Greco must have felt a sense of kinship with Berruguete's art.

The second, elegant phase of Mannerism appears in countless sculptural examples in Italy and abroad. The best known representative of the style is Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71), the Florentine goldsmith and sculptor who owes much of his fame to his picaresque autobiography. The gold saltcellar for King Francis I of France (fig. 567), Cellini's only major work in precious metal to escape destruction in war, displays the virtues and limitations of his art. The bold contrasts obviously the lesser function of this as a table conversation piece. Because salt comes from the sea and pepper from the land, Cellini placed the boat-shaped salt container under the guardianship of Neptune, while the pepper in a tiny triumphal arch is watched over by a personification of Earth. On the base are figures representing the four seasons and the four parts of the day. The entire object thus reflects the cosmic significance of the Medici Tombs (compare

566. Alonso Berruguete, *St. John the Baptist*, 1526–32. Wood, [illegible] cm. [illegible]

fig. 54[illegible]), but on this miniature scale Cellini's program turns into playful fancy: he wants to impress us with his ingenuity and skill, and to charm us with the grace of his figures. The allegorical significance of the design is simply a pretext for this display of virtuosity. When he tells us, for instance, that Neptune and Earth each have a beard and a straight leg to signify mountains and plains, we can only marvel at so complete a divorce of form from content. Despite his boundless admiration for Michelangelo, his elegant figures on the salt cellar are as elongated, smooth, and languid as Parmigianino's (see plate 43). Parmigianino was strongly influenced by Francesco Primaticcio, Cellini's rival at the court of Francois I. A man of many talents, Primaticcio designed the elaborate decoration of some of the main rooms in the royal château of Fontainebleau, combining painted scenes and richly sculptured stucco framework. The sculpture, in intricate stucco, shows us exactly the same elongated, sensitive, languid figures that we admire on Cellini's salt cellar. Although the stucco figures are not burdened with any specific allegorical significance, they recall the nudes on the salt cellar. Like them, they perform a task for which they seem equally unfitted: they reinforce the piers that sustain the ceiling. These women caryatids epitomize the studied nonchalance of the second phase of Mannerism.

Cellini, Primaticcio, and the other Italians employed by Francois made Mannerism the dominant style in mid-sixteenth-century France, and their influence went far beyond the royal court. It must have reached a young sculptor from Douai, called Jean de Boulogne, who went to Italy when he was about twenty-six for further training and stayed to become, under the Italianized name Giovanni Bologna, the most important sculptor in Florence during the last third of the century. His most famous marble group, *The Rape of the Sabine Woman* (fig. 56), was given particular acclaim and was to have a place of honor near the Loggia Vecchia. The subject drawn from the legends of ancient Rome seems an odd choice for statuary. The city's founders, an adventurous band of men from across the sea, had gone to great lengths to find wives among their neighbors, the Sabines, and resorted at last to a trick. Having invited the entire Sabine tribe into Rome for a peaceful festival, they fell upon them with arms, took the women away by force, and thus ensured the future of their race. Considering the nature of the theme, Giovanni Bologna's work tempts us to cite Samuel Johnson's famous remark on women preachers (who reminded him of a dog walking on its hind legs): "It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." Actually, the artist may not deserve such ridicule, for one of his contemporaries informs us that Giovanni Bologna carved the group with no specific subject in mind, to silence those critics who doubted his ability as a monumental sculptor in marble. He selected what seemed to him the most difficult feat: three figures of contrasting character united in a common action. Their identities were disputed among the learned connoisseurs of the day

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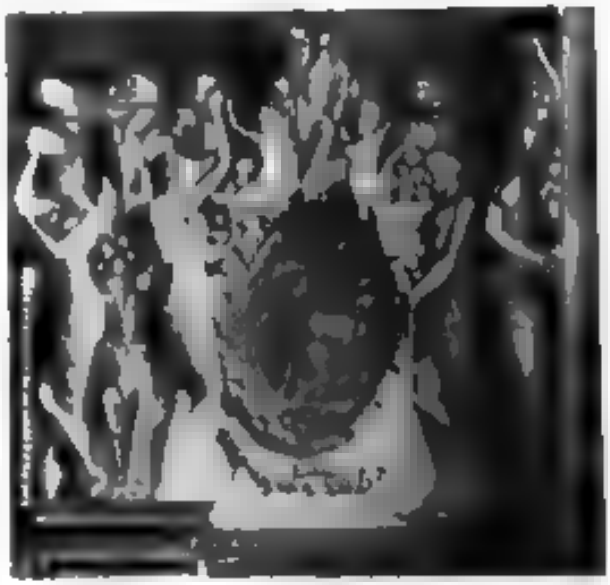

56. Francesco Primaticcio, stucco decoration, c. 1534–45, Fontainebleau.

who finally settled on the Rape of the Sabine Woman as the most suitable title. Here then, is another artist who is noncommittal about subject matter, although his unconcern had a different motive from Veronese's. Giovanni Bologna's self-imposed task was to carve in marble, on a massive scale, a sculptural composition that was to be seen not from one but from all sides: this had hitherto been attempted only in bronze and on a much smaller scale (see figs. 51–54). He has solved this purely formal problem, but only by insulating his group

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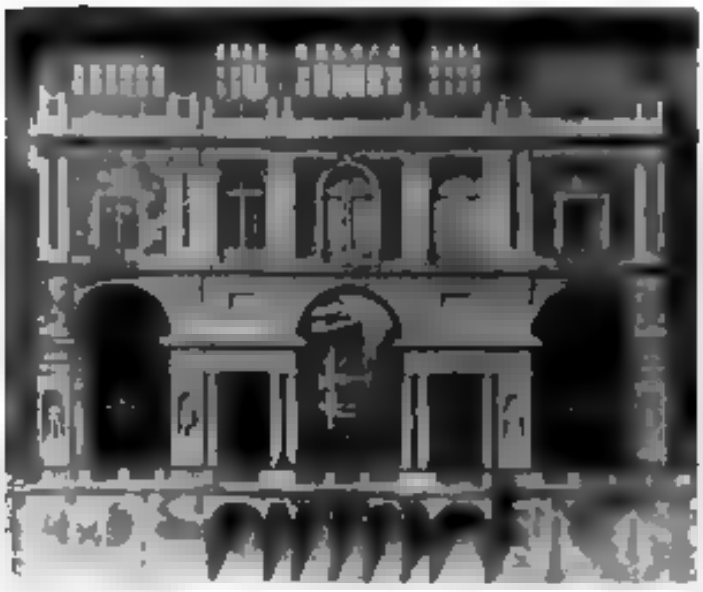

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[illegible] GIORGIO VASARI. Loggia of the Uffizi, Florence. (view from the Arno). Begun 1560

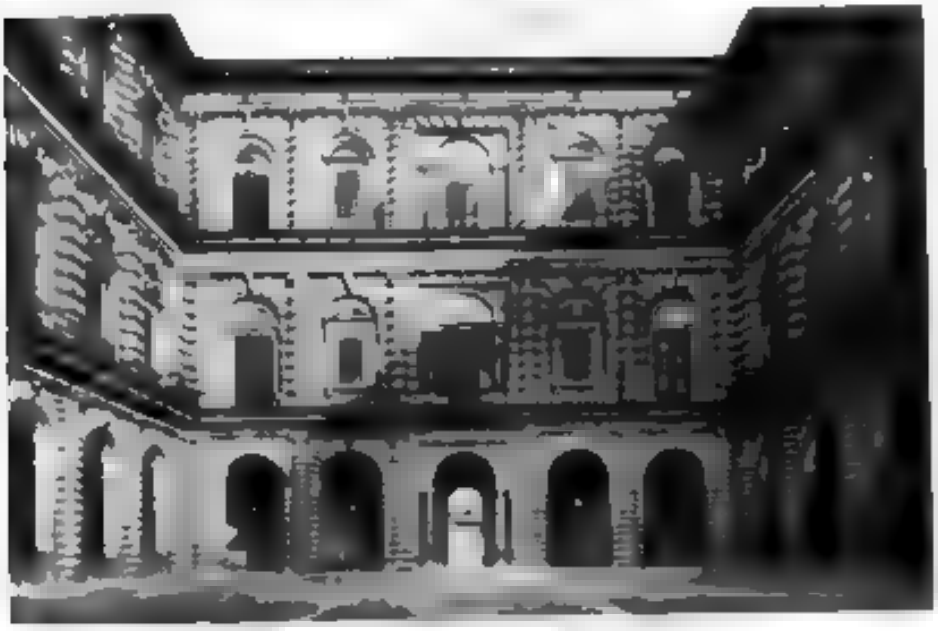
from the world of human experience. These figures, spiraling upward as if confined inside a tall narrow cylinder, perform a well-rehearsed choreographic exercise the emotional meaning of which remains obscure. We admire their discipline but we find no trace of genuine *pathos*.

The concept of Mannerism as a period style, we recall, had been coined for painting. We have encountered little difficulty in applying it to sculpture. Can it usefully be extended to architecture as well? And if so, what qualities must we look for? These questions have arisen only recently, so it is not surprising that we cannot yet answer them very precisely. Some buildings, to be sure, would be called Mannerist by almost everyone today, but this does not give us a viable definition of Mannerism as an architectural period style. Such a structure is the Uffizi in Florence, by Giorgio Vasari. It consists of two long wings, originally intended, as its name suggests, for offices, facing each other across a narrow court, linked at one end by a loggia (fig. 371). Vasari's inspiration is not far to seek: the tired wall brackets, and the peculiar combination of column and wall, have their source in the vestibule of the Laurentian Library (see page 184) that we cited Vasari's praise for Michelangelo. Still unfamiliar, one is the classical vocabulary. Yet his design lacks the sculptural power and expressiveness of its model; rather, the Uffizi loggia forms a screen as weightless as the façade of the Pazzi Chapel (see fig. 48b). What is tense in Michelangelo's design becomes merely ambiguous: the architectural members seem as devoid of energy as the human figures of second phase Mannerism, and their relationships as tradition-ridden as those of the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti by Bartolommeo Ammanati (fig. 372), despite its display of muscularity. Here the three-story scheme of superimposed orders derived from the Colosseum has been overlaid with an extravagant pattern of rustication that "imprisons" the columns, reducing them to an oddly passive role. These weird disguises rather than enhance the massiveness of the masonry, the overall corrugated texture making us think of the fancies of a pastry cook.

Is this Mannerism in architecture? Can we find it in the work of Andrea Palladio (1508–80), the greatest architect of the later sixteenth century, second in importance only to Michelangelo? Unlike Vasari, who was a painter and historian as well as an architect, this artist-critic provide the first coherent account of Italian Renaissance arts; or Ammanati, who was a sculptor-architect, Palladio stands in the tradition of the humanist and theoretician Leone Battista Alberti. Although his career centered on his native town of Vicenza, his buildings and theoretical writings soon brought him international status. Palladio insisted that architecture must be governed both by reason and by certain universal rules that were perfectly exemplified by the buildings of the ancients. He thus shared Alberti's basic outlook and his firm faith in the cosmic significance of numerical ratios (see page 320). They differed in how each man related

theory and practice. With Alberti, this relationship had been loose and flexible, whereas Palladio believed quite literally in practicing what he preached. His architectural treatise is consequently more practical than Alberti's—this helps to explain its huge success—while his buildings are linked more directly with his theories. It has even been said that Palladio designed only what was, in his view, sanctioned by ancient precedent. If the results are not necessarily classic in style, we may call them "classicistic" to denote a conscious striving for classic qualities; this is indeed the usual term for both Palladio's work and theoretical attitude.

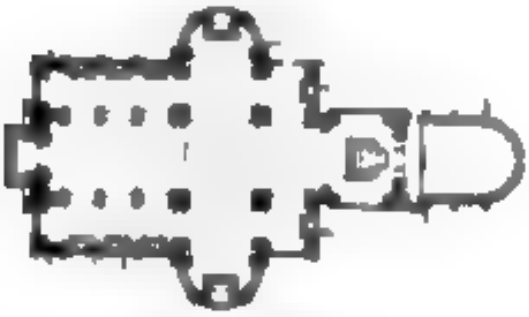
The Villa Rotonda (fig. 573)—one of Palladio's most famous buildings—perfectly illustrates the meaning of classicism. An aristocratic country residence near Vicenza, it consists of a square block surmounted by a dome and is faced on all four sides with identical porches in the shape of temple fronts. Alberti had defined the ideal church as such a completely symmetrical, centralized design (see page 331 and fig. 504). Palladio evidently found in the same principles the ideal country house. But how could he justify a context so purely secular for the external motif of the temple front? Surprisingly enough, he was convinced, on the basis of ancient literary sources, that Roman private houses had porticoes like these (excavations have since disproved him; see page 137). Yet Palladio's use of the temple front here is not mere antiquarianism; he probably persuaded himself that it was legitimate because he regarded this feature as desirable for both beauty and utility. In any case, the porches of



572. Bartolommeo Ammanati: courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1558–70.

573. Andrea Palladio: Villa Rotonda, Vicenza, begun 1550.

474 Andrea Palladio: S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. Designed 1565



474 Plan of S. Giorgio Maggiore

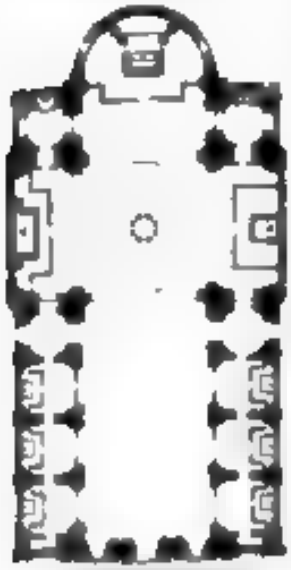
the Villa Rotonda, beautifully correlated with the walls behind, are an organic part of his design. They lend the structure an air of serene dignity and festive grace that it appears to lack today.

The façade of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice (fig. 474), sixteen years later than the Villa Rotonda, adds to the same effect a new sumptuousness and complexity. Palladio's problem here was how to create a classically integrated façade for a basilican church. He surely knew Alberti's solution (S. Andrea in Mantua, see fig. 501), a temple front enclosing a triumphal arch motif, but this design, although impressively logical and compact, did not fit the cross section of a basilica, and Palladio circumvented the problem. Palladio, again following what he believed to be ancient precedent, found a different answer: he superimposed a tall, narrow temple front on another low and wide one to reflect the different heights of nave and aisles. Theoretically, it was a perfect solution. In practice, however, he found that he could not keep the two systems as separate as his classicistic conscience demanded, and still integrate them into a harmonious whole. This conflict makes ambiguous those parts of the design that have, as it were, a dual allegiance; this might be interpreted as a Mannerist quality. The plan (fig. 475) now suggests a duality: the main body of the church is strongly centralized, the transept is long as the nave, but the longitudinal axis reasserts itself in the separate compartments for the main altar and the chapel beyond.

Palladio's immense authority as a designer keeps the conflicting elements in the façade and plan of S. Giorgio from actually crashing; in less assured hands, such a precarious union would break apart. A more generally applicable solution was evolved, just at this time, in Rome by Vignola and Giacomo della Porta, two architects who had assisted Michelangelo at St. Peter's and who were still using his architectural vocabulary. The church of Il Gesù (Jesus), a building whose importance as subsequent church architecture can hardly be exaggerated, is the mother church of the Jesuits. Its design must have been closely supervised, if not controlled, by the aims of the militant new order. We may thus view it as the architectural embodiment of the spirit of the Counter Reformation. The planning stage of the structure began in 1550. Michelangelo himself once proposed a design, but apparently never furnished it. The present ground plan of Vignola was adopted in 1568 (fig. 476). It contrasts with most, if not every, possible respect with Palladio's S. Giorgio: a basilica is replaced by a compact domed hall, with no high nave. The aisles have been replaced by chapels, which herding the congregation quite literally into one single hall, like sheep, dissolves the idea of the church as a place for the assembly of a large audience. As possible, the text was the main pulpit, as can be seen from the section (fig. 476) and plan. The painting shows how the church would look from the street if the center part of the façade were removed. In the later High Baroque decoration of the nave, which we see here, an unexpected feature which the ground plan cannot show, the dramatic contrast between the dim illumination in the nave and the abundant light beyond in the eastern part of the church, supplied by the large windows in the drum of the dome, might have been consciously exploited for its expressive possibilities, a novel device, theatrical in the best sense, to give Il Gesù a stronger emotional focus than we have yet found in a church interior.

Despite its great originality, the plan of Il Gesù is not entirely without precedent (see fig. 504). The façade by Giacomo della Porta, as bold as the plan, although it now can be traced back to earlier sources (fig. 477). The paired pilasters and broken architrave of the lower story are clearly derived from Michelangelo's design for the exterior of St. Peter's (compare fig. 346). In the upper story the same pattern recurs on a somewhat smaller scale with four instead of six pairs of supports; the difference in width is bridged by two scroll-shaped buttresses. A large pediment crowns the façade, which retains the classic proportions of Renaissance architecture (the

176. GIACOMO VIGNOLA
Plan of Il Gesù, Rome 1568



[illegible]

[illegible] weight equals height. What is fundamental [illegible] element that was missing in the [illegible] integration of all the parts into one whole [illegible] della Porta [illegible] sculptures by [illegible] Michelangelo [illegible] [illegible] the broken [illegible] but [illegible] the vertical members change to [illegible] orders. Equally important is the emphasis on the main [illegible] pediments resting on [illegible] pilasters and columns projects beyond the rest of the façade and gives strong focus to the entire design. Nothing since Gothic architecture has the entrance to a church received such a dramatic concentration of features attracting the attention of the beholder outside the building much as the concentrated light beneath the dome changes the character of the worshipper inside.

What are we to call the style of Il Gesù? Obviously it has little in common with Palladio and it shares with Florentine architecture of the time only the influence of Michelangelo. But this influence reflects two very different phases of the great master's career: the contrast between the Uffizi and Il Gesù is hardly less great than that between the vestibule of the Laurentian Library and the exterior of St. Peter's. If we label the Uffizi Mannerist, the same term will not serve as for Il Gesù. As we shall see, the design of Il Gesù will become basic to Baroque architecture; by calling it "pre-Baroque" we suggest both its terminal importance for the future and its special place in relation to the past.

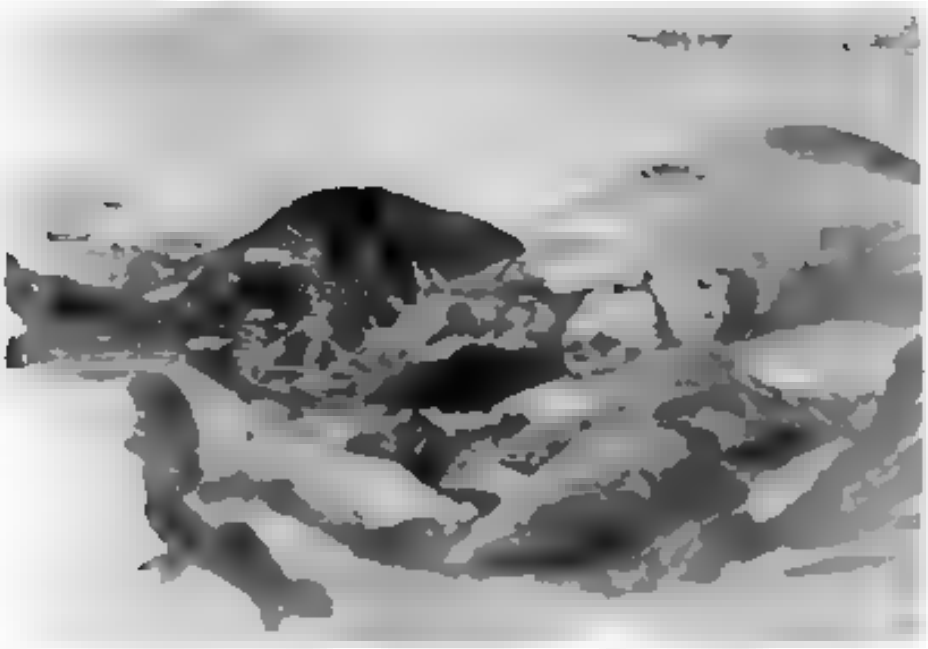
178. ANDREA SACCHI and ANDREA MOCCHI, after 1711
Facing Il Gesù, 1639–41. National Gallery, Rome

5. The Renaissance in the North

North of the Alps, most fifteenth-century artists had remained indifferent to Italian forms and ideas. Since the time of the Master of Flémalle and the Van Eycks they had looked to Flanders, rather than to Tuscany, for leadership. This relative isolation ends suddenly toward the year 1500, as if a dam had burst. Italian influence flows northward in an ever wider stream, and Northern Renaissance art begins to replace Late Gothic. That term, however, has a far less well defined meaning than "Late Gothic," which refers to a single, clearly recognizable stylistic tradition. The diversity of trends north of the Alps is even greater than in Italy during the sixteenth century. Nor does Italian influence provide a common denominator, for this influence is itself diverse. Early Renaissance, High Renaissance, and Mannerist, as in regional variants from Lombardy, Venice, Florence, and Rome. Its effects, too, may vary greatly: they may be superficial or profound, direct or indirect, specific or general. The Late Gothic tradition remained much alive, if no longer dominant, and its encounter with Italian art resulted in a kind of Hundred Years' War among styles which ended only when, in the early seventeenth century, the Baroque emerged as an international movement. The full history of this "war" is yet to be written; its major issues are hard to trace through all the battles, truces, and shifting alliances. Its course, moreover, was decisively affected by the Reformation, which had a far more immediate impact on art north of the Alps than in Italy. Our account then must be oversimplified, emphasizing the heroic phases of the struggle at the expense of the lesser, but in the long run, equally significant, skirmishes.

Let us begin with Germany, the home of the Reformation, where the main battles of the "war of styles" took place during the first quarter of the century. Between 1475 and 1500, it had produced such important masters as Michael Pacher and Martin Schongauer (see pp. 300, 301, 304), but these hardly prepare us for the astonishing burst of creative energy that was to follow. The range of achievements of this period, comparable in its brevity and brilliance to the Italian High Renaissance, is measured by the contrasting personalities of its greatest artists, Matthias Grünewald and Albrecht Dürer. Both died in 1528, probably at about the same age, although we know only Dürer's birth date (1471). Dürer quickly became internationally famous, while Grünewald remained [illegible] name. Mathis Gothart Nithart

570. Matthias Grünewald: *The Crucifixion*, from the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (closed), c. 1510–15. Panel, 8'10" × 10'9". Musée Unterlinden, Colmar

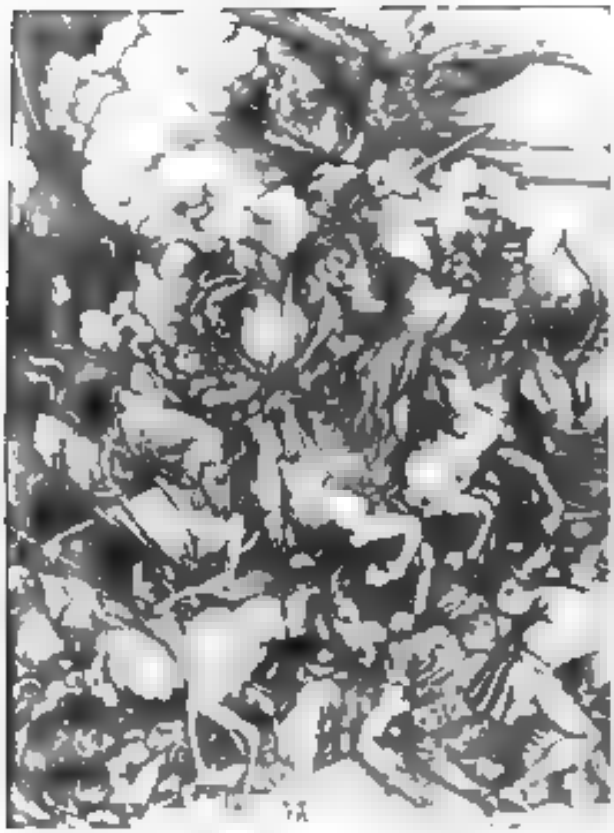


Albrecht Dürer
Italian Mountains
c. 1495 Watercolor
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

was discovered only recently. Grünewald's name, like that of Dürer, is almost entirely of our own century. Northern art of his time, he alone in his main work, the *Isenheim Altarpiece*, overwhelms us with something like the power of the Sistine Ceiling. Characteristically enough, this extraordinary work was long believed to be by Dürer. The altarpiece, painted between 1509 and 1515 for the monastery church of the Order of St. Anthony at Isenheim, in Alsace, is now in the museum in the nearby town of Colmar. A carved shrine with two sets of movable wings, it has three stages, or views. The first and intermediate, when all the wings are closed, shows *The Crucifixion* (fig. 400), probably the most impressive ever painted. In one respect it is very medieval: Jesus's unbearable agony and the desperate grief of the Virgin, St. John, and Mary Magdalen recall the older German *Andachtsbild* (see fig. 408). But the pitiful body of the Christ, with its twisted limbs, its countless lacerations, its rivulets of blood, is on a heroic scale that raises it beyond the merely human, and thus reveals the two natures of Christ. The same message is conveyed by the flanking figures: the three historic witnesses on the left mourn Christ's death as a man, while John the Baptist on the right points with calm emphasis to Him as the Saviour. Even the background suggests this duality: this Golgotha is not a hill outside Jerusalem, but a mountain towering above lesser peaks. The Crucifixion, lifted from its familiar setting, thus becomes a lonely event silhouetted against a deserted, ghostly landscape and a blue-black sky. Darkness is over the land, in accordance with the Gospels, yet brilliant light bathes the foreground with the force of sudden revelation. This union of time and eternity, of reality and symbolism, gives Grünewald's *Crucifixion* its awesome grandeur.

When the outer wings are opened, the mood of the *Isenheim Altarpiece* changes dramatically (colorplate 46): the three scenes in this second view—the Annunciation, the Angel Concert for the Madonna and Child, and the Resurrection—celebrate events as jubilant in spirit as the Crucifixion is austere. Most striking in comparison with Late Gothic painting is the sense of movement pervading these panels: everything twists and turns as though it had a mind of its own. The angel of the Annunciation enters the room like a gust of wind, half blows the Virgin backward; the Risen Christ shoots from His grave with explosive force; the canopy over the Angel Concert seems to vibrate in response to the heavenly music. This vibrant energy, although highly reshaped the brittle, spiky contours and angular drapery patterns of Late Gothic art, Grünewald's forms are soft, elastic, fleshy. His light and color show a corresponding change: commanding all the resources of the great German master, he employs them with the ample boldness and flexibility. His color scale is rich, independent, a range matched only by the Venetians. And his exploitation of colored light is altogether without parallel at the time. In the luminescent angels of the Concert, the apparition of God the Father and the Heavenly Host above the Madonna, and most spectacularly, the rainbow-hued radiance of the Risen Christ, Grünewald's genius has achieved miracles through light that remain unsurpassed to this day.

How much did Grünewald owe to Italian art? Nothing at all, we are first tempted to reply. Yet he must have learned from the Renaissance in more ways than one: his knowledge of perspective (note the low horizons) and the physical bulk of some of his figures cannot be explained by the "Late Gothic" tradition alone, and occasionally his pictures show architectural details of Southern origin. Perhaps the most important effect of the Renaissance on him, however, was psychological. We know little about his career, but he apparently did not lead the settled life of a craftsman-painter controlled by the rules of his guild.



left 581 ALBRECHT DÜRER *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* c. 1497–98. Woodcut

below 582 ALBRECHT DÜRER *Self Portrait* 1500. Painting. Pinakothek, Munich

he was also an architect, an engineer, something of a courtier, and an entrepreneur; he worked for many different patrons and stayed nowhere for very long. He was in sympathy with Martin Luther, who frowned upon religious images as "idolatrous," even though, as a painter, he depended on Catholic patronage. In a word, Grünewald seems to have shared the free, individualistic spirit of Italian Renaissance artists. The daring of his pictorial vision likewise suggests a reliance on his own resources. The Renaissance then had a liberating influence on him but did not change the basic cast of his imagination. In strength it helped him to exploit to the expressive aspects of the Gothic tradition in a style of unique intensity and individuality.

For Dürer the Renaissance held a different and richer meaning. Attracted to Italian art while still a young journeyman, he visited Venice in 1494/5 and returned to his native Nuremberg with a new conception of the world and the artist's place in it. The unbridled fantasy of Grünewald's art was to him "a wild, unpruned tree" (he used this phrase for painters who worked by rules-of-thumb, without theoretical foundations) which needed the discipline of the objective, rational standards of the Renaissance. Taking the Italian view that the fine arts belong among the liberal arts, he also adopted the ideal of the artist as a gentleman and humanistic scholar. By steadily cultivating his intellectual interests he came to encompass in his lifetime a vast variety of techniques and subjects. And since he was the greatest printmaker of the time, he had a wide influence on sixteenth-century art through his woodcuts and engravings, which circulated throughout the Western world.

Dürer's youthful copies after Mantegna (see figs. 5, 6) and other Early Renaissance masters show his eager and intuitive grasp of the essentials of their alien style. Even more astonishing are his watercolors made on the way back from Venice, such as the one inscribed "Italian Mountains" (fig. 580). Significantly, Dürer did not record the name of the spot; the specific location had no interest for him. The title he jotted down seems exactly right, for this is not a "portrait," but a "study from the model" perceived in timeless freshness. The calm rhythm of this panorama of softly rounded slopes conveys a view of nature in its organic wholeness that was, in those years, matched only by Leonardo.

After the breadth and lyricism of the *Italian Mountains*, the expressive violence of the woodcuts illustrating the Apocalypse, Dürer's most ambitious graphic work of the years following his return from Venice, is doubly shocking. The gruesome vision of the *Four Horsemen* (fig. 581)

seems at first to return completely to the "Late Gothic" world of Martin Schongauer (compare fig. 46). Yet the physical energy and solid, full-bodied volume of these figures would have been impossible without Dürer's earlier experience in copying such works as Mantegna's *Battle of Sea Gods*. At this stage Dürer's style has much in common with Grünewald's. The comparison with Schongauer's *Temptation* (fig. 46) [illegible] however, [illegible] another point of view [illegible] Dürer has redefined his medium [illegible] by enriching it with the linear subtleties of engraving [illegible] his hands woodcuts [illegible] their former charm as popular art but gained the precise articulation of a fully mature graphic style. He set a standard that [illegible] the technique of woodcuts all over Europe.

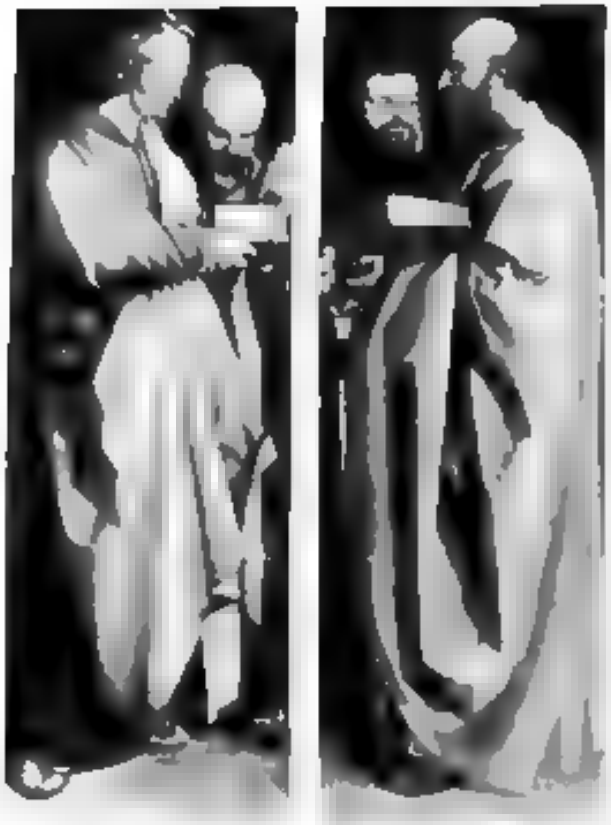
The first artist [illegible] he has dated by [illegible] image [illegible] respects [illegible] of a Renaissance personality [illegible] [illegible] *Man in a Red Turban* [illegible] [illegible] range [illegible] [illegible] Martin Luther's [illegible]

[illegible] aspect of Dürer's art [illegible] perhaps in engraving *Adam and Eve* (fig. 63), where [illegible] subject [illegible] a Northern [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] figures [illegible] exemplary of what [illegible] perfect proportions. The same approach [illegible] applied [illegible] the bodies of a [illegible] is evident in *Knight, Death and the Devil* (fig. 64), [illegible] of the artist's finest prints. But the same [illegible] gravity: the knight [illegible] his beautiful [illegible] poised and confident as an equestrian statue, embodies an [illegible] both aesthetic and moral. He is the Christian Soldier steadily on the road of faith [illegible] ward the Heavenly Jerusalem [illegible] deterred by the hideous hermaphrodite threatening to cut him off or the grotesque devil behind him. The dog, another symbol of virtue, loyally follows his master despite the [illegible] and skulls in his path. Italian Renaissance [illegible] united with the heritage of Late Gothic symbolism (whether open or disguised) here takes on a new characteristically Northern significance.

The subject of *Knight, Death and Devil* seems to have been derived from the *Manual of the Christian Soldier* by Erasmus of Rotterdam, the greatest of Northern hu-

63. Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve*, 1504. Engraving. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

[illegible]



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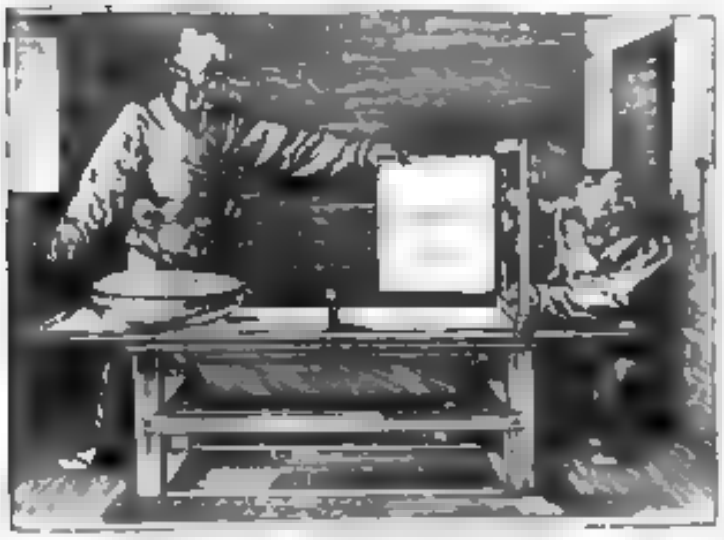


586 A [illegible] *Demonstration of Perspective* from the artist's treatise on geometry (1538). Woodcut

manists. Dürer's own convictions were essentially those of Christian humanism; they made him an early and enthusiastic follower of Martin Luther, although, like Grünewald, he continued to work for Catholic patrons. Nevertheless, his new faith can be sensed in the growing austerity of style and subject in his religious works after 1520. The climax of this trend is represented by *The Four Apostles* (fig. 584), a pair of panels containing what has rightly been termed Dürer's artistic testament. He presented them in 1526 to the city of Nuremberg, which had joined the Lutheran camp the year before. The chosen Apostles are basic to Protestant doctrine. John and Paul face one another in the foreground, with Peter and Mark behind. Quotations from their writings, inscribed below in Luther's translation, warn the city government not to mistake human error and pretense for the will of God. They plead against Catholics and ultrazealous Protestant radicals alike. But in another more universal sense, the four figures represent the Four Temperaments and, by implication, the other cosmic quartets—the seasons, the elements, the times of day, and the ages of man—revolving like the cardinal points of the compass, the Deity which is at the invisible center of his triptych. In keeping with these ideas, the Apostles have a cubic severity and grandeur such as we have not encountered since Masaccio and Piero della Francesca.

Thus the style of *The Four Apostles* has evolved in names of these great Italians. In consequence, for Dürer, the last decade of his life, including a treatise on geometry based on his thorough study of Piero or a Luca Pacioli's discourse on perspective, which he went to Venice to hear and which he invited for instance, a device for projecting an image by purely mechanical means. To demonstrate, he directed several variants of perspective (fig. 586). In one, an artist draws the nude as it would appear if viewed through a window from the spot where he was marked by a little hook. The string passing through the hook subdivides the visual rays. The man at the left attaches it to successive points on the contour of the nude; the other man marks where the string passes through the vertical frame. The picture plane, which makes contact with the drawing board hinged to the frame, [illegible] of course, knew that such an image was the result of a scientific experiment, not a work of art; neither was it really interested in a method for making pictures without human skill or judgment. Nevertheless, his device, however crude, is the first step toward the principle of the photographic camera.

Dürer's hope for a monumental art embodying the Protestant faith remained unfulfilled. Other German painters, notably Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), attempted to cast Luther's doctrines into visual form, but created no viable tradition. Such efforts were doomed since the spiritual leaders of the Reformation looked upon them with indifference or, more often, outright hostility. Lucas Cranach is best remembered today for his portraits and his delightfully incongruous mythological scenes. In his *Judgment of Paris* (fig. 587) nothing could be less classical than the three coquettish damsels, whose wriggly nakedness fits the Northern background better than does the nudity of Dürer's *Adam and Eve*. Paris is a German knight clad in fashionable armor, undistinguishable from the nobles at the court of Saxony

who were the artist's patrons. The playful erotic theme, small size, and precise, miniature-like detail of the picture make it plainly a collector's item, attuned to the tastes of a provincial aristocracy.

As remote from the classic ideal, but a far more impressive work of art, is *The Battle of Issus* by Albrecht Altdorfer (fig. 588), a Bavarian painter somewhat younger than Dürer and Cranach. Unless we read the text on the tablet suspended in the sky and the other inscriptions, we cannot possibly identify the subject: Alexander's victory over Darius. The artist has tried to follow ancient descriptions of the actual number and kind of combatants in the battle, but this required him to adopt a bird's-eye view whereby the two protagonists are lost in the massive mass of their own armies (for contrast, see the Hellenistic representation of the same subject in fig. 24). Moreover, the soldiers' armor and the fortified town in the distance are unmistakably of the sixteenth century. The picture might well show some contemporary battle, except for one feature: the spectacular sky, with the sun triumphantly breaking through the clouds and "defeating" the moon. The celestial drama above a vast Alpine landscape, obviously correlated with the human contest below, raises the scene to the cosmic level. This is strikingly similar to the vision of heavenly glory above the Virgin and Child in the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (colorplate 46). Altdorfer may indeed be viewed as a later and lesser Grünewald, although he, too, was an architect, well acquainted with perspective and the Italian stylistic vocabulary. Altdorfer's paintings show the unruly imagination already familiar from the work of the older master. But Altdorfer is also unlike Grünewald: he makes the human figure incidental to a vast natural setting, whether natural or man-made. The tiny soldiers of the *Battle of Issus* have their counterpart in his other pictures, and he painted at least one landscape with no figures at all: the earliest pure landscape, Dürer's sketch *Italian Mountains* (fig. 480), is not a finished work of art.

Gifted though they were, Cranach and Altdorfer both evaded the main challenge of the Renaissance so bravely faced—if not always mastered—by Dürer: the image of man. Their style, and monumental and miniature-like set the pace for a great array of lesser masters, perhaps the rapid

above: 587. LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER. *The Judgment of Paris*. 1530. Panel, 31 × 41". Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe

right: 588. ALBRECHT ALTDORFER. *The Battle of Issus*. 1529. Panel, 62 × 47". Pinakothek, Munich

[illegible] Basel

500 JEAN CLOUET *Francis I* [illegible]
Panel, [illegible] 29 The Louvre, Paris

decline of German art after Dürer's death was due to a failure of ambition among artists and patrons alike. The career of Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543), the rare painter of whom this is not true, confirms the general rule. Born and raised in Augsburg, a center of international commerce in South Germany particularly open to Renaissance ideas, he left at the age of eighteen for Switzerland. By 1520 he was firmly established in Basel as a designer of woodcuts, a splendid decorator, and an incisive portraitist. His likeness of Erasmus of Rotterdam (p. 186), painted soon after the famous author had settled in Basel, gives us a truly memorable image of Renaissance man—at once contemplative, humane, and monumental. This doyen of humane letters has an intellectual authority formerly reserved for the dignitaries of the Church. Yet Holbein must earn his living. In Basel [illegible] he accepted France's apparently generous offer of a salary to serve Francis. Two years later, when Basel was in the throes of the Reformation crisis, he went to England, hoping to obtain commissions at the court of Henry VIII. Erasmus recommended him to Thomas More, who [illegible] Holbein in Basel. The artist [illegible] he used his English earnings to buy a house for his family in Basel, becoming meanwhile a citizen. A Protestant town, Basel had [illegible] its Jesuits. He [illegible] Holbein returned [illegible] back to Basel [illegible] as court painter to Henry VIII. The [illegible] major artist [illegible] keep [illegible] home. But Holbein had become an artist [illegible] whom Basel now seemed provincial. [illegible] cosmopolitan and international flavor. The [illegible] Henry VIII [illegible] plate 47) shares with Bronzino's *Eleonora of Toledo* (p. 198) the same blue palette, an almost unsympathetic [illegible] and the precise, tendrilled costume and jewelry. Holbein's portraits, unlike Bronzino's, use [illegible] to reflect the Mannerist ideal of elegance. The rigid [illegible] and physical bulk of Henry VIII create an overpowering sensation of the king's ruthless, commanding presence. Both clearly belong to the same species of court portrait. The link between them may be such French works as Jean Clouet's *Francis I* (fig. 500), which Holbein would have seen on his travels. (But Francis, as a patron of Italian Mannerism, see page 186.) The type evidently was refined at the royal court of France, where its ancestry can be traced back as far as Jean Fouquet (see page 100). Clouet painted internationally, currency between 1524 and 1560.

Although Holbein's pictures molded British taste in aristocratic portraiture for decades, he had no English disciples of real talent. The Elizabethan genius was more literary and musical than visual, and the demand for portraits in the later sixteenth century continued to be filled largely by visiting foreign artists. The most notable English painter of the period was Nicholas Hilliard (c. 1547–1619), a goldsmith who also specialized in miniature portraits on parchment, tiny keepsakes often worn by their owners as jewelry. These "portable por-

[illegible] Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

traits had been invented in antiquity (see fig. [illegible]) and were revived in the fifteenth century (see fig. 459). Holbein now produced miniature portraits which Hilliard acknowledged to be his model. We see his [illegible] with the older master in the even lighting and meticulous detail of *A Young Man Among Roses* (fig. 50[illegible]), but he eliminated proportions and the poses of angels as grace came from Italian Mannerism, probably via Fontainebleau. Compare fig. 50[illegible] of Henry VIII with a sketch such as he designed for his lost mural in the Tilt Yard of the Palace of Whitehall (see fig. 44[illegible]). We can imagine him besieging his lady with [illegible] presenting her with [illegible]

In the Netherlands, in the sixteenth century, [illegible] portraits and portraiture [illegible] Apart from [illegible] painting [illegible] Raphael [illegible] interest in an often [illegible] supplementing [illegible] placing the traditional religious objects. As the seventeenth century [illegible] large in Dutch and Flemish painting [illegible] the Baroque era, landscape, still life, genre scenes of everyday life [illegible] were first developed between 1500 and 1600. The process was gradual, shaped less by the genius of individual artists than by the need to cater to popular taste as church commissions became steadily scarcer. Protestant iconoclastic zeal was particularly widespread in the Netherlands. Still life, landscape and genre had been part of the Flemish tradition since the Master of Flémalle and the brothers Van Eyck: we remember the objects grouped on the Virgin's table in the *Merode Altarpiece* and Joseph in his workshop or the setting of the Van Eyck *Crucifixion* (fig. 444, colorplates 27–28). But they had remained ancillary elements, governed by

[illegible] *A Young Man Among Roses*
[illegible]
Victoria & Albert Museum, London

the principle of disjunction, symbolism and subordination [illegible] of the whole. Now they became independent of [illegible] dominant, but the religious subject could be relegated to the background. *The Meal Snack* by Pieter Aertsen (fig. 5[illegible]) such an essentially secular picture, the [illegible] distant figures representing the Holy Family are a mere pretext, almost blotted out by the assemblage of edibles in the foreground. We see [illegible] here [illegible] arrangement. The objects piled in heaps or strung from poles are meant to [illegible] with their sensuous reality [illegible] the large size of the panel. Aertsen is remembered today mainly as a pioneer of the independent still life, but he seems to have first painted such pictures as a sideline until he saw many of his altarpieces destroyed by iconoclasts. Perhaps still life assumed a new importance for him when he moved, about 1555, from Antwerp to Amsterdam.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525 to 1569) the only genius

493 PIETER AERTSEN
The Meat Stall, 1551
Panel, 48 × 59
Museum of Art,
Uppsala University, Sweden

among these Netherlandish painters exploited landscape and peasant life. Although his career was spent in Antwerp and Brussels, he may have been born near 's-Hertogenbosch; certainly the work of Hieronymus Bosch deeply impressed him, and he is in many ways as puzzling to us as his elder master. What were his religious convictions, his political sympathies? We know little about him, but his preoccupation with the customs and the daily life of humble people seems to have sprung from a complex philosophical attitude. Bruegel was highly educated, the friend of humanists, and patronized by the Hapsburg court. Yet he apparently never worked for the Church, and when he dealt with religious subjects he did so in an oddly ambiguous way. His attitude toward Italian art is also hard to define. A trip to the South in 1552–53 took him to Rome, Naples, and the Strait of Messina, but the famous monuments admired by other Northerners seem not to have interested him; he returned instead with a sheaf of magnificent landscape drawings, especially Alpine views. He was probably much impressed by landscape painting in Venice, its integration of figures and scenery, and the progression in space from foreground to background (see color plates 40–41). Out of these memories came such sweeping landscapes in Bruegel's mature style as *The Return of the Hunters* (fig. 593), one of a set depicting the months. Such series, we recall, had begun with medieval calendar illustrations, and Bruegel's winter scene still shows its descent from the February page in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (see fig. 44). Now, however, nature is more than a setting for human activities; it is the main subject of the picture. Men in their seasonal occupations are incidental to the majestic annual cycle of death and rebirth that is the breathing rhythm of the cosmos.

The *Peasant Wedding* (color plate 48) is Bruegel's most memorable scene of peasant life. These are stout, crude folk, heavy-bodied and slow, yet their very clumsiness gives them a strange gravity that commands our respect. Painted in flat tints with minimal modeling and no cast shadows, the figures nevertheless have a weight and solidity that remind us of Giotto; space is created by inverted perspective, and the entire composition is as monumental and balanced as that of any Italian master. Why, we wonder, did Bruegel endow this commonplace ceremony with the solemnity of a biblical event? Was it because he saw in the life of the peasant, free of the ambitions and vanities of city dwellers, the nature, hence the ideal condition, of man? Bruegel's philosophical detachment from religious and political fanaticism also informs one of his last pictures, *The Blind Leading the Blind* (fig. 494). Its source is the Gospels (Matt. 15:12–14). Christ says, speaking of the Pharisees: "And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." This parable of human folly recurs in humanistic literature, and we know it in at least one earlier representation, but the tragic depth of Bruegel's large and forceful image gives new urgency to the theme. Perhaps he found the biblical context of the parable specially relevant to his time: the Pharisees had asked why Christ's disciples, violating religious traditions, did not wash their hands before meals. He answered, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the mouth." When this offended the Pharisees, He called them the blind leading the blind, explaining that "whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out. . . . But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart, and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders,

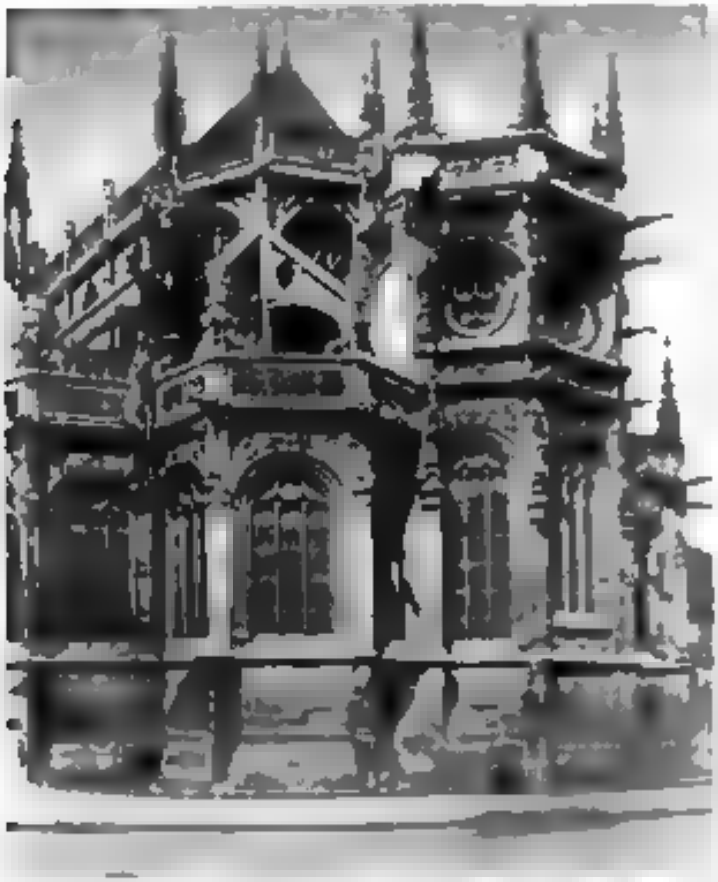
blasphemies." Could Bruegel have thought that this applied to the controversies then raging over details of religious ritual?

We have deferred our discussion of sixteenth-century architecture and sculpture north of the Alps because in these fields Italy had no significant influence before the 1520s. France began to assimilate Italian art somewhat earlier than the other countries and was the first to achieve an integrated Renaissance style; we shall therefore confine our discussion to French monuments. As we might expect, architects still trained in the Gothic tradition were slow to adopt the Italian style; at first they

[illegible] PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER
The Return of the Hunters
1565. Panel, 46" × 64"
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

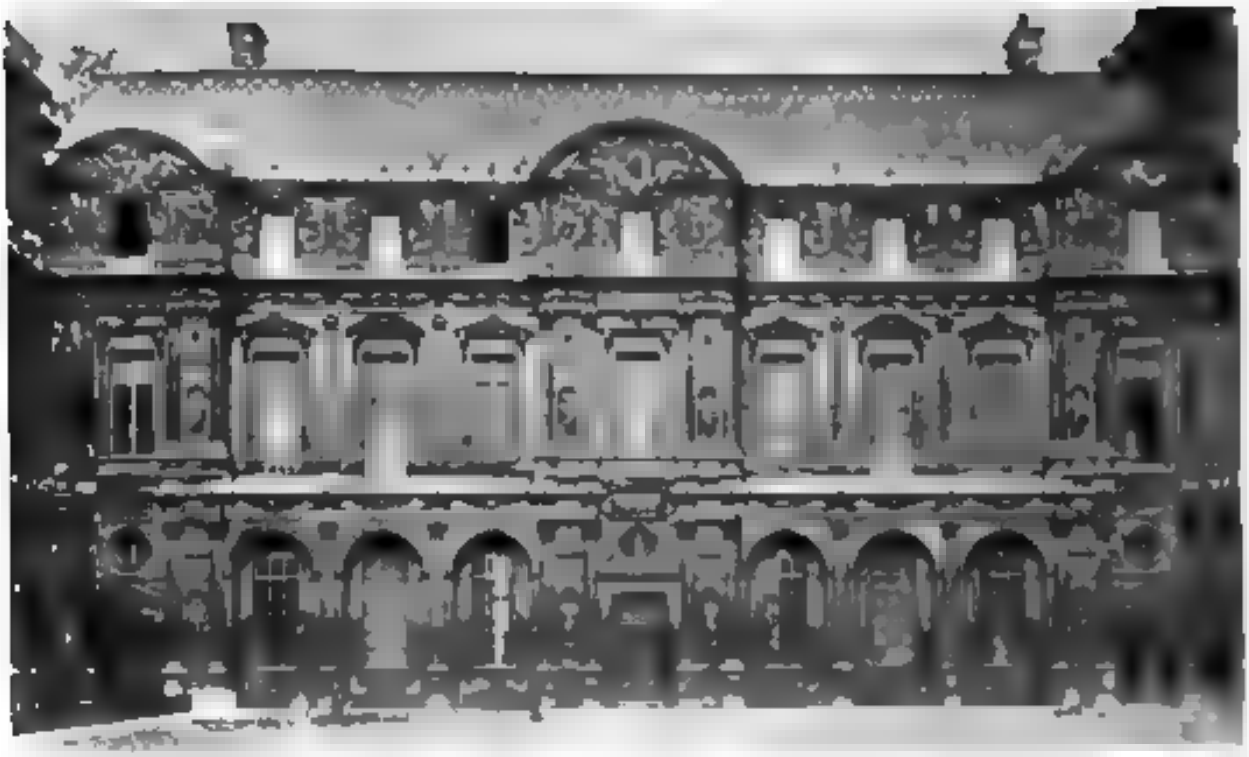
[illegible] PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER
The Blind Leading the Blind, 1568.
[illegible] × 66". National Museum, Naples

readily used [illegible] vocabulary, but its syntax gave them [illegible] a glance at the choir of St [illegible] shows [illegible] French [illegible] church [illegible] chambrans.



[illegible]

decoration into the vocabulary of the new language. Finials become candelabra, pier buttresses are shaped like pilasters, and the round-arched windows of the ambulatory chapels have geometric tracery. The château of Chambord (fig. 496) is a vastly more complicated affair in plan, and the towers, high-pitched roofs, and tall chimneys reveal the Gothic [illegible] seen in comparison with the design greatly modified by later French builders, was [illegible] by an Italian pupil of Leonardo da Vinci. And he was surely the plan of the central portion (fig. 497) which is quite unlike a French precedent. This square block developed from the keep of a medieval castle (see page [illegible]) has a central [illegible] flanked by four corner towers. These [illegible] square sections [illegible] apartments [illegible] quadrangular [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the broken architecture [illegible] the flat relief [illegible] the [illegible] as the [illegible] the [illegible] stories. These relief [illegible] adapted [illegible] the architecture are by [illegible] the finest French sculptor of the mid-sixteenth [illegible] have been much restored. To get a more precise idea of [illegible] style we must turn [illegible] the [illegible] panels from the *Fontaine des Innocents* (see are shown on page 500) which have survived intact, although the architectural framework is lost. These graceful figures recall the Mannerism of Benvenuto Cellini (see pg 467) and even more Primaticcio's decorations at Fontainebleau (see pg 468). Like Cellini's architecture, their design combines classical details of astonishing purity with a delicate tenderness that gives them a unique French [illegible]

A more powerful sculptor, indeed the greatest of the later sixteenth century, was Germain Pilon (c. 1535-90). In his early years he too learned a good deal from Primaticcio, but he soon developed his own idiom by merging the Mannerism of Fontainebleau with elements taken from ancient sculpture, Michelangelo, and the Gothic tradition. His main works are monumental

[illegible]

tombs, of which the earliest and largest was for Henry and Catherine de' Medici (fig 601). Primaticcio built the architectural framework, an oblong free-standing chapel on a platform decorated with bronze and marble relief. Four large bronze statues of Virtues, their style reminiscent of Fontainebleau, mark the corners. On the top of the tomb are bronze figures of the King and Queen kneeling in prayer. Inside the chapel the couple reappear as grisly, nude corpses (fig 602). This contrast of effigies had been a characteristic feature of Gothic tombs since the fourteenth century; the grisly expressed the transient nature of the flesh, usually showing the body in an advanced state of decomposition, with vermin sometimes crawling through its open cavities. How could the grotesque image take on Renaissance humanistic [illegible] significance? [illegible] the reclining figures [illegible] Queen [illegible] the pose of a classical [illegible] the King [illegible] the head [illegible] neither [illegible] but [illegible] the pathos [illegible] beauty that [illegible] [illegible] predecessors has given way [illegible] [illegible] Remembering [illegible] [illegible] see page [illegible] [illegible] keeping with [illegible] prospect [illegible] however [illegible] [illegible] death [illegible] [illegible]

above 601 Francesco Primaticcio and Germain Pilon
Tomb of Henry II 1561–70
Abbey Church of St Denis, Paris

right 602 Germain Pilon
Gisant of the King and Queen, detail of the Tomb of Henry

6. The Baroque in Italy and Germany

Baroque has been the term used by art historians for almost a century to designate the dominant style of the period 1600–1750. Its original meaning "irregular, contorted, grotesque" is now largely superseded. It is generally agreed that the new style was born in Rome during the final years of the sixteenth century. What remains under dispute is whether the Baroque is the final phase of the Renaissance, an era between Renaissance and modern. We have [illegible] that a good case can be made for the second. Which of the [illegible] we adopt is perhaps less important than an understanding of the factors that [illegible] in question. And here [illegible] parallels. Though it has been argued that the Baroque expresses the period's [illegible] under Rome [illegible] under Rome [illegible] a dynamic [illegible] renewal within the [illegible] [illegible] Rome [illegible] some important [illegible] has been [illegible] the power [illegible] upon the new [illegible] the [illegible] supported the growth [illegible] Baroque art [illegible] splendor [illegible] than [illegible] [illegible] Baroque [illegible] quickly [illegible] against [illegible] under [illegible] aspect [illegible] problematic [illegible] that Baroque is the style [illegible] absolutism [illegible] reflecting the centralized state [illegible] by an authoritarian [illegible] powers. Although absolutism [illegible] during the reign [illegible] XIV in the late seventeenth century, it had been in the making [illegible] under Francis I in France and the Medici dukes in Tuscany. Moreover, Baroque art flourished in bourgeois Holland no less than in the absolutist monarchies, and the style officially sponsored under Louis XIV was a notably subdued, classicistic kind of Baroque. We encounter similar difficulties when we try to relate Baroque art to the science and philosophy of the period. Such a link did exist in the Early and High Renaissance: an artist then could also be a humanist and a scientist. But during the seventeenth century scientific and philosophical thought became too complex, abstract, and systematic for him to share. Gravitation, calculus, and *Cogito, ergo sum* could not stir his imagination. All of this means that Baroque art is not simply the result of religious, political, or intellectual developments; interconnections surely existed, of course, but we do not yet understand them very well. Until we do, let us think of the Baroque style as one among other basic features—the newly fortified Catholic faith, the absolutist state, and the new role of science—that distinguish the period 1600–1750 from what had gone before.

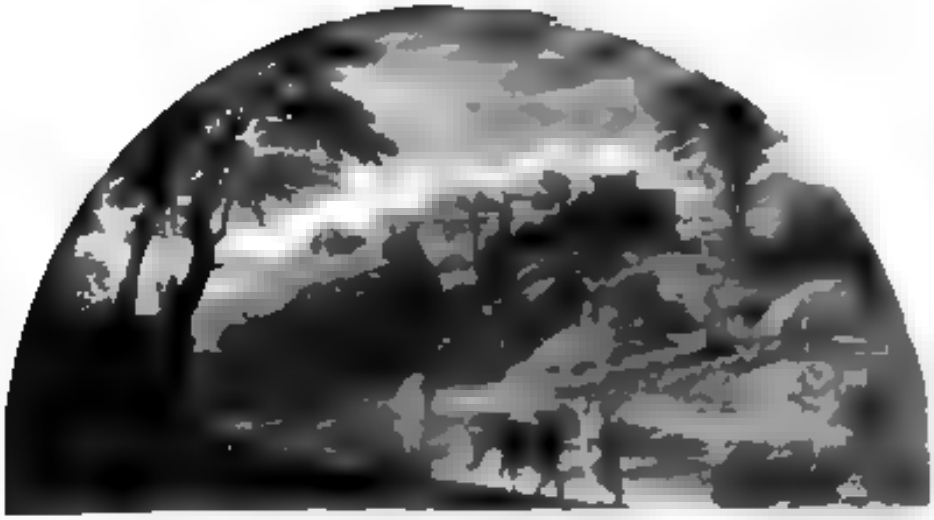
Around 1600 Rome became the fountainhead of the Baroque as it had of the High Renaissance a century before. By gathering artists from other regions to perform challenging new tasks, the papacy patronized art on a large scale. [illegible] making Rome the most beautiful [illegible] the greatest [illegible] campaign had begun as early as [illegible] the artists then on hand were late Mannerists [illegible] but it also attracted ambitious younger masters, especially from Northern [illegible] the new style. Foremost [illegible] genius [illegible] aggressive after his [illegible] Caravaggio did [illegible] Luigi [illegible] among them. *The Calling of St. Matthew* [illegible] ordinary pictures [illegible] Mannerism and the High Renaissance [illegible] the accidents of the North Italian realism [illegible] Naples, seeking [illegible]. But Caravaggio's [illegible] more disturbing that a new, very "natural" [illegible] distinguish [illegible] from his earlier kind [illegible] seen a sacred subject depicted so entirely [illegible] of contemporary life. Matthew, the tax gatherer, sits with some armed men, evidently his agents, in what appears to be a common Roman tavern.

[illegible] Assisi [illegible] Fresco detail [illegible] Palazzo [illegible] Rome

[illegible] Rome [illegible] fresco [illegible] Rome

he points quite strongly at Christ as the figures approach from the right. The apostles are poor people, their bare feet and simple garments contrasting strongly with the [illegible] costumes of Matthew and his companions. Why do we sense a religious quality in the scene? Why do we not mistake it for an excerpt from [illegible]? We identifies one of the figures as [illegible] Saint [illegible] have the [illegible] superimposed [illegible] figure [illegible] picture as good but [illegible] we might [illegible] [illegible] just as fast in detail upon [illegible] [illegible] gesture [illegible] Matthew [illegible] which bridge the gap between [illegible] groups. Most [illegible] however is the [illegible] beam of sunlight which [illegible] that illuminates [illegible] and hand in the glorious [illegible] Matthew. Although this sight [illegible] charged with symbolic meaning, the picture [illegible] magic, its power to make us aware [illegible]

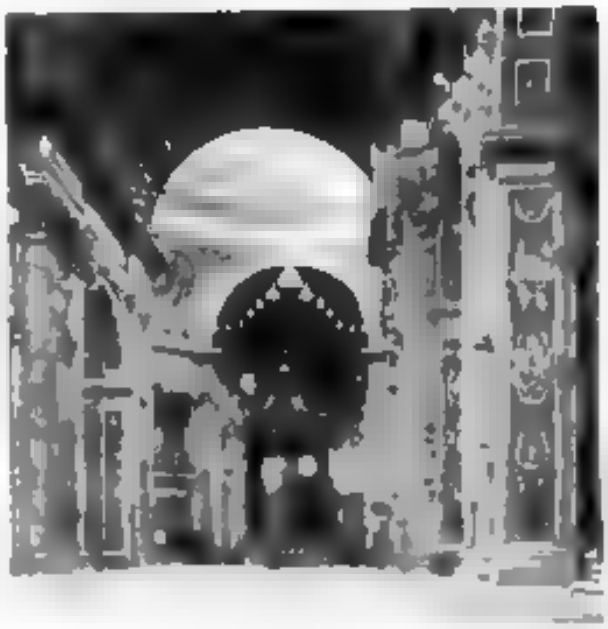
[illegible] aggressive [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



left 606 ANNIBALE CARRACCI
Landscape with the Flight into Egypt
c. 1603 oil on copper
Doria Gallery, Rome

below 607 Aerial View of
St. Peter's, Rome. Nave and façade
by CARLO MADERNO, 1607–15
colonnade by GIANLORENZO BERNINI
designed 1657

opposite 608 Interior
with Bernini's Tabernacle
and St. Peter's, Rome



Roman painter. Annibale [illegible] Bologna where he and his brother [illegible] members of his family had received an early Mannerist training [illegible] since he [illegible] 1595. In [illegible] he produced the most [illegible] work in the ceiling frescoes in the gallery of the Farnese Palace which [illegible] became [illegible] famous that [illegible] might see in it [illegible] the influence of Michelangelo and Raphael [illegible] is of a significance [illegible] the Farnese [illegible] ingenious although [illegible] a [illegible] work [illegible] massive [illegible] and [illegible] Another [illegible] an [illegible] decorative design [illegible] the [illegible] scenes [illegible] the [illegible] are [illegible] by [illegible] and [illegible] more [illegible] Yet the Farnese [illegible] merely imitate Michelangelo's [illegible] The [illegible] of the main subjects [illegible] Raphael's [illegible] the whole [illegible] together [illegible] reflect Annibale's knowledge of [illegible] Veronese [illegible] fresh [illegible] and [illegible] indicated [illegible] he was [illegible] the most [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] appear [illegible] against [illegible] background [illegible] mythologies are presented as [illegible] easel pictures. Each [illegible] these levels of reality is handled with [illegible] and the entire ceiling has an [illegible] that [illegible] bridge Mannerism and High Renaissance art. Annibale's [illegible] was a [illegible] than a [illegible] [illegible] again with which he was [illegible] the best [illegible] that art must return to nature but his approach was less single minded, balancing studies from life with a revival of the classics which [illegible] him meant the [illegible] antiquity and of Raphael, Michelangelo [illegible] and Correggio. At his best he succeeded in fusing these diverse elements, although the union always remained somewhat precarious. To his disciples the Farnese gallery seemed to offer two alternatives: pursuing the Raphaelesque style of the mythological panels, they could arrive at a deliberate, official classicism; or they could take their cue from the sensuous illusionism

left 609 GIANLORENZO BERNINI *David* 1623
Marble, lifesize Borghese Gallery, Rome

below 610 GIANLORENZO BERNINI
The Ecstasy of S. Theresa 1645–52 Marble, lifesize
Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome

present in the Farnese. The best known example by Guido Reni is the *Aurora* (fig. 604), a ceiling fresco showing Apollo in his chariot, the Sun, followed by Aurora (Dawn). Despite its rhythmic grace, this recent design would seem little more than a pared reflection of High Renaissance styles were it not for the glowing and dramatic light which gives it an emotional impetus that the figures as such do not seem to have. Very opposite is the *Aurora* ceiling by Guercino (fig. 605). Here architectural perspective combined with the pictorial illusionism of Correggio and the intense light and color of Titian converts the entire surface into one limitless space, the figures sweep past as if propelled by extraspheric winds. With this work Guercino started what soon became a veritable flood of similar visions on the ceilings of churches and palaces (see figs. 613, 626).

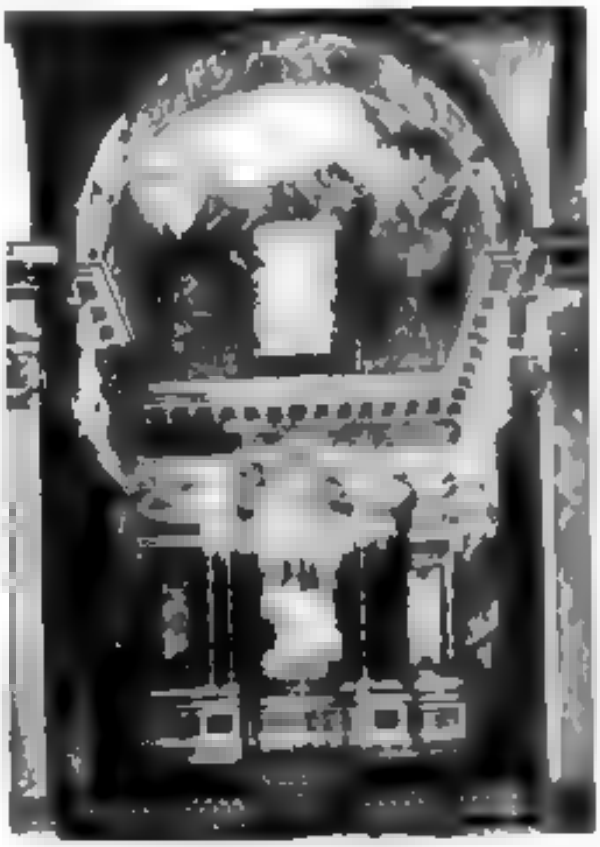
The sculptured precision of the Farnese Gallery does not do justice to the important Venetian element in Annibale Carracci's style. This is most striking in his landscapes, such as the monumental *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 606). Its pastoral mood and the soft light and atmosphere hark back to Giorgione and Titian (see colorplates 40, 41). The figures, however, play a far less conspicuous role here; they are, indeed, as small and incidental as in any Northern landscape

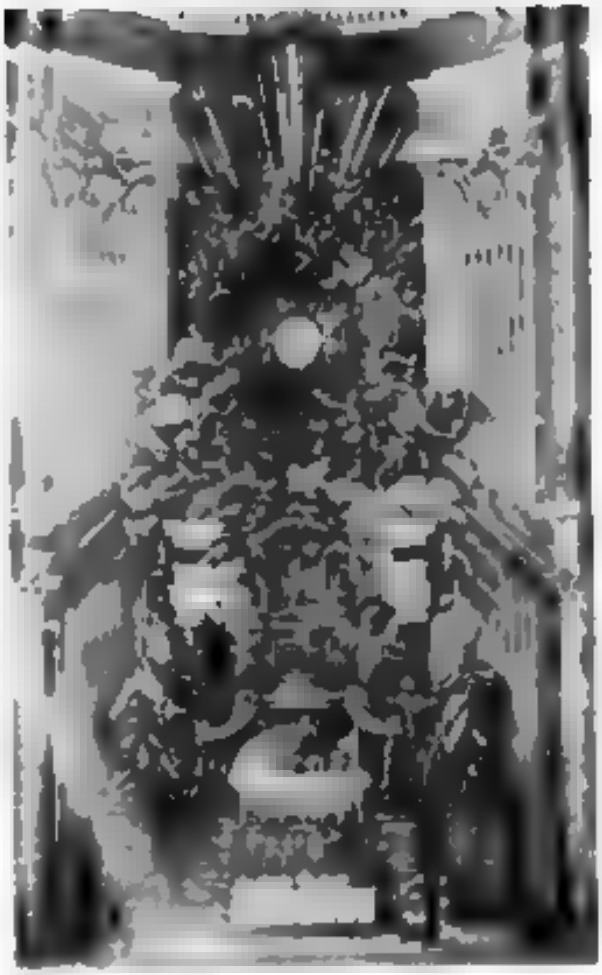
[illegible] the panorama as a suggestive background; Egypt would be equally suitable for almost any story, sacred or profane. Note, we feel, that the figures could not be removed altogether, though we can imagine them replaced by others. This is not the untamed nature of Northern landscapes but a civilized, hospitable countryside. The old castle, the roads and fields, the flock of sheep, the ferryman with his boat, all show that man has been at home here for a long time. Hence the figures, however tiny, do not appear lost or dwarfed into insignificance because their presence is implicit in the orderly, domesticated quality of the setting. This firmly constructed, ideal landscape evokes a vision of nature that is gentle yet austere, grand but not awesome. We shall meet its descendants again and again in the next two centuries.

In architecture, the beginnings of the Baroque style cannot be defined as precisely as in painting. In the vast ecclesiastical building program that got under way in Rome toward the end of the sixteenth century, the most

talented young architect to emerge was Carlo Maderno [illegible] 1629). In 1603 he was given the task of completing a long-past the church of St Peter's. The pope had decided to add a nave to Michelangelo's building (fig. [illegible]) converting it into a basilica. The change of plan, which may have been prompted by the example of [illegible] (see figs. 516–518), made it possible to link St Peter's with the Vatican Palace (fig. [illegible]). Maderno's design for the façade [illegible] the pattern established by Michelangelo [illegible] the exterior of the building [illegible] a wide order supporting an attic [illegible] a dramatic emphasis in the portal. There is what [illegible] may be described as a crescendo effect from the corners [illegible] enter the spacing of the supports becomes [illegible] pairs of columns and the attic [illegible] projection [illegible]. This quickened rhythm [illegible] has been [illegible] generally [illegible] [illegible] of the Cinquecento [illegible] Vatican [illegible] [illegible] principle [illegible] the façade design [illegible] [illegible] made [illegible] the [illegible] façade [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] by the façade [illegible] dynamically related [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] complete [illegible] the new [illegible] were [illegible] exhausted [illegible] a hundred [illegible]

[illegible] *The* [illegible] *Angle*
Eighteenth-century painting [illegible]





[illegible] Bernini [illegible] 1666
[illegible] St Peter's, Rome

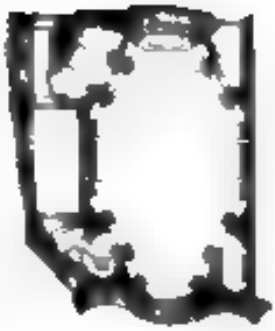
[illegible] St Peter's made the decoration of its interior a uniquely difficult task. How to relate its cathedral vastness to the human scale and imbue it with a measure of emotional warmth? That the problem was solved so very largely by the genius of Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), the greatest sculptor-architect of the century, St Peter's occupied him at intervals during most of his long and prolific career. He began by designing the huge bronze baldacchino over the main altar under the dome (fig. 519). The tabernacle is a splendid fusion of architecture and sculpture. Four twisted spiral-shaped columns support an upper platform, on its corners are statues of angels and vigorously curved scrolls which rise high, the symbol of the victory [illegible] Christianity over the pagan world, a cross above a golden orb. The entire structure is so alive with expressive energy that it strikes us as the very epitome of Baroque style. Yet its most astonishing feature, the corkscrew columns, had been invented in late antiquity and even employed on a much smaller scale in the old basilica of St Peter's. Bernini could claim the best possible precedent for his own use

GIOVANNI BATTISTA GAULLI
Triumph of the Name of Jesus
(see-ing, 1672–85), Il Gesù, Rome

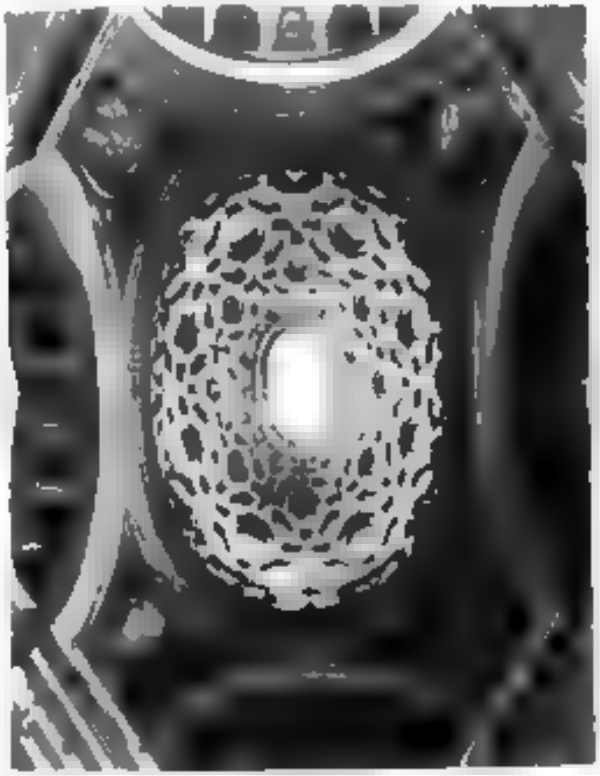
of the motif. Nor is this the only instance. Can affinity between Baroque and ancient art several monuments of Roman architecture of the second and third centuries A.D. seem to anticipate the style of the seventeenth (see figs. 2, 8, 10). A similar relationship can be discovered between Hellenistic and Baroque sculpture. If we compare Bernini's *David* (fig. 3) with Michelangelo's (see fig. 4) and ask which antecedent the Pergamum Frieze (or the *Laocoon Group* (see fig. 5)) [illegible] Bernini [illegible] works that [illegible] which Michelangelo's inspiration [illegible]. This does not mean that Bernini [illegible] classical than Michelangelo, it merely shows that the Baroque and the High Renaissance acknowledge the authority of ancient art, but each period drew inspiration from a different aspect of antiquity.

But Bernini's [illegible] sense an echo of the *Laocoon Group*. If we ask what makes it Baroque, the simplest answer would be the implied presence of Goliath. Unlike earlier statues of David, Bernini's is conceived not as a self-contained figure but as half of a pair. His entire action is focused on his adversary. Did Bernini, we wonder, plan a statue of Goliath to complete the group? If he never did, or his David tells us clearly enough where he sees the enemy. Consequently, the space between David and his invisible opponent is charged with energy belonging to the statue. If we stand directly in front of his formidable fighter, our first impulse is to get out of the line of fire.

Bernini's *David* shows us what distinguishes Baroque sculpture from the sculpture of the two preceding centuries: its new active relationship with the space it inhabits. It eschews self-sufficiency for an illusion: the [illegible] of presence [illegible] the behavior of the statue. Because [illegible] presence [illegible] *David*. Baroque sculpture has been [illegible] as a force [illegible] effects [illegible] experience [illegible] as less [illegible] Baroque [illegible] between sculpture and painting. The [illegible] synthesis [illegible] most precisely, both may be combined with architecture [illegible] stage. Bernini, who had a passionate interest in the theater, was at his best when he could merge architecture, sculpture, and painting in this fashion. His masterpiece is the Cornaro chapel, containing the famous group called *The Ecstasy of St. Theresa* (fig. [illegible]) in the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria. Theresa of Avila, one of the great saints of the Counter-Reformation, had described how an angel pierced her heart with a flaming golden arrow: "The pain was so great that I screamed aloud, but at the same time I felt such infinite sweetness that I wished the pain to last forever. It was not physical but psychic pain, although it affected the body as well to some degree. It was the sweetest caressing of the soul by God." Bernini has made this visionary experience as sensuously real as Correggio's *Jupiter and Io* (see fig. 6): the angel, in a different context, would be indistinguishable from Cupid, and the saint's ecstasy is palpably physical. Yet the two figures, on their floating cloud, are illuminated (from a hidden window above) in such a way as to seem almost dematerialized in their gleaming whiteness. The beholder



614 FRANCESCO BORROMINI
Plan of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Rome
Begun 1638



[illegible]

[illegible]

experiences them as visionary. The invisible compartment, here less specific than David's but equally important, as the force that carries the figures heavenward, causing the turbulence of the drapery, [illegible] are suggested by the golden rays which come from a source high above the altar. In an ingenious reversal in the vault of the chapel, the glory of the heavens is revealed as a dazzling burst of light from which tumble crowds of jubilant angels (fig. 614). In this vision, a kind of experience that gives force to the thrusts of the angels' wings and makes the ecstasy of the saint believable. To complete the illusion, Bernini even provides a built-in audience for his stage: on the sides of the chapel are balconies resembling theater boxes, where we see marble figures, members of the Cornaro family, who also witness the Ecstasy. Their space and ours are the same, and thus part of everyday reality, while the Ecstasy, housed in a strongly framed niche, occupies a space that is real but

they never reach. The ceiling fresco represents the infinite, unfathomable space of heaven. We may recall that *The Burial of Count Orgaz* and its setting also form a whole embracing three levels of reality (see page [illegible]). The reader will be able to answer for himself the problem of difference between Baroque and Mannerism by comparing these two chapels.

Some years later, Bernini created another compound display, on an even grander scale, in the chair of St. Peter (fig. 608). In the background and high above, a climax of the nave, is the very end of the church. Again the focus is a burst of heavenly glory through a real window containing glass that projects a mass of clouds and angels toward us. These clouds enclose the bronze *Throne of St. Peter*, which bears a weighty, in mid-air, anchored in the hands of the Four Fathers of the Church. And the interior decoration of Il Gesù is the evidence of Bernini's imaginative daring, although his role in this case was only advisory. The commission for the ceiling frescoes went to Giovanni Battista Gaulli, his young protégé, a talented assistant. Antonio Raggi did the stucco sculpture. As we see the nave fresco spilling so dramatically over its frame, then turning into sculptured figures, it is clear that the plan must be Bernini's

left 617 FRANCESCO BORROMINI
Section S. Ivo Rome Begun 1642

here again we sense the spirit of the Gothic Chapel. While designing the *Throne of St. Peter*, Bernini also conceived as an exterior decoration the magnificent sacred piazza in front of St. Peter's (see fig. 607). It acts as an immense atrium, framed by colonnades which the artist himself likened to the mothering and embracing arms of the church. The building is integrated with a grandiose setting of modest open space can be compared for sheer impressiveness only with the ancient Roman sanctuary at Palestrina (see fig. 201).

As a personality, Bernini represents a type we first met among the artists of the Early Renaissance: the self-assured, expansive man of the world. His great rival in architecture, Francesco Borromini (1599–1667), was the opposite type: a secretive and emotionally unstable genius, he died by suicide. The temperamental contrast between the two would be evident from their works alone, even without the testimony of contemporary witnesses. Both exemplify the climax of Baroque architecture in Rome, yet Bernini's design for the colonnade of St. Peter's is dramatically simple and unified, while Borromini's structures are extravagantly complex. Bernini himself agreed with those who denounced Borromini for flagrantly disregarding the classical tradition enshrined in Renaissance theory and practice. "Buildings must reflect the proportions of the human body. We understand this accusation when we look at Borromini's first major project, the church of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (figs. 618–620). The vocabulary is not unusual, but the syntax is new and disquieting. The ceaseless play of concave and convex surfaces makes the entire structure seem elastic, pulsed into shape by pressures that no previous building could have withstood. The plan is a pinched oval, suggesting a distended and half-melted Greek cross, as if it had been drawn on rubber; the inside of the dome too looks "stretched" as if the tension were released it would snap back to its normal. The façade was designed almost thirty years later and the pressures and counterpressures here reach their maximum intensity. Borromini merges architecture and sculpture in a way that must have shocked Bernini; no such fusion had been ventured since Gothic art.

S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane established Borromini's local and international fame. "Nothing similar," wrote the head of the religious order for which the church was built, "can be found anywhere in the world. This is attested by the foreigners who [illegible] try to procure copies of the plan. We have been asked for them by Germans,

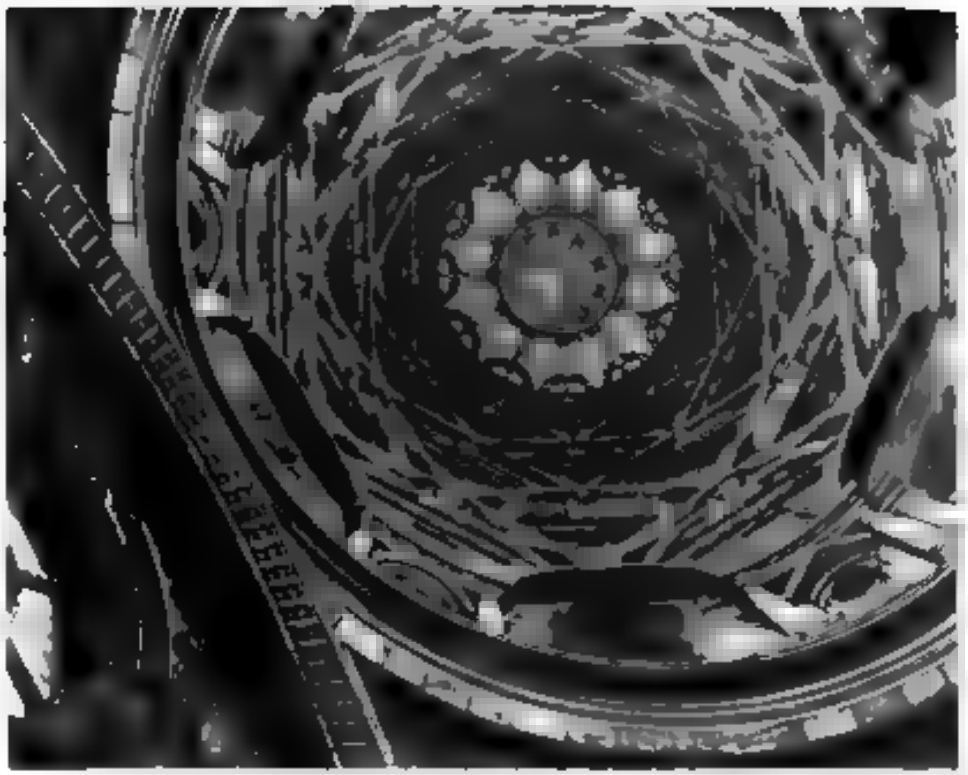
[illegible] Francesco Borromini
S. Agnese in Piazza Navona
Rome [illegible]

[illegible] GUARINI
Palazzo Carignano, Turin
Begun [illegible]

[illegible] design. The structure might [illegible] be described as a larger version of the complex at Bazoches [illegible] by Boromini [illegible] of special interest as a high Baroque [illegible] Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona [illegible] although his new façade [illegible] impressive [illegible] with the angelic dome when seen from a distance [illegible] dome gradually hidden by the façade as we approach the church. Borromini designed the façade [illegible] Agnese in Piazza Navona [illegible] with the [illegible] minor. Its lower part is adapted from the façade of St. Peter's but curves inward so that the dome [illegible] der version of Michelangelo's [illegible] as the upper part of the façade. The dramatic juxtaposition of [illegible] and convex is a [illegible] characteristic [illegible] Borromini is further emphasized by the two towers (such towers were also once planned for St. Peter's) which form a monumental triad with the dome. Once again Borromini joins Gothic and Renaissance features—the two-tower façade and the dome—into a remarkably fetalic compound.

The wealth of new ideas introduced by Borromini was to be exploited not in Rome but in Turin, the capital

of Savoy, which became the great secular center of Baroque architecture in Italy. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, in 1666, that city attracted Borromini's most brilliant successor, Guarino Guarini (1624–83), a Theatine monk whose architectural genius was deeply ground-



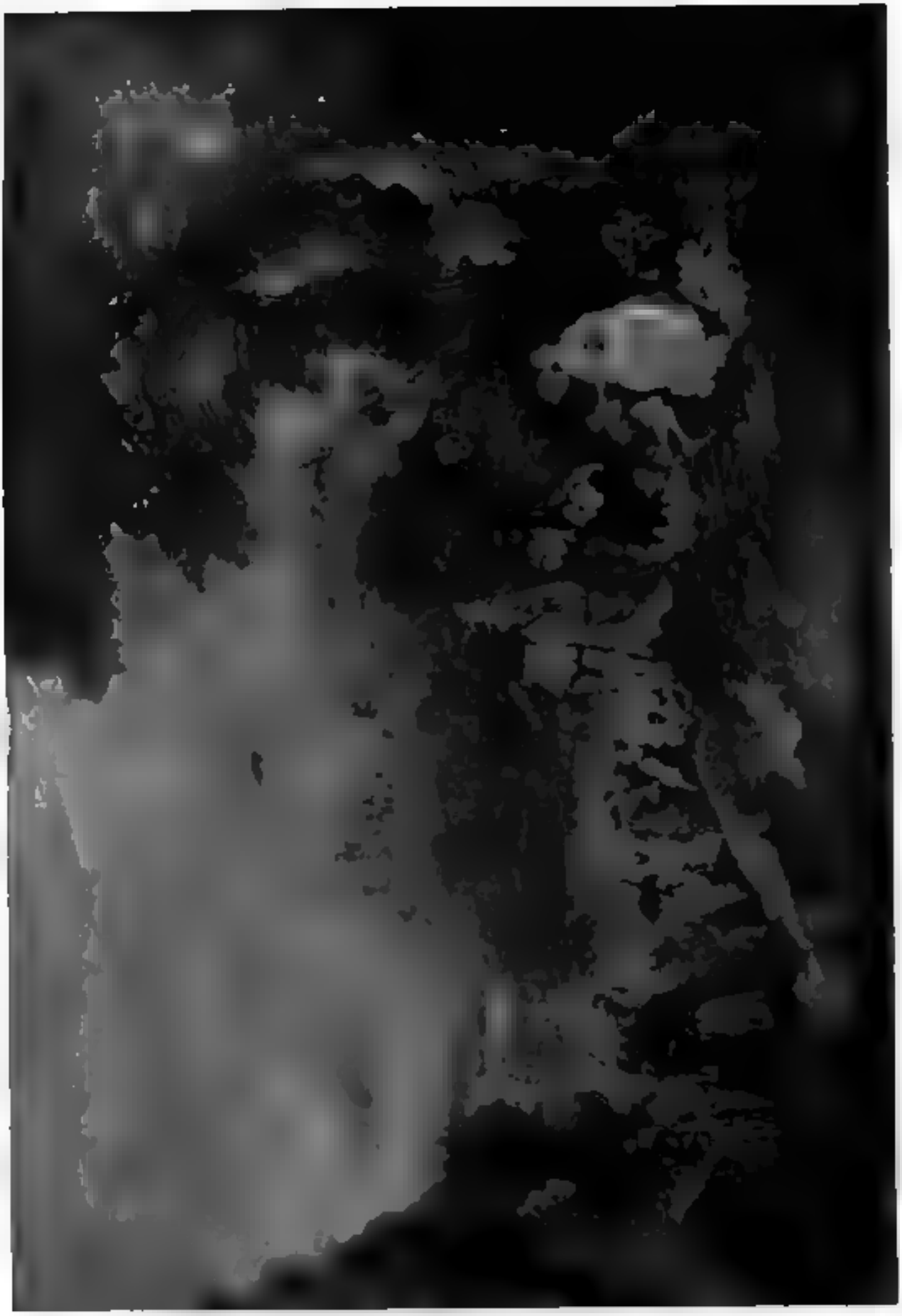
Right: GUARINO GUARINI. Dome, chapel of the Holy Shroud, Cathedral, Turin, 1668–94.

Below: GIOVANNI FISCHER. Sala Ottagona, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Vienna, 1715–17.

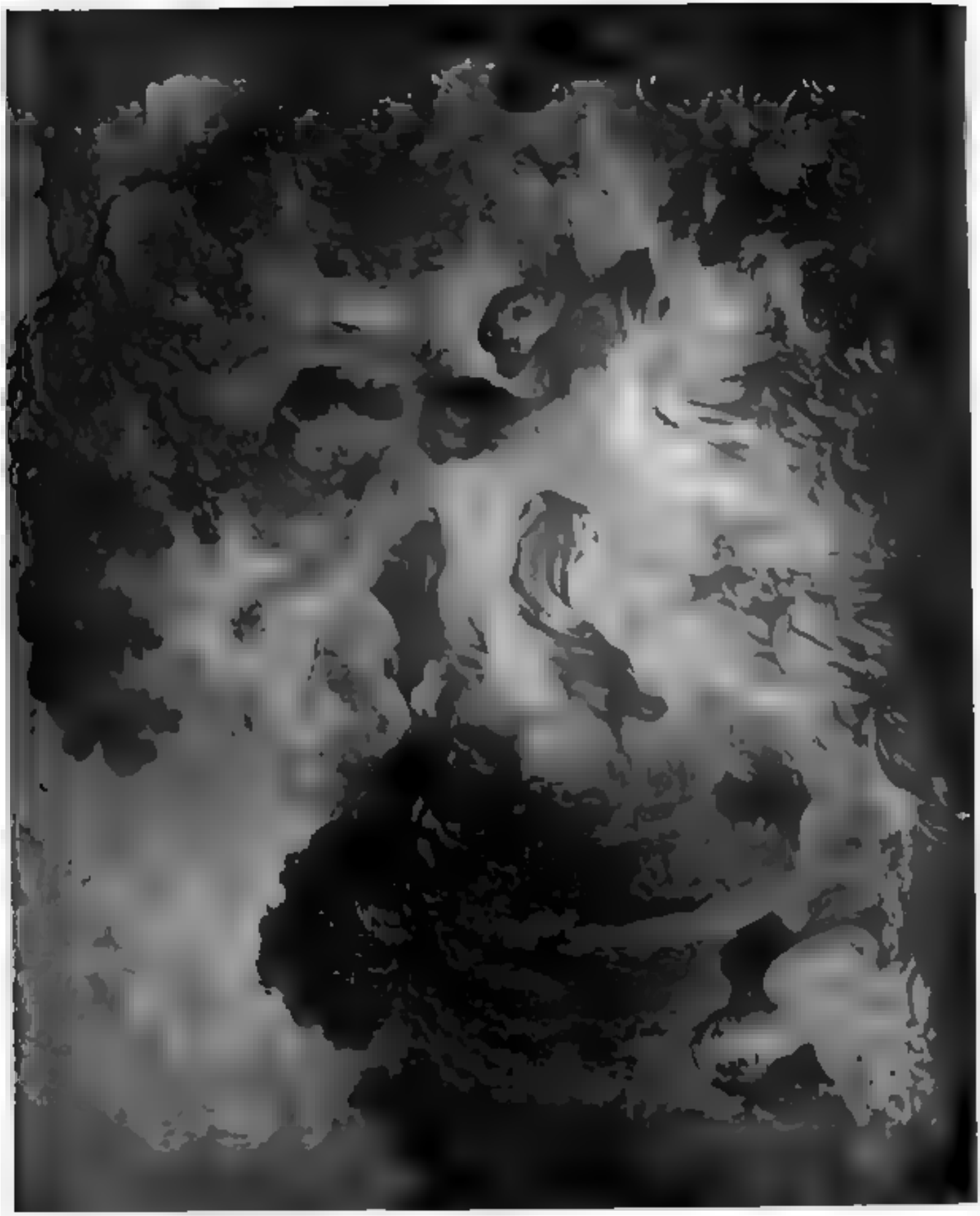
ed in philosophy and mathematics. His design for the façade of the Palazzo Carignano (fig. 620) repeats on a larger scale the undulating movement of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (see fig. 6.61), using a highly individual vocabulary. Incredibly, the exterior of the building

[illegible] St. [illegible] of the [illegible] Shroud [illegible] attached to the cathedral (fig. [illegible]). The [illegible] alternating windows and [illegible] [illegible] Baroque [illegible] pure [illegible] [illegible] light and [illegible] [illegible] recognizable (see fig. [illegible]). [illegible] appeared completely as a maze of segmental ribs and [illegible] themselves [illegible] like a huge kaleidoscope. Above this seemingly endless [illegible] space, [illegible] the dove of the Holy Spirit within a [illegible] twelve-pointed star. Guarini's dome remains an age-old symbolic meaning, the Dome of Heaven (see page 312, fig. 5[illegible]). But the objective geometric harmony of the Early Renaissance has here become subjective, a compelling experience of the infinite. Borromini's style at times suggests a synthesis of Gothic and Renaissance. Guarini, in his theoretical writings, takes his next decisive step: he contrasts the "massive" architecture of the ancients with the opposite effect of Gothic churches, so frail that they appear to stand only by some kind of miracle, and he expresses equal admiration for both. This attitude unheard-of since the fifteenth century, corresponds exactly to his own practice: by using the most advanced mathematical techniques of his day, he achieved architectural miracles even greater than those of the seemingly weightless Gothic structures.

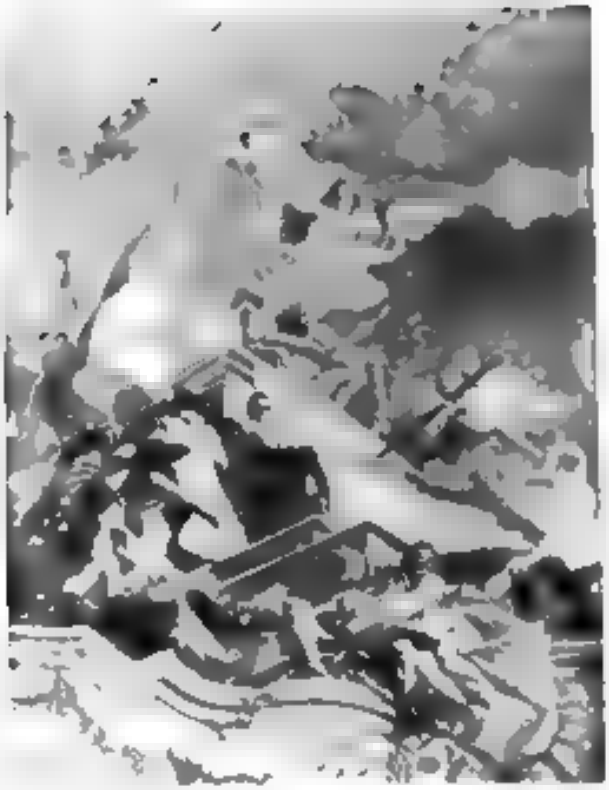
It is not surprising that the style invented by Borromini



[illegible] The Louvre, Paris



and furthered by Guarini should achieve its climax north of the Alps, in Austria and Southern Germany where such a synthesis of Gothic and Renaissance was sure of a particularly warm response. In these countries ravaged by the Thirty Years' War the number of buildings remained small until near the end of the seventeenth century. Baroque was an imported style practiced mainly by visiting Italians. Not until the 1690s did native designers come to the fore. There followed a period of intense activity that lasted more than fifty years and gave rise to some of the most imaginative creations in the history of architecture. We must be content with a small sampling of these monuments erected to the glorification of princes and prelates who, generously speaking, deserve to be remembered only as lavish patrons of the arts. Johann Fischer von Erlach [illegible] the first great architect of the late Baroque in Austria. [illegible] is linked more closely to the Roman tradition. His design for the church of Sant'Agnese fuori le mura, [illegible] combines the facade of Borromini's Agnese and the [illegible] of the Pantheon seen through a pair of huge [illegible] modeled on the triumphal arch of Trajan seen [illegible] which here also [illegible] facade. [illegible] were [illegible] have been [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



624. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO. Ceiling Fresco of the Kaisersaal, detail, colorplate 48, Prince-Bishop's Palace, Würzburg

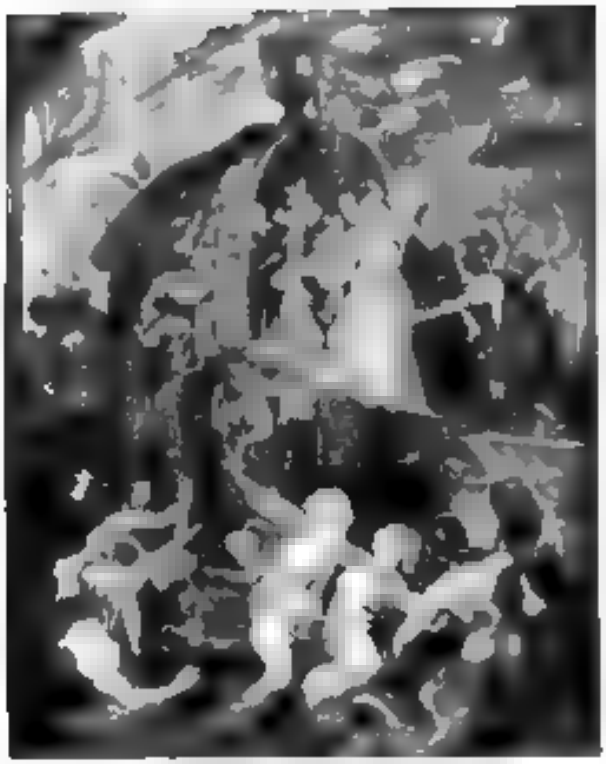
fig. 624) still reflects the plan of Tiepolo's fresco, but the abundant illumination, the play of curves and counter-curves, and the weightless grace of the stucco sculpture give an airy lightness far removed from the Roman Baroque. The vaults and wall surfaces seem thin and pliable, the membranes easily punctured by the expansive power of space. This tendency was carried even further by the architects of the next generation, among whom Balthasar Neumann stands as the most prominent. His largest project, the Prince-Bishop's Palace in Würzburg, includes the breath-taking Kaisersaal (colorplate 48), a great oval hall decorated in white, gold, and pastel shades, the favorite color scheme of the mid-eighteenth century. Structural members such as columns, pilasters, architraves are now dematerialized, windows and vault segments are framed by continuous, ribbon-like moldings, and the white surfaces are spun over with irregular ornamental designs. This repertory of lacy curling motifs, invented in France about 1700, is the hallmark of the Rococo style (see page 448), which is here happily combined with German late Baroque architecture. The membrane-like ceiling so often gives way to illusionistic openings of every sort that we no longer feel it to be a spatial boundary. These openings do not, however, reveal avalanches of figures propelled by dramatic bursts of light like those of Roman ceilings (compare fig. 6[illegible]), but blue sky and sunlit clouds, and an occasional winged creature soaring in this ageless expanse. Only along the edges are there solid clusters of figures (fig. 626). Here the last and most refined stage of illusionistic ceiling decoration is represented by its greatest master, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770). Venetian by birth and training, Tiepolo blended the tradition of High Baroque illusionism with the pageantry of Veronese. His masterpiece, [illegible] he grace and fe[illegible] y of his [illegible] made him famous far beyond his home terri[illegible] In the Würzburg frescoes his powers are at their height. He was [illegible] the Royal Palace in Madrid, where he spent his last years.

A contemporary of Balthasar Neumann, Dominikus Zimmermann created what may be the finest spatial design of the mid-eighteenth century, the Baroque pilgrimage church near Wies (fig. 626). The exterior is a plain box that [illegible] seem [illegible] swelling [illegible] the Kaisersaal [illegible] shape [illegible] but inside the ceiling [illegible] the spatial configuration [illegible] more complex and fluid despite the plain [illegible] Rococo decor, we are reminded of a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

7. The Baroque in Flanders, Holland, and Spain

Although Rome was the birthplace, the Baroque style soon became international. Among the artists who helped bring this about, the great Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) holds a place of unique importance. It might be said that he finished what Italy had started a hundred years earlier—the breaking down of the artistic barriers between North and South. Rubens's father was a prominent Antwerp Protestant who fled to Germany to escape Spanish persecution during the wars of independence (see page 199). He died in Antwerp after his death, when Peter Paul was ten years old, and the boy grew up a devout Catholic. Trained in several painters' studios, Rubens became a master painter by the age of 19. He developed a personal style while traveling and working in Italy. During his eight years in the Southern Lowlands, he studied ancient sculpture, the masterpieces of the High Renaissance (see his spirited drawing after Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*, fig. 6-[illegible]), and the works of Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci, absorbing the Italian tradition far more thoroughly than had any Northerner before him. He completed its fusion with the best features of his own native Flemish style, which he had previously made his own in Italy. Evidence of his popularity earlier in Italy attracted the attention of other painters. When he returned home, the richness of his brought him business in Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Malines, and Tournai. He became the most sought-after painter in the Spanish Netherlands, which permitted him to establish a workshop in Antwerp free from guild rules and guild regulations. Rubens thus had the best of both worlds: for he was valued at court not only as a painter but as a diplomat, a trusted envoy and emissary. Diplomatic missions gave him entree to the royal households of the major powers, where he procured sales and commissions, while he was also free to carry out, aided by a growing number of assistants, a vast volume of work for the churches of Antwerp, for the Church and for private patrons.

The Raising of the Cross (fig. 6-[illegible]), the first major altarpiece Rubens produced after his return, shows at a glance how much he owed to Italian art. The muscular figures, modeled to display their physical power and passionate feeling, recall the Sistine Ceiling and the Farnese Gallery; the lighting suggests Caravaggio. The panel is more heroic in scale and conception than any previous Northern work, yet Rubens is still a meticulous Flemish realist in such details as the foliage, the armor of the soldier, and the curly-haired dog in the foreground. These varied elements, integrated with sovereign mastery, form a composition of tremendous dramatic force. The unstable pyramid of bodies, swaying precariously, bursts the frame in a characteristically Baroque way, making the beholder feel that he is participates in the action. In the decade after Rubens's dynamic style reached its climax in his huge decorative schemes for churches and palaces. The most famous, probably, is the series of twenty-four paintings glorifying the career of Marie de Medici, the widow of Henri IV and mother of Louis XIII. Our illustration shows the arrival of the young queen in France, the episode in which the young queen landing at Marseilles, being hailed by a cheering subject, yet Rubens has given it the spectacle of unprecedented splendor. As Marie de Medici walks down the gangplank, a herald, stationed overhead, sounds a triumphant blast on a trumpet, and Neptune rises from the sea with his retinue, having guarded the queen's journey across the sea at her request. Every thing flows together here



[illegible]

[illegible]

to swirling movement, heaven and earth, history and allegory, even drawing and painting. For Rubens used our sketches like this one to prepare his compositions. Unlike earlier artists, he preferred to design his pictures in terms of light and color. Many of his drawings are figure studies or portrait sketches. This [illegible] assembled but never fully achieved by the great Venetians was Rubens' most precious legacy to subsequent painters.

[illegible] drama of Rubens' painting [illegible] changes [illegible] Rubens [illegible] Madrid [illegible] pleasure [illegible] But [illegible] a golden age [illegible] past [illegible] plastic [illegible] understand [illegible] been a feature [illegible] painting [illegible] Rubens [illegible] must have had [illegible] wife [illegible] Steen and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Charles I Hunting*, c. 1635, [illegible] The Louvre, Paris

[illegible]

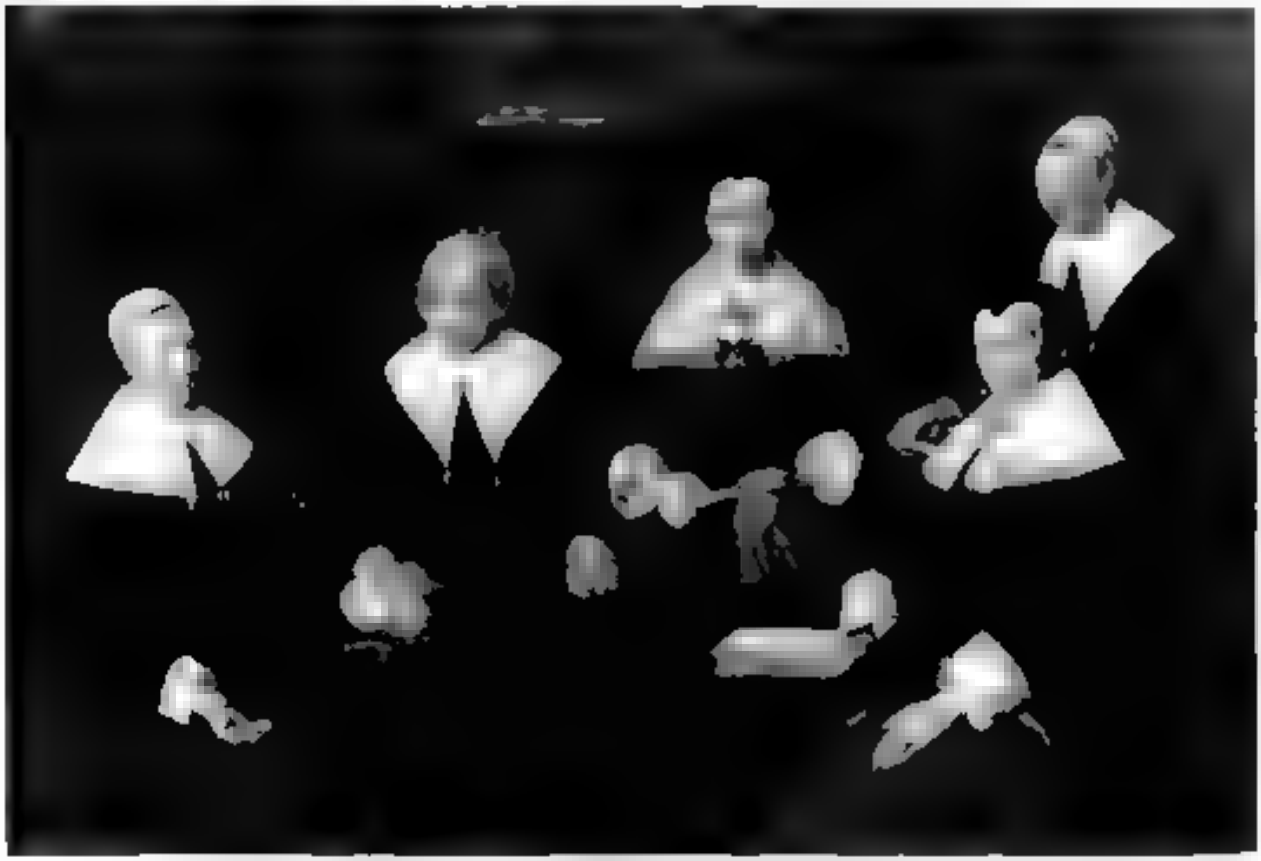
[illegible] he [illegible] In the [illegible] Rubens [illegible] Rubens [illegible] Rubens [illegible] Rubens [illegible] Among his [illegible] which he [illegible] a horse and [illegible] landscape background. Representing the sovereign as a [illegible] might be called a [illegible] equestrian portrait [illegible] rigid than a formal state portrait but handled [illegible] grace. The fluid Baroque movement of the setting [illegible] contrast sharply with the self-conscious elegance of the figure [illegible] which still suggests the stylized grace of [illegible] portraits (compare fig. [illegible]). Van Dyck has brought the Mannerist court portrait up-to-date, rephrasing [illegible] the pictorial language of Rubens and Titian. He created a new aristocratic portrait tradition that continued in England until the late eighteenth century and had considerable influence on the continent as well.

In contrast to Flanders, where painting was [illegible] shadowed by the majestic personality of Rubens, [illegible] [illegible] The new [illegible] painters [illegible] Flanders [illegible] Antwerp [illegible] and had a [illegible] Besides Amsterdam [illegible] groups of painters [illegible] Leyden [illegible] Delft and other [illegible] farmers and [illegible] craftsmen and [illegible] middle class [illegible] religious [illegible] public [illegible] commissions [illegible] Since [illegible] were available [illegible] Wealthy [illegible] purchasing [illegible] a certain amount of art [illegible] demands were [illegible] in volume and [illegible] for the first time in history the private [illegible] became the painter's [illegible] source of support. This [illegible] we recall, had already existed to some extent in the [illegible] as we discussed on page [illegible], but [illegible] effect [illegible] felt only after [illegible]. There was no [illegible] of support [illegible] the general public developed [illegible] appetite [illegible] pictures [illegible] the [illegible] became gripped by a kind of collector's mania [illegible] interested in paintings [illegible] which he could afford [illegible] of Antwerp played the stock market in the [illegible]. The comparison is not far fetched [illegible] pictures became an important commodity in [illegible] and their trade showed the law of supply and demand. Many artists produced for the market, instead of relying on commissions from individual patrons. The mechanism of the art market has been said to raise a

[illegible]

[illegible]

barrier between artist and public, and to degrade or falsify the "true worth" of the work of art. Such charges, however, are unrealistic: the true worth of a work of art is always unstable and depends on time and circumstance (see our introductory remarks, page 9); even those who believe in timeless values in art will concede that these values cannot be expressed in money. Because the art market reflects the dominant, rather than the most discerning, taste of the moment, works by artists now regarded as mediocre may once have been overpriced; others, highly valued today, seem once to have sold too cheaply. Yet the system in antiquity and the Middle Ages, when artists were paid on standards of craftmanship, was hardly fairer in rewarding aesthetic merit (except, perhaps, for Alexander the Great, who is said to have ceded his mistress to the painter Apelles as a token of appreciation). The market does form a barrier between artist and patron, but there are advantages in this as well as drawbacks. To subject the artist to the impersonal pressure of supply and demand in an egalitarian society is not necessarily worse than to make him depend on the taste of patrons. The lesser men will tend to become specialists, steadily producing their marketable products, while artists of independent spirit, perhaps braving public indifference and economic hardship, will paint as they please and rely for support on the discerning minority. The collector's mania in seventeen-century Holland caused an outpouring of art such as taken comparable only [illegible] Renaissance Florence. Although many Dutch [illegible] painters [illegible] hopes



success that failed to come true. Even the greatest masters were sometimes hard-pressed: it was not unusual for an artist to keep an inn, or run a small business on the side. Yet they survived—less secure, but freer.

The Baroque style came to Holland from Antwerp through the work of Rubens, and from Rome through direct contact with Caravaggio and his followers. Although most Dutch painters did not go to Italy, in the early years of the century there were some who did. Principally from Utrecht, a town with strong Catholic traditions, it is not surprising that these artists were more attracted by Caravaggio's realism and "Dark Christianity" than by Annibale Carracci's classicism. *The Calling of St. Matthew* by Hendrick Terbrugghen (1588–1629) (the left-hand panel of this group, fig. 6.11), directly reflects Caravaggio's earlier treatment of the subject: the sharp light, the dramatic staging, and the everyday details. While Utrecht School produced no great artists, its members were important in transmitting the style of Caravaggio to other Dutch painters who made better use of these new Italian ideas. One of the best-known profits from this experience was Frans Hals (c. 1580–1666), the great portrait painter of Haarlem. He was born in Antwerp and what little is known of his early work suggests the influence of Rubens. The earliest work in which we can see such pictures as *The Laughing Cavalier* (illustrated) combines Rubens's robustness and breadth with a concentration on the dramatic moment that must be derived from Caravaggio. Everything here consists of complete spontaneity: the twinkling eyes and half-open mouth, the raised hand, the leering wineglass and, most important of all, the quick way of setting down the forms. Hals works in flashing brush strokes, each clearly visible as a separate entity, but we are allowed to guess at the total number of touches. With this "open spontaneous" technique the completed picture has the immediacy of a sketch (compare, but by Rubens, fig. 6.28). The impression of a race against time is, of course, deceptive: Frans Hals spent hours, not minutes, on this lifesize canvas, but he maintains the illusion of having done it in the wink of an eye. These qualities are even more forceful in the *Malle Babbe* (fig. 6.32), one of the artist's genre pictures. A lower-class counterpart of *The Jolly Toper*, this witch, note the owl's half-savage idiot screams in order to scare other guests in a tavern. He seems to share their attitude toward this benighted creature—one of cruel amusement rather than sympathy—but his characterization is masterfully sharp and his glittering-like brushwork has the bravura of incredible skill. In the artist's last canvases these pictorial fireworks are transmuted into an austere style of great emotional depth. His group portrait, *The Women Regents of the Old Men's Home at Haarlem* (fig. 6.33), the institution where he spent his final years, has an insight into human character matched only in Rembrandt's late style (compare figs. 6.38, 6.39). The daily experience of suffering and death has so etched the faces of these women that they seem themselves

[illegible] Rubens, [illegible] 1616. Panel, [illegible] Hermitage, Leningrad, Russia.

[illegible] images of death, genuine incontrovertible [illegible] scenes.

Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), the greatest genius of Dutch art, was also stimulated at the beginning of his career by indirect contact with Caravaggio. His earliest pictures, from his Leyden period (1628–31), are small, sharply lit, and intensely realistic—many such as *Tobit and Anna with the Kid* (fig. 6.34) deal with Old Testament subjects, a lifelong preference of the artist's. Even this little panel, filled with the homely details of peasant life, has qualities that distinguish Rembrandt's from earlier Old Testament scenes: it shows not only his greater realism but his new emotional attitude. Since the beginning of Christian art episodes from the Old Testament had often been represented for the light they shed on Christian doctrine (the Sacrifice of Isaac, for example, prefigured the sacrificial death of Christ), rather than for their own sake. This perspective not only limited the choice of subjects, it also colored their interpretation. Rembrandt, by contrast, viewed the stories of the Old Testament in the same lay Christian spirit that governed Caravaggio's approach to the New Testament: as direct accounts of God's ways with men. How deeply they moved him is evident from the touching relationship he has created between the blind Tobit and his wife.

Ten years later, in *The Blinding of Samson* (fig. 6.35),

REMBRANDT
The Blinding of Samson
[illegible]
Staatliches Institut [illegible] Frankfurt

REMBRANDT *The Night Watch*
The Company of Captain
Frans Banning Cocq
[illegible]
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Rembrandt had developed a full-blown High Baroque style. He here visualizes the Old Testament as a world of oriental splendor and violence, cruel yet seductive. The sudden flood of brilliant light pouring into the dark tent is unabashedly theatrical, heightening the drama. Rembrandt was at his zenith and collected a lot of Near Eastern paraphernalia, which serve as props in these pictures. He was now Amsterdam's most sought after portrait painter and a man of considerable wealth. This prosperity petered out in the 1640s; the turning point may have been his

famous group portrait known as *The Night Watch* (fig. 936). The huge canvas (originally it was even larger) shows a military company whose members had each contributed toward the cost. But Rembrandt did not depict them equal justice. Anxious to avoid a mechanical and regular design, he made the picture a moment of performance of Baroque movement and lighting. In the process some of the figures were plunged in shadow, some hidden by overlapping. Legend has it that the people whose portraits he had thus discounted were displeased. There is no evidence that they were, we do know, however, that the painting was admired even then as a work of art.

Like Michelangelo, Rembrandt has been the victim of what might be called the Sistine syndrome: a man who dominates his genre attracts fewer imitators than other artists who are far from public favorites. This is usually explained by the catastrophe of *The Night Watch*. Actually, his fortunes were hit after the less sudden and completely than his contemporaries would have, as he lost certain important patrons. He continued to be his own stage manager, as it were, and he received some more public commissions in the 1660s and 1670s, but financial difficulties resulted largely from poor management. Nevertheless, he seems after the [illegible] of more and more [illegible] and external troubles. Rembrandt's [illegible] changed profoundly after about 1650. His style eschews the rhetoric of the High Baroque, [illegible] subjects and [illegible] breadth. Such pictures as *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph* (Potsdam) show a new depth of feeling. Some of his [illegible] paintings from the earlier years remain, but they no longer [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] seems a gentle [illegible] the gesture [illegible] per [illegible] [illegible] difference [illegible] but the [illegible] [illegible] bed [illegible] a [illegible] kinship with the family group [illegible] shared experience [illegible] stronger and more [illegible] than [illegible] earlier work of art.

In his late years Rembrandt often adapted [illegible] a [illegible] way compositions [illegible] ideas from the Northern Renaissance. One instance is *The Polish Rider* (fig. [illegible]). We cannot be sure that the rider's Polish [illegible] was given to him later, although the costume [illegible] the land worn by the [illegible] in eastern Europe, nor is Rembrandt's exact meaning clear. But Dürer's famous engraving *Knight, Death, and Devil* (see fig. 484), which Rembrandt surely admired, may be the key to the picture. Is not *The Polish Rider* another Christian Soldier bravely making his way through a perilous world? The dangers in his case are [illegible] imagine in the gloomy landscape, but he rider's [illegible] alert glance suggests unseen threats. With such a relationship of form and content, the differences between the painting and the print make a rewarding study. Dürer's horseman, boxed into the composition, is balanced and stationary like an equestrian statue. Rembrandt's, slightly foreshortened and off-center, is in

[illegible] Rembrandt [illegible]
The [illegible] Night [illegible]

motion, urged on as it were by the light from the left. The winding path he takes [illegible] cast him beyond the frame. This subtle imbalance implies a space far wider than the compass of the picture and stamps [illegible] with a Baroque [illegible] absence of

[illegible] Rembrandt [illegible]
[illegible] The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London

the more obvious hallmarks of the style. The same is true of the *Self-Portrait* (fig. 638): in the sixty-odd the artist produced during a long career, his view of himself reflects every stage of his inner development: experimental in the Leyden years, theatrically disguised in the 1630s, frank and self-analytical toward the end of his life, as in, for example, yet full of simple dignity.

The Return of the Prodigal Son (fig. 639), painted a few years before his death, is perhaps Rembrandt's most moving religious picture. It is also his quietest, a moment stretching into eternity. The sensuous beauty seen in *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph* has now yielded to a humble world of bare feet and ragged clothes, recalling the *Tobit and Anna* painted four decades before. This feeling for the poor and outcast has never disappeared entirely from Rembrandt's work, although during his middle years it showed in his drawings and prints rather than in his paintings. He had a special sympathy for the Jews as the heirs of the biblical past and as the patient victims of persecution; they were his models, and among his prints are scenes such as *Christ Preaching* (fig. 640) that seem to take place in the streets of the Amsterdam ghetto. *The Return of the Prodigal Son* is his most moving treatment of these subjects.

Rembrandt's impact was as a graphic artist, as well as a painter, only to Dürer's, although we get no more than a hint of this strength from the single example. But we must add a word about his medium. By the seventeenth century, the techniques of etching and engraving were employed mainly to reproduce other works. The great goldsmiths of the [illegible] Rembrandt [illegible]

above: 639. REMBRANDT
The Return of the Prodigal Son
c. 1669. 104 × 80½ in.
Hermitage Museum, Leningrad

right: 640. REMBRANDT
Christ Preaching, c. 1652. Etching
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Bequest of Mrs. H. C. Havemeyer, 1929)

bined with drypoint (see page 304). An etching is made by coating a copperplate with resin to make an acid-resistant "ground," through which the design is scratched with a needle, laying bare the metal surface underneath. The plate is then bathed in an acid that etches or bites the lines into the copper. The depth of these grooves varies with the strength and duration of the bath. The biting is usually by stages: after a brief immersion the etcher will apply a protective coating to the plate in those areas where the lines should be faint; he then immerses the plate until it is time to protect the less delicate lines and so on. To scratch a design into the resinous ground is of course an easier task than to scratch it out of the copperplate itself; hence an etched line is softer and more flexible than a drypoint line. An etched plate is also more durable: like an engraving it yields a far larger number of prints than a drypoint plate. Its tone is wider in range, including very dark shades impossible in other media. No etcher ever exploited tone quite so subtly as Rembrandt.

Rembrandt's religious pictures demand an insight that was beyond the capacity of all but a few other artists. Most art buyers in Holland preferred subjects with which they were familiar: landscapes, architectural views, still lifes, everyday scenes. These various types were organized in the guild halls. In the seventeenth century (see page 399) they became fairly defined, and the specialization began. The trend was [illegible]

[illegible] 1644
Pa[illegible] [illegible] Museum [illegible] Amsterdam

it everywhere to some degree, but Dutch painting was [illegible] contaminated both in volume and variety. There were, in fact, so many subtypes within each major division mentioned above that we can illustrate only a small sampling. The [illegible] *River* by Jan van Goyen represents a new kind of landscape which enjoyed great popularity because its elements were so familiar: the Dutch [illegible] under a dominating gray sky, seen through a moisture-laden atmosphere but as an expanse of water [illegible] view [illegible] that consists of the Dutch countryside [illegible] Nobody knew better than van Goyen how to evoke [illegible] these marshy lands. Never is cultivated

[illegible] JACOB VAN RUISDAEL
The Jewish Graveyard
c. 1655–[illegible]
State Picture Gallery, Dresden

by the sea. The awareness of natural forces also dominates *The Jewish Cemetery* (fig. 643) by Jacob van Ruisdael, the greatest Dutch landscape painter. The scene is dank, imaginary, the thunderous clouds passing over a wild, desolate mountain valley; the medieval ruin, the cemetery, has been reclaimed by nature, between ancient graves a stream flows, a mood of deep melancholy. Nothing endures in this earth, the artist seems to say, but wind and water; generations of dust, the feeble works of man as well as the trees and rocks. His signature on the gravestone nearest us is a tiny, sudden gleam from Ruisdael's vision of nature in repose. Man's lot, he has the exact opposite of Annibale Carracci's, in a pair of his best known paintings that inspires that awe in which the romantics and emotionalists were to have the reconcept the sublime.

Nothing at first seems further removed from *The Jewish Cemetery* than the painted kings, prelates, and architectural [illegible] of Cornelis Ketel's *Rhetoricians* (fig. 644), painted by Dutch Saenredam a century later. The same time, the Ketel is mounted on a note meditation rather than verse, thereby a topographic record of those new institutions recently in existence. The medieval cathedral stripped of its furnishings and whitewashed under its vaults and arches, no longer a house of worship, has become a place for the dead, note the coffin in the aisle. Rows and rows of empty seats, all the space between the science, a grave yard. Again we are reminded that Saenredam's art, like that of Ruisdael, can be tinged with his own and his scene's glossing [illegible] pleasure [illegible] through [illegible] of light and candles [illegible]

example (fig. 644) belongs to a widespread type, the "breakfast piece," showing the remnants of a meal. Food and drink are less emphasized than luxury objects: crystal goblets and silver dishes, carefully juxtaposed for their contrasting shape, color, and texture. How different this seem from the piled up tables of Aertsen's *Meat Stall* (see fig. 504)! But virtuosity was not the artist's only aim; his scene, the human context of these grouped objects, is suggested by the broken glass, the half-peeled lemon, the overturned silver dish: what at first sight a tidy table has been suddenly forced to abandon by men. The curtain of time has lowered on the scene as it were, invest the objects with a strange *pathos*. The disposition [illegible] painting [illegible]

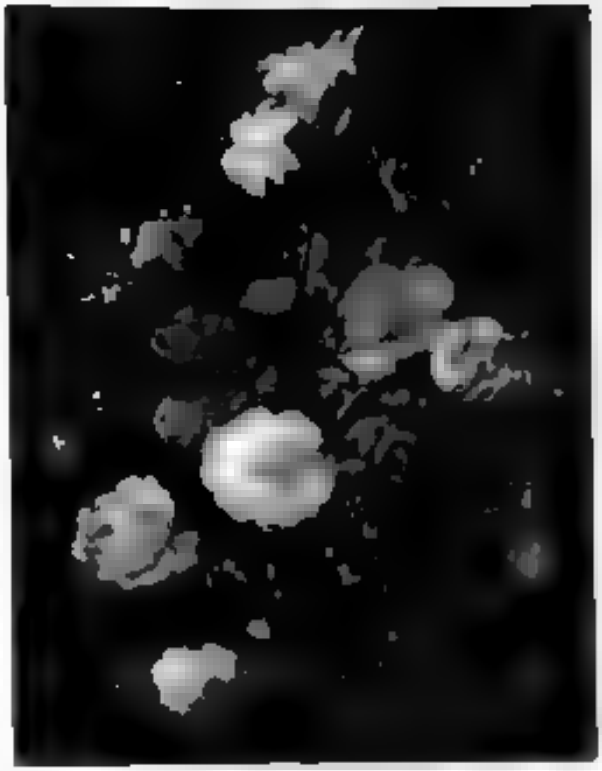
644. Pieter [illegible]
[illegible]
Rhetoricians [illegible] Panel
[illegible]
Magistrates [illegible] Hague

644. Willem Claesz Heda, *Still Life*, 1634. Panel, 17 × 22. Boymans Museum, Rotterdam

here in a new form. Other types of still life, such as flower pieces, can be traced directly to their symbolic origins. How much of the older meaning survives in these examples is still being debated. Was the artist of the beautiful flower piece in figure 645 aware of the significance of each blossom and of the butterflies, moth, and snail he put into the picture, and did he assemble his bouquet to this end? Or was he content to make a [illegible] for the eyes? Be that as it may, these flowers have such Baroque vitality that they [illegible] their age.

The vast mass of pictures termed genre was varied in character, of landscapes and [illegible] of angels from [illegible] brawls to refined domestic [illegible]. *The Fiddler* [illegible] by Jan Steen (fig. 646) [illegible] midway between these extremes. St. Nicholas has [illegible] paid his [illegible] to the household [illegible] and [illegible] everybody [illegible] except for baby [illegible] who has received [illegible] a [illegible] Steen [illegible] with fresh embroidery [illegible] with many designs [illegible] the Dutch nurse [illegible] the [illegible] and humorous [illegible] suggestive [illegible] which [illegible] through the [illegible] [illegible] genre [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] Single figures usually [illegible] engaging [illegible] *The* [illegible] [illegible] single figures [illegible] [illegible] As we look at *The* [illegible] [illegible] eyes [illegible] as we have never [illegible] [illegible] But [illegible] unlike [illegible] [illegible] as a mosaic of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] We see *The* [illegible] a perspective [illegible] as a plane [illegible] [illegible] Rectangles predominate [illegible] with [illegible] the picture surface and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] empty spaces [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] seven [illegible] century [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] very little about him except that he was born in [illegible] 632 and lived and worked there until his death at forty-three in 1675. Some of his works show the influence of Carel Fabritius, the most brilliant of Rembrandt's pupils; other pictures suggest his contact with the Utrecht School. But none of this really explains the genesis of his style, so startingly original that his genius was not recognized until a century ago.

Spain is the last country to be surveyed in the present



646. Jan Steen. *The Fiddler*. St. Nicholas. c. 1660–65. [illegible] Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

[illegible] 648 FRANCISCO DE ZURBARÁN
St Serapion (1628)
[illegible] Wadsworth Atheneum
Hartford [illegible]

chapter for Spanish Baroque painting cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of artistic events in Italy and the Netherlands. During the sixteenth century at the height of its political and economic power, Spain had produced great saints and writers, but no artists of [illegible] rank. [illegible] presence [illegible] aggressive [illegible] Flemish painting. Soon after Antonio Moro and his contemporaries in the Netherlands established a school of [illegible] the Spanish masters began to develop their own versions. In the example by Sánchez Cotán (fig. 647), who was an early and remarkable Spanish master of still life, we see the distinctive characteristic tradition. In contrast to the lavish display of [illegible] objects in Northern pictures, we here find an austere and austere still life, but gives a new [illegible] these vegetables. They are so deliberately arranged in a cross-and-crescent pattern that we cannot help wondering what symbolic significance the artist meant to convey. In any case, the juxtaposition of bright sunlight and impenetrable darkness, of painstaking realism and abstract form, creates a memorable image.

Sánchez Cotán may have been among the very first Spanish artists to feel the influence of Caravaggio. During the second decade of the century, this influence became more established, especially in Seville, the home of the most important Spanish Baroque painters. Among them, Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) stands out for the quiet intensity of his devotional pictures, such as *St Serapion* (fig. 648). Although Caravaggesque in style, it is filled with an ascetic piety that is uniquely Spanish, and the very absence of rhetorical *pathos* makes this image of a martyred monk profoundly moving. Diego Velázquez (1599–1660), Zurbarán's contemporary, also painted in a Caravaggesque vein during his early years, but his interests centered on genre and still life rather than religious themes. *The Water Carrier of Seville* (fig. 649), which he did at the age of twenty, already shows his genius. His

powerful grasp of individual character and dignity in vests this everyday scene with the solemn spirit of a mass. A few years later Velázquez was appointed court painter and moved to Madrid, where he spent the rest of his life painting mainly portraits of the royal family. The many of these still show the precise division of light and shade and the clear outlines of his Seville period, but later on his work acquired a new fluency and richness. Meanwhile he had become a friend of Rubens who probably helped him to discover the beauty of the masters in the king's collection, but only in influence but directly he had also travelled in Italy. No picture of his plays Velázquez' mature style more fully than *The Maids of Honor* (fig. 660, colorplate 54), which is both a group portrait and a genre scene. Though he suffers no access to his studio, for Velázquez shows himself at work on a huge canvas in the center of the picture, facing the king and queen, who have just posed for it, along with the princess and many of their court. The faces of the monarchs, he is an unquestionable appearance in the mirror on the back wall. Meanwhile, as stepped into the room, see the scene exactly as he does, he must be reflect part of the canvas, presumably a full-length portrait of the royal family which the artist has been working. This ambiguity is characteristic of Velázquez, and has led some to compare him with Rembrandt. He was once now his painting is by

Diego Velázquez, *The Maids of Honor*, 1656. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Diego Velázquez, [illegible]

than its metaphysical mysteries, but here he penetrated more completely than any painter of his time except Vermeer. The character of direct and reflected light in *The Maids of Honor* are almost limitless, and the artist challenges us to find them. We are exposed to match the [illegible] against the paintings on the wall, and against the picture of the man in the open doorway. Velázquez could not have known Vermeer's work, for the latter was then only twenty-four, but he may have known scenes of domestic genre by older Dutch painters. Along the open sketchy brushwork in colorplate 54 shows, considerably the scale of the original, we wonder if he could also have known Frans Hals (compare colorplate 53). Yet Velázquez' technique is far more varied and subtle, with delicate glazes setting off the impasto of the highlights. The colors also have a Venetian richness unmatched by Hals. Nor does Velázquez seem interested in catching time on the wing, his aim is to show not figures in motion, but the movement of light itself and the infinite range of its effects on form and color. For Velázquez, light creates the visible world. Not until two centuries later shall we meet painters capable of realizing the implications of this discovery.

8. The Baroque in France and England

Our discussion of Baroque art in Flanders, Holland, and Spain has been limited to painting, architecture, and sculpture in these countries, although art in the negligible arts not of central importance can be [illegible] of a [illegible] that we could afford to leave them out of account. But in France the situation is quite different. Under Louis XIV France became the most powerful nation of Europe militarily and culturally. By the late seventeenth century Paris had replaced Rome as the world capital of the visual arts, a position it still holds today. It was this astonishing change which led to Versailles. Because the Palace of Versailles and other vast projects glorifying the king of France, we are emboldened to think of French art in the age of Louis XIV as the expression and one of the products of absolutism. This is true of the climactic phase of Louis' reign, 1660 to 1685, but by that time French seventeenth-century art already had a distinctive style. French men are reluctant to call this style Baroque. To them it is the Style of Louis XIV. Often they also describe the art and literature of the period as "classic." The term is used has three meanings: as a synonym for "highest achievement," implies that the Style of Louis XIV corresponds to the High Renaissance in Italy or the age of Pericles in ancient Greece; the term also refers to the emotional tone, the form and subject matter of classical antiquity; finally, "classic" suggests qualities of balance and restraint like those of the classic styles of the High Renaissance and of ancient art. The second and third of these meanings lead, be what we will, to a more accurate [illegible] "classic." And since the Style of Louis XIV reflects a kind of Baroque art, however modified, we may [illegible] the "classic" Baroque or Baroque classicism.

The classicism was due, in part, to a [illegible] but its origin was in the political [illegible] the period in question. [illegible] France was [illegible] with the Counter-Reformation [illegible] see [illegible] classicism was [illegible] by French humanists with a [illegible] of the age of [illegible] Nicolas Poussin [illegible] fact [illegible] the painter [illegible] Baroque [illegible] and modified [illegible] pictures of Rubens. Medium [illegible] For example, Eustache Le Sueur [illegible] at the end of the century [illegible] the painting public in France were [illegible] accommodating the Baroque. Some were [illegible] and [illegible] men. Georges de La Tour [illegible] has been recognized only recently. [illegible] *Carpenter* (fig. 65) [illegible] be mistaken for a genre scene, yet its devotional spirit has the power of Caravaggio's *Calling of St. Matthew* (see [illegible] page 49). The boy Jesus holds a candle, a favorite device with La Tour, which lights the scene with a [illegible] and tenderness reminiscent of Georges [illegible] (compare fig. 454). Strange's engraving also shares Georges's tendency to reduce his forms to geometric simplicity. The Caravaggesque *Peasant Family* (fig. 652) by Louis Le Nain (1593–1648) is equally impressive. Like the peasant pictures of seventeenth-century Holland and Flanders, it stems from a tradition going back to Pieter Brueghel the Elder (see color plate 48). But the Netherlandish scenes of low life are humorous or satirical (see fig. 632), whereas Louis Le Nain endows them with a human dignity and monumental weight that recall Velázquez' *Water Carrier of Seville* (see fig. 649). Like Georges de La Tour, Louis Le Nain was also rediscovered in modern times, but he did not have to wait quite so long.

Why were these important painters so quickly forgotten? The reason is simple: the clarity, balance, and

[illegible] Nicolas Poussin
L'Inspiration du Poète
[illegible]
Musée du Louvre, Paris

[illegible] Nicolas Poussin
Cephalus and Aurora
c. 1630–38, 91
The National Gallery
London

[illegible] extra of [illegible] which [illegible] are [illegible] other [illegible] Baroque painters might be termed [illegible] but neither was a "classicist" and after the 1620s classicism was supreme in France. The artist who did most to bring this about was Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665). The greatest French painter of the century and the earliest French painter in history to win international fame, Poussin nevertheless spent almost his entire career in Rome. His development also was somewhat paradoxical, as we see in figures 653 and 654: both paintings show his profound [illegible] antiquity, but in style and attitude they are much farther apart than the seven years' difference in date would suggest. *Cephalus and Aurora* is inspired by Titian's warm, rich color and by his approach to classical mythology (compare counterplate 4). Poussin, too, visualizes antiquity here as a poetic dream world, although the unalloyed bliss of Titian's *Bacchanal* is now overcast with melancholy (his favorite subjects are tales of frustrated love). By contrast, *The Rape of the Sabine Women* must be seen altogether differently. The strongly modeled

figures are "frozen in action" like statues, and many are in fact derived from Hellenistic sculpture behind them Poussin has set reconstructions of Roman architecture that he believed to be archaeologically correct. Emotion is abundantly displayed, yet it seldom seems spontaneous, that it fails to touch us. Clearly the attitude here reflected is not Titian's but Raphael's, more precisely that of Raphael as filtered through Annibale Carracci and his school (compare figs. 60, 62). Venetian qualities have been consciously suppressed in the severe classicism

right: 654. Nicolas Poussin
The Rape of the Sabine Women
c. 1636–37. [illegible]
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Jack Linsl. [illegible]

below: 655. Nicolas Poussin
Landscape with the Burial of Phocion
1648–50. [illegible] The Louvre, Paris

an intellectual style. Poussin now strikes us as a man who knew his own mind only too well, an impression reinforced by the numerous letters in which he expounded his views to friends and patrons. The highest aim of painting, he believed, was to represent noble and serious human actions. These must be shown in a logical and orderly way, not as they really happened, but as they would have happened if nature were perfect. To this end the artist must strive for the general and typical appearance of the mind rather than the senses; he should suppress such trivialities as growing color and stress form and composition. In a good picture the beholder must be able to read the exact emotions of each figure and relate them to the given event. These ideas were not new; we recall Leonardo's statement that the highest aim of painting is to depict the intention of man's soul, and he ancient dictum [illegible] (see pages [illegible]). [illegible] Poussin [illegible] made the analogy between painting and literature [illegible] *The Rape of the Sabines* [illegible] that makes the picture [illegible] more easily accessible [illegible] his earlier Classical [illegible] Poussin's landscapes according to this theoretical view [illegible] *Baptism of Eliodoro* (fig. 655) [illegible] the Italian [illegible] (see fig. [illegible]) [illegible] spaces [illegible] mathematically [illegible] Yet the effect [illegible] certainly has a [illegible] persuasive [illegible] of Annibale's [illegible] Poussin's theme, the human [illegible] here, which not because he [illegible] the landscape becomes [illegible] a memorial [illegible] value. Although we may no longer read the scene [illegible] precisely we still [illegible] the ancient beauty.

Poussin developed the heroic quality of the ideal landscape. The great French landscape painter Claude Lorrain (1600–82) brought out its lyric aspects. He spent almost his entire career in Rome and explored the Roman Campagna, more thoroughly and affectionately than any Italian. Countless drawings made on the spot, such as the miraculously fresh and sensitive example in figure 656, bear witness to his extraordinary powers of observation. These sketches, however, were only the raw material for his paintings, which do not aim at topographic exactitude but evoke the poetic essence of a countryside filled with echoes of antiquity. Often, as in *A Pastoral* (fig. 657), the compositions are suffused with the hazy, luminous atmosphere of early morning or late afternoon; the space expands serenely, rather than receding step-by-step as in Poussin's landscapes. An air of nostalgia hangs over such vistas of past experience, guided by memory; hence they appealed especially to northerners who had seen Italy only briefly—or perhaps not at all.

In France itself, meanwhile, the foundations of Baroque classicism in architecture were laid by a group of designers whose most distinguished member was François Mansart

[illegible]

[illegible]

(1598–1666). Apparently he never visited Italy, but other French architects had already imported and acclimatized some aspects of the Roman Early Baroque, especially in church design, so that Mansart was not unfamiliar with the new Italian style. What he owed to it, however, is hard to determine; his most important buildings are châteaux, and in this field the French Renaissance tradition outweighed any direct Italian Baroque influences. The Château of Maisons near Paris, built for a newly risen administrative official, shows Mansart's mature style at its best. The vestibule leading to the grand staircase (fig. 658) has a particularly beautiful effect, severe yet festive. On seeing the classically pure articulation of the walls, one first thinks of Palladio, whose treatise Mansart certainly knew and admired. But sculpture is used here

n the character [illegible] French was as an integral part of architectural design and the complex curves of the vaulting [illegible] its classicism belongs [illegible] Baroque.

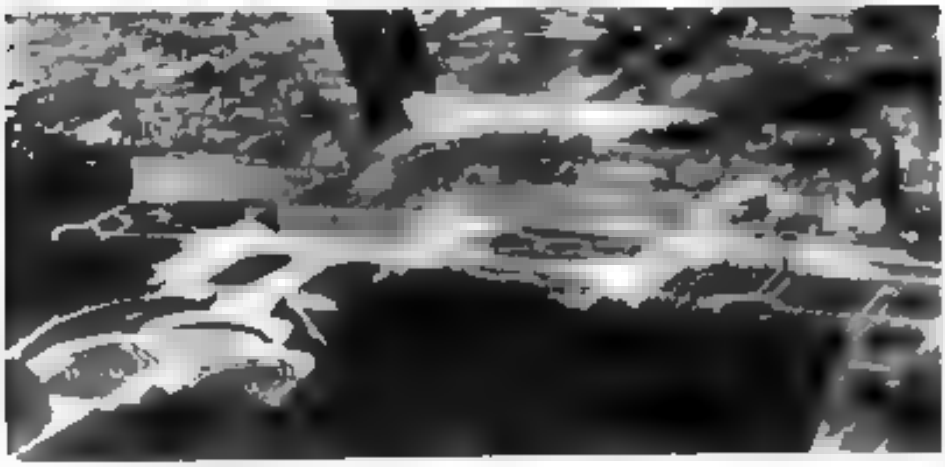
Mansart died [illegible] have a share [illegible] the [illegible] phase [illegible] which began [illegible] after [illegible] government [illegible] Colbert [illegible] the king's [illegible] power [illegible] absolute monarch [illegible] subjecting the thoughts and actions [illegible] above [illegible] the king and his office. [illegible] and praise [illegible] the completion [illegible] proceeded [illegible] design [illegible] what emanated [illegible]

above: 1651 FRANÇOIS MANSART
Vestibule, Château of Maisons-Laffitte
1642–50

proposals of French architects invited Bernini to Paris hoping the most famous master of the Roman Baroque would do for the French king what he had already done [illegible] magnificent [illegible] church. Bernini spent several months in Paris [illegible] and submitted three designs all [illegible] completely engulfed [illegible] palace. After much argument and [illegible] rejected these plans and [illegible] the problem [illegible] solution [illegible] three [illegible] Louis XIV [illegible] his court architect [illegible] the project [illegible] a professional [illegible] actual [illegible] the [illegible] Bernini [illegible] Versailles [illegible] the king [illegible] Louis XIV [illegible] the wealth [illegible] make appropriate [illegible] and [illegible] Bernini as a [illegible]

right: 1667 CLAUDE PERRAULT
East Front of the Louvre, Paris
1667–70

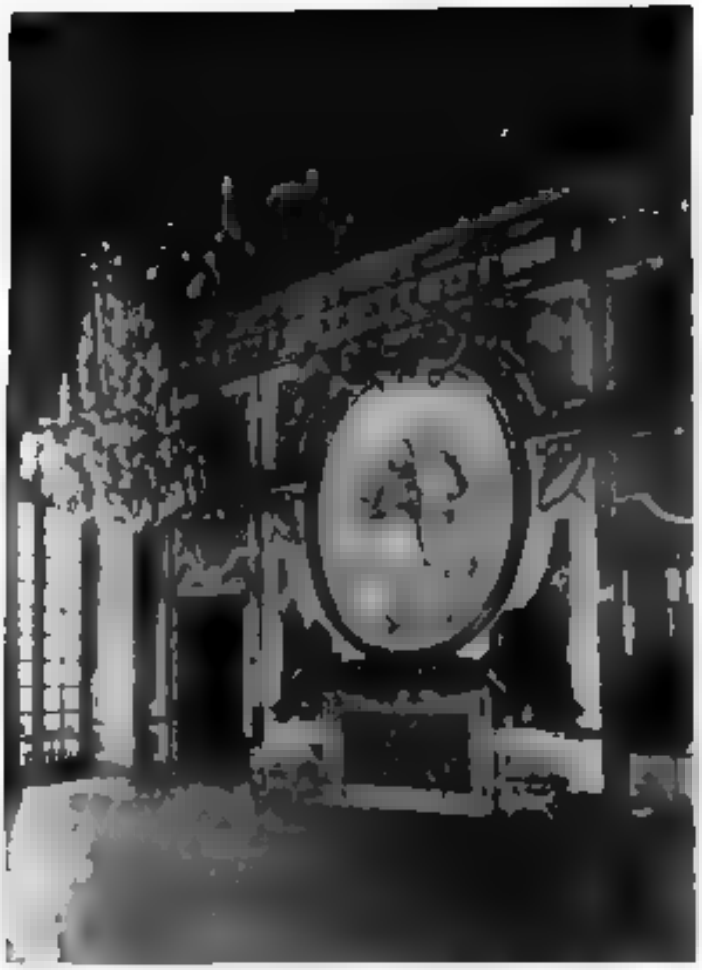
[illegible] Le Vau and [illegible] Hardouin Mansart
Garden Front
Palace of Versailles [illegible]



[illegible] Aerial View of
the Palace of Versailles

[illegible] who became superintendent of all the king's artistic projects. As chief dispenser of royal art patronage, he commanded so much power that, for all practical purposes, he was the dictator of the arts in France. Lebrun had spent several years studying under Poussin in Rome. His great decorative schemes in the Roman Palazzo [illegible] also have impressed him. [illegible] years later, both in the [illegible] and at Versailles. He became a superb decorator, [illegible] based labors of architects, sculptors, painters, and craftsmen for ensembles of unbearable splendor, such as the Salon de la Guerre at Versailles (fig. [illegible]). Unfortunately, as the arts were a single goal here, the glorification of Louis XIV was itself Baroque. He went less far than Bernini. Lebrun nevertheless drew freely on his memories of Rome. The Salon de la Guerre seems in many ways closer to the Cornaro Chapel than to the vestibule at Maisons (compare figs. [illegible]–648). And, as in so many [illegible] separate ingredients are [illegible] that the effect of the whole

The Palace of Versailles, just over eleven miles from the center of Paris, was begun in 1669 by Le Vau, who [illegible] the construction of the Garden Front (fig. 650). He died within a year, and the entire project was [illegible] Mansart (fig. [illegible]), a great nephew of François Mansart. [illegible] was [illegible] expanded to accommodate the [illegible] household. The garden front, [illegible] by Le Vau, [illegible] the principal view of the palace, was stretched [illegible] an enormous length (fig. 66[illegible]) without modifying the architectural membering of the original facade. Its rough, [illegible] version of the East Front of the Louvre now [illegible] is repetitious and out of scale. The whole center block contains a single room, the famous Hall of Mirrors (Galerie des Glaces), with the Salon de la Guerre and its counterpart, the Salon de la Paix, at either end. Apart from its magnificent interior, the most impressive aspect of Versailles is the park extending



66. [illegible] Versailles [illegible] begun 1678

above 66. JULES HARDOUIN-MANSART
Church of the Invalides, Paris, 1680–91

west of the Garden Front for several miles (the aerial view in fig. 661 shows only a small part of it). Its design, by André Le Nôtre, is so strictly correlated with the plan of the palace that it becomes a continuation of the architectural space. Like the interior of Versailles, these formal gardens, with their terraces, basins, clipped hedges, and statuary, were meant to provide an appropriate setting for the king's appearances in public. They form a series of outdoor rooms for the splendid fêtes and spectacles that Louis XIV so enjoyed. The spirit of absolutism is even more striking in this geometric regularity imposed upon an entire countryside than it is in the palace itself.

At Versailles, Hardouin-Mansart worked as the member of a team, constrained by the design of Le Vau. His own architectural style can be better seen in the Church of the Invalides (figs. 663–664), named after the institution for disabled soldiers of which it formed one part. The plan, consisting of a Greek cross with four corner chapels, is based ultimately—with various French intermediaries—on Michelangelo's plan for St. Peter's (see fig. 547). Its only Baroque element is the oval choir. The dome, too, reflects the influence of Michelangelo

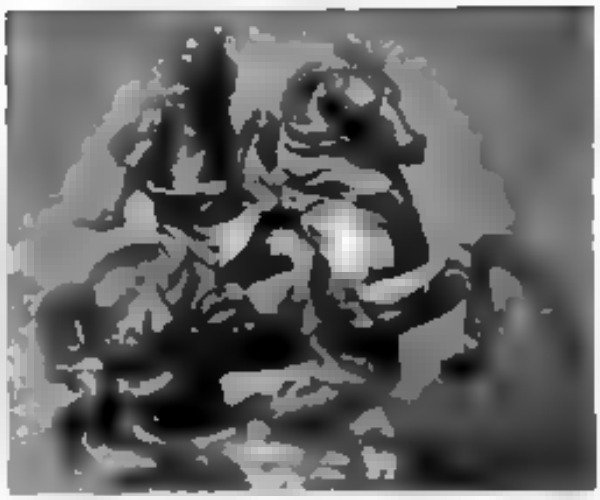
right 664. Plan of the Church of the Invalides

(see fig. 546), and the classicistic vocabulary of the façade is reminiscent of the East Front of the Louvre. Yet the exterior as a whole is unmistakably Baroque: the façade breaks forward repeatedly in the crescendo effect introduced by Maderno (see page 409), and façade and dome are closely correlated (see page 413). The dome itself is the most original, and the most Baroque, feature of Hardouin-Mansart's design: tall and slender, it rises in one continuous curve from the base of the drum to the

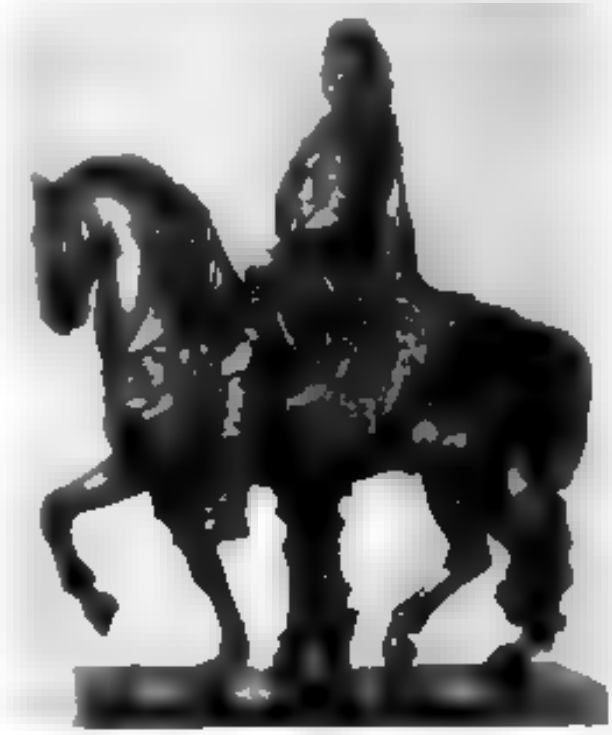
spire atop the lantern. On the first drum rests, surprisingly, a second, narrower drum; its windows provide light for the painted vision of heaven's glory inside the dome, but they themselves are hidden behind a pseudo-shell, with a large opening at the top, so that the heavenly glory seems mysteriously illuminated and suspended in space. Theatrical lighting is boldly directed; would do honor to any Italian Baroque architect.

The official royal style was attained in sculpture by a process much like that in architecture. Bernini, while in Paris, had carved a marble bust of Louis XIV and had also been commissioned to do an equestrian statue of the king. This project, for which he made a splendid terra-cotta model (fig. 686), shared the late Baroque designs. Although he preserved the king in classical dress and garb, the statue was rejected, apparently, was too dynamic to safeguard the dignity of Louis XIV. Its influence was far-reaching. For equestrian statues of the king were later erected throughout France as symbols of royal authority, and Bernini's design had, so to speak, unknowingly, been set the pattern for these monuments. They were all very close to the French Revolution, in which we know only from engravings, reproductions, and such remnants as that by Lemoyne (see fig. 686), which was in a much garden sculpture at Versailles. Characteristically, this was an adaptation of the equestrian Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline (see fig. [illegible]). While [illegible] static, tame, in fact, never, Bernini's design [illegible]. But spur qualities show up clearly in comparison with a ancient prototype: the fluid modeling, the wide-ranging movement of the king's cloak. There is even a hint of an invisible impediment [illegible] the king raises his head and leans back as if communicating with the celestial powers. Antoine Coysevox's equestrian [illegible] almost half a century later, was an other sculptor employed by Lebrun at Versailles, in his large stucco frieze in the Salon de la Guerre (see fig. 686). The vigorous Louis XIV retains the pose of Bernini's equestrian statue. Coysevox's bust of Lebrun (fig. 687) speaks again with a certain restraint the generic qualities of Bernini's bust of Louis XIV. The face, however, shows a realism and a subtlety of characterization that are Coysevox's own. He is the first of a long line of distinguished French portrait sculptors.

Coysevox approached the Baroque in sculpture as closely as Lebrun would permit. Pierre Puget, the greatest and the most Baroque of French seventeenth-century sculptors, had no success at court until after Colbert's death, when the power of Lebrun was on the decline. *Milo of Crotona* (fig. 688), Puget's finest statue, may safely be compared to one by Bernini. Its composition is more contained than that of Bernini's *David* (see fig. 609), yet the agony of the hero has such force that its impact on the beholder is almost physical; the internal tension fills every particle of marble with intense life. The figure also recalls the *Laocoon Group* (see fig. 82). That one suspects, is what made it acceptable to Louis XIV.



686. [illegible] Model for Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV. [illegible] Terracotta, height [illegible]. Borghese Gallery, Rome



686. [illegible] Model for Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV. [illegible] Wax, height [illegible]. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James W. Foshburgh, [illegible])

A centralized control over the visual arts was exerted by Colbert and Lebrun not only through the power of the purse; it also included a new system of educating artists in the officially approved style. Throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, artists had been trained by apprenticeship, and this time-honored practice still prevailed in the

60 ANDRÉ [illegible] Charles Le Brun [illegible]
Terracotta, height [illegible] Wallace Collection, London

Renaissance. But as painting, sculpture, and architecture gained the status [illegible] they were [illegible] to be performed [illegible] mechanical [illegible] along with theoretical knowledge [illegible] for this purpose they formed art academies, patterned [illegible] the academies [illegible] the humanist [illegible] the name [illegible] the Athenian grove where Plato met with his students. [illegible] academies appeared first in Italy [illegible] the 16th and 17th centuries they seem to have been private classes [illegible] artists who met periodically to draw from the model and discuss questions of art theory. These academies [illegible] became [illegible] institutions that took [illegible] functions from the guilds [illegible] the teaching was [illegible] and [illegible] formal. Such was the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, founded in 1648 when Le Brun became rector. In 1666 he established a [illegible] of sculpture [illegible] construction in practice and theory based on a system of rules. This set the pattern for state academies [illegible] allowing their members such [illegible] the arts which [illegible] Much of this body [illegible] under [illegible] Poussin's views (see page 44) [illegible] extreme. The Academy even devised a method for abstracting numerical grades: the merits of artists past and present in such categories as drawing, expression, and proportion. The ancients received the highest marks, needless to say; then came Raphael and his school, and Poussin; the Venetians, who overemphasized color, ranked low and the Flemish and Dutch lower still. Subjects were similarly classified, from history (classical or biblical) at the top to still life at the bottom.

It is hardly surprising that this straitjacket system produced no significant artists. Even Le Brun, as we have seen, was far more Baroque in his practice than we would expect from his classicistic theory. The absurd rigidity of the Poussin doctrine generated, moreover, a counter pressure that ended [illegible] Le Brun's authority began to decline. Towards the end of the century the members of the Academy were [illegible] drawing [illegible] the issue of drawing versus [illegible] the conservatives [illegible] Poussin's [illegible] against the Rubenistes. The conservatives [illegible] Poussin's view that drawing which appeals to the mind was superior to color which appeals to the senses; the Rubenistes [illegible] rather than drawing as being the effect nature has on the painter's eye. [illegible] drawing [illegible] based [illegible] appeal [illegible] the painter's [illegible] appeals [illegible] eye. This argument [illegible] proclaimed [illegible] the [illegible]

Antoine Watteau
A Pilgrimage to Cythera
(detail of colorplate 55)

Jean-Baptiste Boeffrand
Salon de la Princesse
Hôtel de Soubise
Paris. Begun 1713

judge of artistic values and challenged the Renaissance notion that painting, as a liberal art, could be appreciated only by the educated mind. By the time Louis XIV died, in 1715, the dictatorial powers of the Academy had been overcome and the influence of Rubens and the great Venetians was everywhere. In 1717 the "Rubénistes" scored a final triumph when Antoine Watteau was admitted to the Academy on the basis of *A Pilgrimage to Cythera* (colorplate 55). This picture violated all academic canons, nor did its subject conform to any established

a egoirs. But the Academy, now very accommodating, invented for Watteau the new category of *fêtes galantes* (elegant fêtes or entertainments). The term refers less to the occasion as than to the artist's work in general, which mainly shows scenes of elegant society or comedy actors in park-like settings. The characters, usually interwoven, theater and reality so that no clear distinction can be made between the two. The *Pilgrimage to Cythera* includes yet another element: classical mythology. These young couples have come to Cythera, the island of love, to pay homage to Venus, whose garlanded image appears on the far right. As the enchanted day draws to a close, they are about to board the boat accompanied by swarms of cupids and be transported back to the everyday world, the scene at once real. Rubens's *Garden of Love* (c. 1630–35) is a comparable painting, but Watteau's, by depicting the lovers on the point of departure, has added a poignant touch. A sense of the fleeting nature of happiness pervades all Watteau's pictures, lending them a poetic subtlety reminiscent of a Vermeer. Yet his figures, unlike Vermeer's, have not the robust forms of Rubens's, slim and graceful, they move with the studied assurance of actors who play their roles so superbly that they touch us more than reality ever could (fig. 442–44).

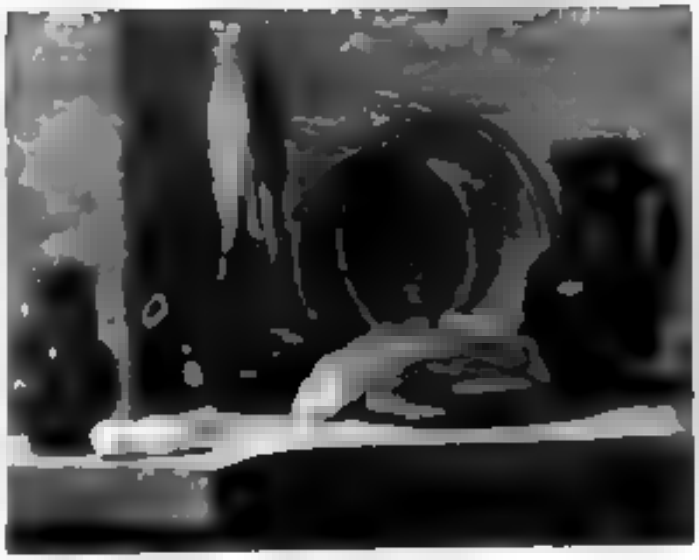
The work of Watteau (1684–1721) signals a shift in French art and French society. After the death of Louis XIV, the royal court and bureaucratic machine that Colbert had created ground to a stop. The nobility hitherto attached to the court at Versailles were now freer of royal surveillance. Many of them chose not to return to their ancestral châteaux in the provinces but to live instead in Paris, where they built elegant town houses known as *hôtels*. Because these city sites were usually cramped and irregular, they offered scant opportunity for impressive exteriors; the layout and decor of the rooms became the architects' main concern. As state-sponsored building activity was declining, the field of design for private living took on new importance. The *hôtels* demanded a style of interior decoration less grand, loquent and cumbersome than Versailles, an intimate, flexible style that would give greater scope to individual fancy uninhibited by associations of grandeur. French designers created the Rococo, or the Style of Louis XV, as it was called in France, in response to this need. The name, it was thought, was coined as a caricature of Baroque, echoing the Italian *barocco*, which meant "irregular." The plastic decoration of grottoes with rocks, shells, and other Rococo was a refinement, in miniature, of the curvilinear elements of Baroque. Rococo and Baroque are contrasted and thus could be happily united in Austrian and German Baroque architecture (see page 42[illegible]). In France, the examples of the style, such as the Salon de [illegible] in the Hôtel de Soubise by Germain Boffrand (fig. [illegible]), are smaller in scale and less exuberant than those in Central Europe. The ceiling frescoes and stucco relief work in palaces and churches are usually [illegible]

[illegible] *and the Sorte* [illegible]
Terracotta [illegible] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of [illegible]

[illegible] *Equestrian Monument to Peter the Great* [illegible]
[illegible] engraving

interiors, however lavish. We must therefore remember that in France, Rococo painting and sculpture were less closely linked with their architectural setting than in Italy, Austria, and Germany, although they reflect the same taste that produced the Hôtel de Soubise. Characteristic of Rococo sculpture are small groups like Coysevox's *Satyr and Bacchante* (fig. [illegible]), designed to be viewed at close range. The coquettish eroticism, another facet of miniature Baroque, a playful echo of the ecstasies of Bernini and Puget, compare figs. [illegible]. The numerous commissions for French Rococo sculptors were, as for the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, made for a ruler of Russia by Etienne Maurice Falconet (fig. [illegible]) shows that they could recapture something of Baroque grandeur. This impressive example is a splendidly energetic adaptation of Bernini's [illegible] (fig. [illegible]).

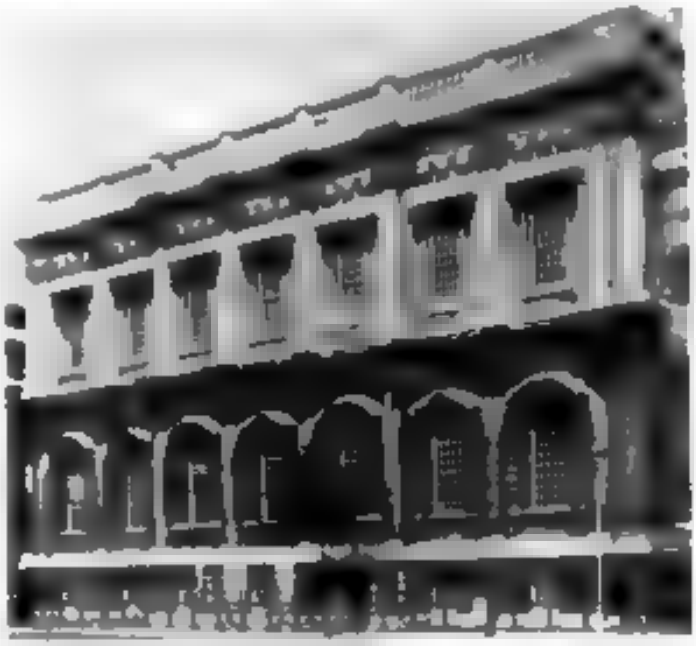
Much Rococo painting is the counterpart of sculpture in miniature in scale and delicacy, sensuous in tone and subject, it lacks the emotional depth that distinguishes Watteau's art. The finest painter in this vein was Fragonard, in his *Bathers* (fig. [illegible]), here, after representing a class, A[illegible] Rubens rather than Watteau. Fragonard [illegible] with the broad, free, and spontaneous brushwork of Rubens in sketches (see fig. [illegible]), a vigor combined with a fluttering grace that [illegible] whose [illegible] he had [illegible] compared to Fragonard. Fragonard had the misfortune [illegible] his patrons became [illegible] mentioned as the Revolution approached. After 1789 he was reduced to poverty, and he died forgotten in the days of Napoleon. Yet, he was the great pupil of such masters but not been the [illegible] painter of his generation, he might have been very different. Had he followed the example of his first teacher, Jean Baptiste Simeon Chardin (1699–1779), whose style can be called Rococo only with reservations. The Rubenistes had cleared the way for a new interest in the Dutch masters as well, and Chardin is the finest painter [illegible] genre in this trend. His genre scenes, such as *Back from the Market* (colorplate 56), show life in a Parisian middle-class household with such feeling for the beauty hidden in the commonplace, and so clear a sense of spatial order, that we can compare him only to Vermeer. But his remarkable technique is quite unlike any Dutch artist's. Devoid of bravura, his brushwork renders the light on colored surfaces with a creamy touch that is both analytical and subtly poetic. His still lifes usually reflect the same modest environment, eschewing the [illegible] of their Dutch predecessors. In the example shown in figure [illegible], we see only the common objects that belong in any kitchen: earthenware jugs, a casserole, a copper pot, a piece of raw meat, smoked herring, two eggs. But how important they seem, each so firmly placed in relation to the rest, each so worthy of the artist's (and our) scrutiny! Despite his concern with formal problems, evident in the beautifully balanced design, Chardin treats these objects with a



[illegible] Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin, *Kitchen Utensils*, [illegible] Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

respect close to reverence. Beyond their shapes, colors, and textures, they are to him symbols of the life of the common man, in spirit, if not in subject matter, Chardin is more akin to Louis Le Nain and Sanchez Coello than any Dutch painter.

We have not mentioned English architecture since our discussion of the Perpendicular style (see page 341). This peculiar form of late Gothic proved extraordinarily persistent. It absorbed the style and flavors of the Italian Renaissance during the sixteenth century, but as late as [illegible] English buildings still retained a Perpendicular



67a. Inigo Jones, West Front, Banqueting House, Whitehall Palace, London, 1619–22.

syntax" that is to say their stage of development corresponded to Chambord or the choir of St Pierre at Caen (see figs 596–595). The first architect of the English Renaissance was Inigo Jones (1573–1652). Although he went to Italy about 1600 and again in 1613, he did not bring back the Early Baroque but returned a thoroughgoing Palladian. The Banqueting House he built at Whitehall in London (fig 6[illegible]) conforms in every respect to the principles of Palladio's treatise, yet does not copy any specific building by Palladio. Symmetrical and self-sufficient, it is for its date more like a Renaissance palazzo than any other building north of the Alps. It was [illegible] supported by Palladio's authority as a theorist and as a beacon of classicism with ideas on England for [illegible] hundred years. This classicism can be seen in the [illegible] of St Paul's Cathedral (figs 6[illegible]) by Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723), the great English architect of the late seventeenth century. [illegible] and especially [illegible] which [illegible] enlarged [illegible]. [illegible] to see St Paul's [illegible] design [illegible] a thoroughly [illegible] architecture [illegible] the [illegible] Wren's [illegible] principle [illegible] the [illegible] was [illegible] by [illegible] the Banqueting [illegible] ideas [illegible] through [illegible] wings. Had [illegible] the cathedral [illegible] Christopher [illegible] Bernini [illegible] commission [illegible] he begun [illegible] Christopher [illegible] Paris [illegible] the [illegible] Bernini [illegible] composition of the square and he must have sided with Perrault whose design for the East Front is clearly referred to in the façade of St Paul's. Yet despite his belief that Paris provided the best school of architecture in Europe, Sir Christopher was not indifferent to the achievements of the Roman Baroque. He must have wanted the new St Paul's to be the St Peter's of the Church of England: soberer and not so large, but equally impressive. His dome, like that of St Peter's, has a diameter as wide as nave and aisles combined, but rises high above the rest of the structure and dominates even our close view of the façade. The lantern and the upper part of the clock towers also suggest that he knew S. Agnese in Piazza Navona (see fig 6[illegible]) probably from drawings or engravings. Italian Baroque elements are

[illegible] SIR JOHN VANBRUGH
Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire
Begun 1705

[illegible] WILLIAM HOGARTH
The Orgy, Scene II from
The Rake's Progress
1734–35 [illegible]
Sir John's Museum, London

[illegible] Palace [illegible] grandly [illegible] 1704 [illegible] the grateful nation [illegible] the [illegible] Duke of Marlborough [illegible] victory [illegible] Blenheim. [illegible] he was a public [illegible] when [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Palace [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

nome for English painters. Here, in the eighteenth century produced a style that differed from the continental traditions that had dominated this field. Its greatest master, Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88), began by painting landscapes, but ended as the favorite portraitist of British high society. His early portraits, such as *Robert Andrews and His Wife* (color plate 9), have a lyrical charm that is not always found in his later pictures. Compared to Van Dyck's artificial *Charles I Hunting* (see fig. 670), this country squire and his wife are naturally and unpretentiously at home in their setting. The landscape, although derived from Ruisdael and his school, has a much more hospitable atmosphere achieved, or desired, by the Dutch masters, and the casual grace of the two figures indirectly recalls Watteau's style. Later portraits by Gainsborough, such as the very fine one of the great actress Mrs. Siddons (fig. 679), have other virtues, a cool elegance that translates Van Dyck's aristocratic poses into late-eighteenth-century terms, and a fluid, translucent technique reminiscent of Rubens. Gainsborough painted *Mrs. Siddons* in conscious opposition to his great rival on the London scene, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92), who a year before had portrayed the same sitter as the Tragic Muse (fig. 680). Reynolds, the President of the Royal Academy since its founding in 1768, was the protagonist of the academic approach to art, which he had acquired during two years in Rome. Like his French predecessors, he formulated in his writings, principally his "Discourses," what he felt were necessary rules and theories. His views were essentially those of Lebrun, tempered by British common sense. Again like Lebrun, he found it difficult to live up to his theories in actual practice. Although he preferred history painting in the grand style, the vast majority of his works are portraits, ennobled whenever possible by allegorical additions or disguises like those in his picture of Mrs. Siddons. His style owed a good deal more to the Venetians, the Flemish Baroque, and even to Rembrandt (note the glaring in *Mrs. Siddons*) than he would concede in theory. The best that can be said of Reynolds is that he almost succeeded in making painting respectable in England as a liberal art. He received an honorary doctorate from Oxford, but at what cost. His *Discourses*, which soon became standard, inhibited the visual capacity of generations of students in England and America. He was generous enough to give praise to Gainsborough, whom he outlived by a few years, and whose instinctive talent he must have envied

PART FOUR

THE MODERN WORLD

The era to which we ourselves belong has not yet acquired a name of its own. Perhaps it never does not strike us as pe[illegible] at first. We are, after all, [illegible] in midstream; but considering how promptly the Renaissance coined a name [illegible] itself, we may wonder the fact that no [illegible] concept comparable to the rebirth of antiquity has emerged in the [illegible] hundred years since [illegible] began. [illegible] revolution, such a concept [illegible] and [illegible] change [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

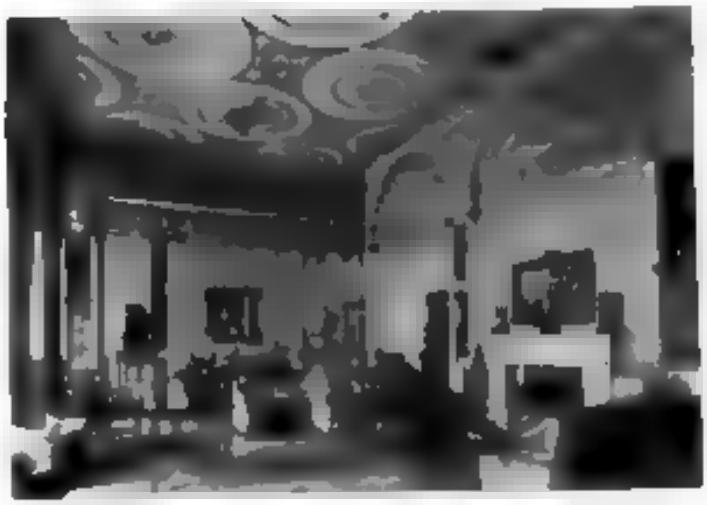
[illegible]
and William Kent
Chiswick House
[illegible] Begun

[illegible]

[illegible] Romanticism [illegible] Romanticism we might expect the range of [illegible] to be widest in painting, the most personal and private of the visual arts.

[illegible] Indeed [illegible] what became known as [illegible] the English landscape garden. Carefully planned to look unplanned, with winding paths, irregularly spaced clumps of trees and little lakes and rivers instead of symmetrical basins and canals, the reasonable garden must seem as unbounded, as full of surprise and variety, as nature itself.

[illegible] 684 JACQUES GERMAIN SOUFFLOT
The Pantheon (Ste-Geneviève),
Paris 1755–81



[illegible] 685 ROBERT ADAM
[illegible] Drawing Room, Home House
[illegible] Square, London 1773–77

[illegible]

[illegible] Pantheon in Paris by Jacques Germain Soufflot [illegible] was built as the church of Ste-Geneviève but secularized during the Revolution. Dating 1755–81, it became [illegible] enough as derived from St Paul's Cathedral and in seeking [illegible] indicating England's new importance [illegible] architects. The smooth, sparsely decorated surfaces are abstractly severe, akin to those of Chiswick House, while the huge portico is modeled directly on ancient Roman temples. From this coolly precise exterior we would never suspect that Soufflot also had a strong interest in [illegible] Gothic. Purchase [illegible] he seeming miracles they perform but for their structural elegance. A rationalist version of Gothic's point of view, see page [illegible]. Hawksmoor in fact was to combine the classic orders with the lightness so admirable displayed by certain Gothic buildings. Soufflot, however, did not yet study Gothic architecture in detail, as later generations of architects would.

The mid-eighteenth century was greatly stirred by two experiences: the rediscovery of Greek art as the original source of classic style, and the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, which for the first time revealed the daily life of the ancients and the full range of their arts

and crafts. Richly illustrated books about the Acropolis at Athens, the temples at Paestum, and the finds at Herculaneum and Pompeii were published in England and France, perhaps most caught everyone's imagination. From this came a new style of interior decoration, seen at its finest in the work of the Englishman, Robert Adam (1728–92), such as the oval drawing room at Kenwood House (fig. 684). Adapted from Roman stucco ornament (compare fig. 229), it echoes the decorative motifs in Roman interiors but with a characteristically Neoclassical emphasis on plastic surfaces, symmetry, and geometric precision. Meanwhile the Palladian style launched by Lord Burlington had spread overseas to the American Colonies, where it became known as the Georgian style, an example of great distinction is the mansion Thomas Jefferson built for himself, Monticello, in Charlottesville, Virginia (fig. 684). Its design, executed in brick with wooden trim, is not so doctrinaire as Chiswick House (note the less compact plan and the numerous windows), and the use of the Doric order shows its later date. Jefferson still preferred the Roman Doric, although the late eighteenth century came to favor the heavier and more austere Greek Doric. This "Greek revival" phase of Neoclassicism had been pioneered in England, on a small scale; it was quickly taken up everywhere, since it was believed to embody more of the "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" of classic Greece than did the later, less "masculine" orders. Greek Doric was also the least flexible order, hence particularly difficult to adapt to modern tasks even when combined with Roman or Renaissance elements. Only rarely could Greek Doric

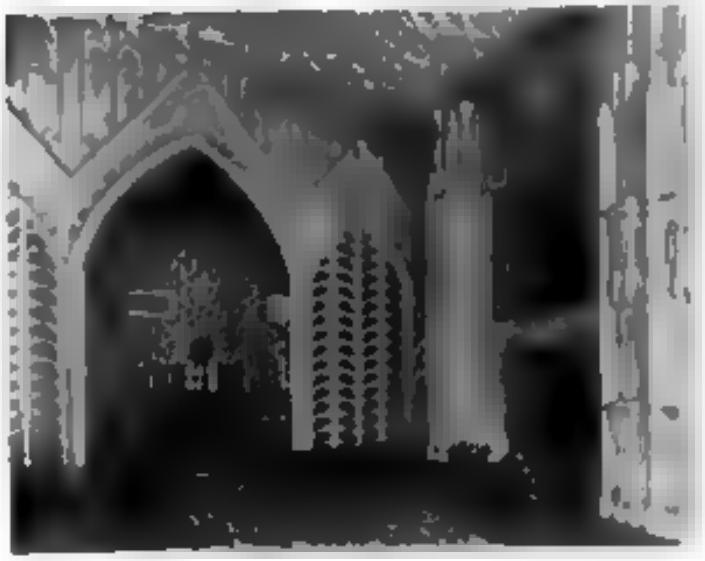
right: 684. THOMAS JEFFERSON
Monticello, Charlottesville
Virginia, 1770–84; 1796–1809

below: 685. KARL GONTARD
The Brandenburg Gate
Berlin, 1788–91

left 686 HORACE WALPOLE, with WILLIAM ROBINSON and others, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham (1749–77)

below 687 Interior, Strawberry Hill

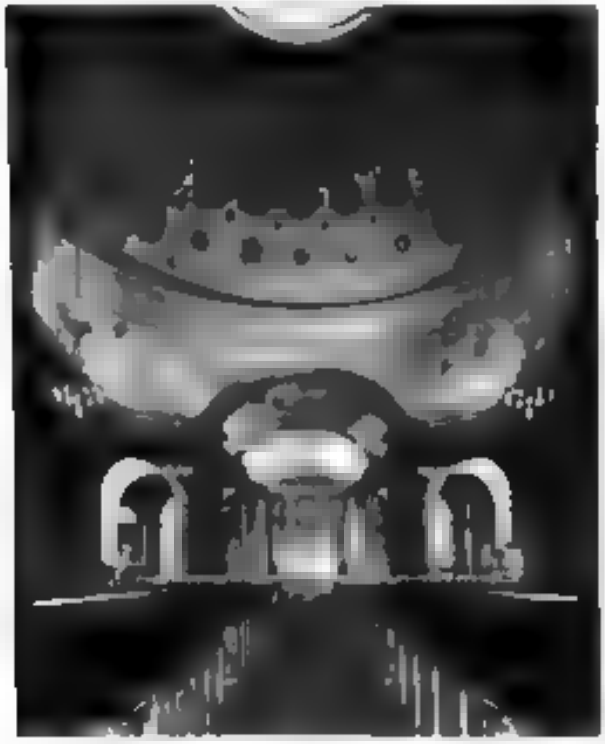
Pavilion 688 JOHN NASH, The Royal Pavilion, Brighton (1815–18)



architecture furthest a field from [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] such a view as the Brandenburg Gate [illegible] (fig 685) derived from the Propylaea (see fig 46).

While the classic revival between 1740 and 1800 was becoming increasingly archaeological, the Gothic revival got under way again with the English [illegible] lead. Gothic architecture had never wholly disappeared in England. For special purposes Gothic forms were used on occasion even by Sir Christopher Wren and his contemporaries, but these were survivals of an archaic [illegible] mood. The [illegible] revival was linked with the cult of the picturesque and with the vogue of medieval and pseudo-medieval romances. Horace Walpole, in the last quarter of the century, enlarged and Gothicized his villa, Strawberry Hill (figs 686–88). Despite its wooden [illegible] resembling stone, it has a more flat, [illegible] than [illegible] Robert Adam's [illegible] (fig 68), the interior looks almost as if decorated with [illegible] paper [illegible]. This playfulness, [illegible] of dogma, gives Strawberry Hill its special charm. Thus here an exotic style appears because, strange [illegible] that very reason it must be [illegible] as a medium of romance. [illegible] the Chinese motifs that crop up in Rococo decoration. The Romantic imagination saw Gothic and the mysterious East in much the same light, as John Nash's Royal Pavilion at Brighton (fig 688) [illegible] demonstrates half a century later. The style of this [illegible] pleasure dome – a cream-puff version of the Taj Mahal (see fig 301), was then known as Indian [illegible]. It is equally characteristic of Romanticism, however, that by 1800 the Gothic was a fully acceptable alternative to the Greek revival as a style for major churches. Benjamin Latrobe (1764–1820), an Anglo-American who became under Jefferson, the most influential architect of Federal Neoclassicism, submitted a design in each style for the Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore. The Neoclassical one was chosen, but it might well have been the Gothic. The exterior of the present building (fig 689) has walls that resemble Soufflot's Pantheon, a dome of more severe design, a temple front, and bell towers of disguised Gothic

Baroque antecedents. The buildings' interiors are not his work. Fragmentarily reminiscent of the interiors of big buildings inspired by the domed and vaulted spaces of ancient Rome, especially the Pantheon (see fig. 3-[illegible]), Latrobe's nevertheless was not interested in archaeological correctness. The



6[illegible]. Interior, Cathedral, Baltimore

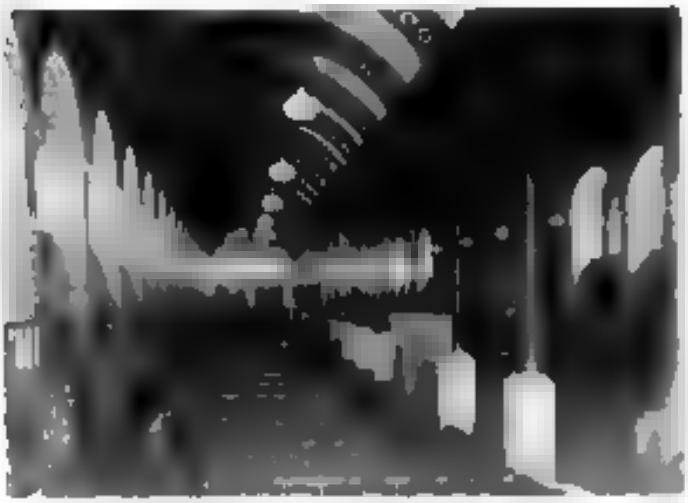
muscularity of Roman structures has been suppressed: moldings, profiles, and coffers are no more than linear accents that do not disturb the continuous, abstract surfaces. In this Romantic interpretation, the spatial qualities of ancient architecture become sublime pure. Sublime. The strangely weightless interior presents almost the combination of classic [illegible] and gothic lightness first formulated by Soufflot. It also shows the free and imaginative work of the mature Neoclassicist, who handled by a gifted architect, Had the gothic design [illegible] here, based the exterior, it might have been more striking, but the interior probably less impressive. The most Romantic [illegible] seeking the Sublime, Latrobe viewed gothic [illegible] from the outside [illegible] [illegible] Neoclassicist [illegible] matched against [illegible] the Neoclassical.

After [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] Romantic [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] became [illegible] and [illegible] pressure [illegible] Rome [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] Romantic [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] Romanticism [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] Romanticism [illegible] Neoclassicism [illegible] Romantic

SIR CHARLES BARRY and A. WELBY PUGIN
The Houses of Parliament, London, begun 1836

CHARLES GARNIER
The Opéra, Paris, 1861–74

[illegible] impressed [illegible] designed by [illegible] A New-Baroque quality derives more from the profusion of sculpture and ornament than from its architectural [illegible] the paired columns of the facade quoted from the East Front of the Louvre, seeking instead are combined with a smaller order in a way suggested by Michelangelo's seeking [illegible] in the fluid curves of the Grand Staircase recall the Baroque style. The whole building looks overdressed [illegible] vulgarity which seems to be disarming. It reflects the taste of the bene-beneficiaries of the industrial revolution, the new rich and powerful, who saw themselves as the heirs of the old aristocracy and thus found the pre-revolutionary styles more appealing than classic or Gothic. This architecture [illegible] display was dictated even more than the previous styles from the practical demands of the industrial age: the factories, warehouses, stores and [illegible] apartments that formed the bulk of building construction. There is the kind of commercial architecture we find after about 1800 the gradual introduction of new materials and techniques that were to have a profound effect on architecture, since by the end of the century. The most important was iron, never before used as an actual building material. Within a few decades of its first appearance, iron columns and arches had become the standard means of supporting the roofs over the large spaces required by railroad stations, exhibition halls, and public libraries. A famous early example



[illegible] Reading Room
Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, Paris, 1843–50

in the Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève in Paris, by Henri Labrouste (1801–75) the reading room's row of cast-iron columns supports two barrel roofs resting on cast-iron arches (fig 695). Labrouste chose to leave this iron skeleton uncovered and to face the difficulty of relating it to the massive Renaissance revival style of his building. This solution does not fully integrate the two systems, but at least lets them coexist. The iron supports, shaped like Corinthian columns, are as slender as the new material permits; their collective effect is that of a space-dividing screen, belying their structural importance. To make them weightier, Labrouste has placed them on tall pedestals of the masonry instead of directly on the floor. Aesthetically the arches presented greater difficulty, since there was no way to make them look as powerful as their masonry ancestors. Here Labrouste has gone to the other extreme, perforating them with lacy scrolls as if they were pure ornament. This architecture, as against merely technical use of exposed iron members, has a graceful and delicate quality that links it indirectly to the Gothic revival, to be superseded by structural steel and ferroconcrete. A special and peculiarly appealing chapter in the history of Romantic architecture.

Romantic painting, as we then noted, presumably had a much wider scope than architecture. Nonetheless, painting remains the greatest of all achievements. Romantic painting, in the view of a very dependent, than architecture or sculpture, on public approval, has a strange and greater appeal for the individualist. The Romantic artist, more than any other, could better accommodate the theme and ideas of Romantic literature. Romantic painting was the essential illustrative, but deliberate, pictorial and prosaic, now became a more important subject, a capital one. The painter's character became and provided him with a new range of subjects, conditions and attitudes. Romantic poets, painters saw nature with a painter's eye. Mann had a strong interest in [illegible] and the [illegible] of the sublime; and Turner, Hugo were sublime draughtsmen and Blake cast his visions in both pictorial and literary forms. Within the Romantic movement art and literature are a complex, subtle, and by no means one-sided relationship.

Romantic painting, like architecture, began as a reaction in the name of reason and nature against Baroque artificiality. The first to formulate this view was Johann Winckelmann, the German art historian and he most popularized the famous phrase about the noble simplicity and calm grandeur of Greek art in his *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works*, published [illegible]. His ideas deeply impressed two painters then living in Rome, the German Anton Raffael Mengs and the Scotsman Gavin Hamilton, as well as the French painter Joseph-Marie Vien. All three had strong antiquarian leanings but otherwise limited powers, which may be why they accepted Winckelmann's doctrine so readily. Their work is less important than their effect as teachers and propagators of the Winckelmann program during the 1760s and 70s. To these artists, a return to the classics meant the style and academic theory of Poussin, combined with a maximum of archaeological detail newly gleaned from ancient sculpture and the excavations of Pompeii. Among the first to come

left 464. BENJAMIN WEST
The Death of General Wolfe
1770 [illegible]
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

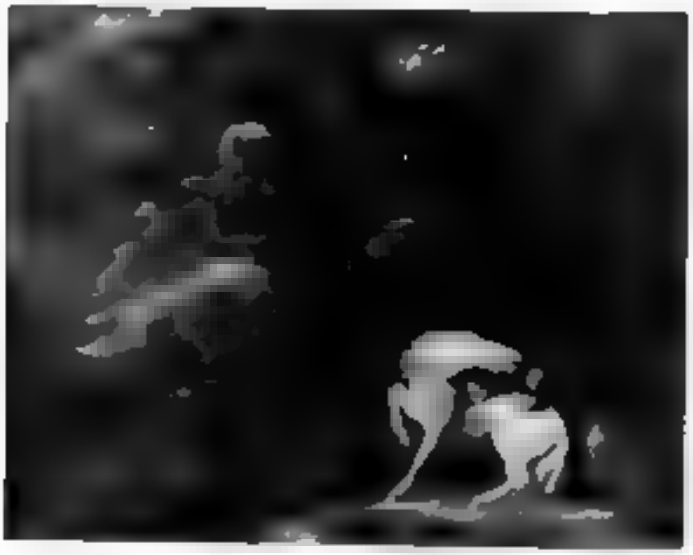
Artist 465. JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY
After Thomas Beylston
[illegible] 40 Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University
Cambridge Massachusetts

[illegible] the [illegible] was [illegible] West [illegible] was [illegible] in Pennsylvania [illegible] something of a sensation since no American [illegible] had appeared in Europe before. He relished his [illegible] being hailed the Apollo Belvedere [illegible] he replied [illegible] Mohawk [illegible] Mengs and Hamilton [illegible] new [illegible] he was [illegible] and became [illegible] the Royal Academy [illegible] President. [illegible] was [illegible] European rather than American. Yet he always took pride in his New World background and enabled him to make a contribution to the growth of the Romantic movement by his summoning up of his *Death of General Wolfe* (fig. 464).

Wolfe's death, occurring in the siege of Quebec during the French and Indian War, had aroused considerable feeling in London. When West, among others, decided to represent this event, two methods were open to him: he could give a factual account with the maximum of historical accuracy, or he could use the grand manner. Poussin's ideal conception of history painting (see page 447) with figures in classical costume. Had West been a European follower of Mengs and Hamilton, he would surely have chosen the latter course; however, he knew the American scene of the scene too well for that. He merged the two approaches: his figures wear contemporary dress, and the conspicuous Indian places the event in the New World for those unfamiliar with the subject; yet all the attitudes and expressions are "heroic." The composition, in fact, recalls an old and hallowed theme: the lamentation over the dead Christ (see fig. 430), dramatized by Baroque lighting. West thus endowed the death of a modern

military hero, both with the historical pathos of noble and serious human actions, as defined by academic theory, and with the trappings of a real event. He created an image that expresses a phenomenon basic to modern times: the shift of emotional allegiance from religion to nationalism. No wonder his picture had countless successors during the nineteenth century.

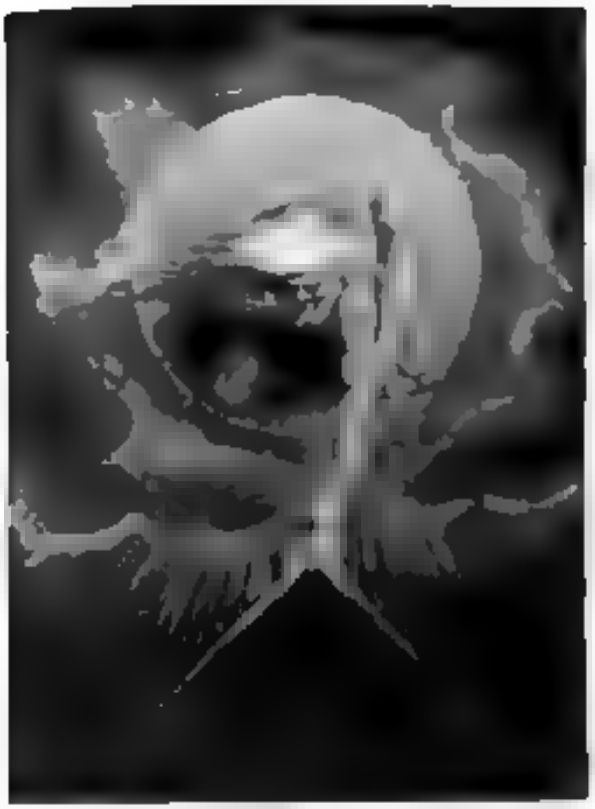
[illegible]



[illegible] *Boy* [illegible] *Boston* [illegible] *New Haven* [illegible]

West's gifted compatriot John Singleton Copley of Boston [illegible] moved to London just two years before the American Revolution. As New England's outstanding portrait painter, he had adapted the formulas of the British portrait tradition to the cultural climate of his home town. *Mrs. Thomas Boylston* (fig. 609) makes an instructive comparison with Gainsborough's *Mrs. Siddons* (see fig. 600). The framework is much the same (note the curtains), but Gainsborough projects aristocratic coolness and fashionable elegance, while Copley's down-to-earth shrewdness of characterization and soberly exact detail seem more Dutch than English. In Europe Copley turned to history painting in the manner of West, thus losing his provincial virtues, most memorable as a work of art, and also a mode of Romantic imagery, in his *Watson and the Shark* (fig. 608). Watson, attacked by a shark while swimming in Havana harbor, had been dramatically rescued; much later he commissioned Copley to depict his gruesome experience. Perhaps he thought that only a painter new arrived from America would do full justice to the exotic flavor of the incident. Copley, in turn, must have been attracted by the task of transcribing the stuff of past or remote events. Following West's example, he made efforts to detail as authentic as possible; here, he kept the purpose of the Indian in *The Death of General Wolfe* [illegible] and utilized a [illegible] effect. But [illegible] painting [illegible] the beholder's participation. The shark becomes a monstrous embodiment [illegible] the man with the boat hook resembles an Archangel Michael [illegible] Satan, and the truly [illegible] between the forces of [illegible] and [illegible] Copley may [illegible] intended to represent [illegible] of [illegible] and the [illegible] elements [illegible] the prophet [illegible] charging [illegible] Romanticism.

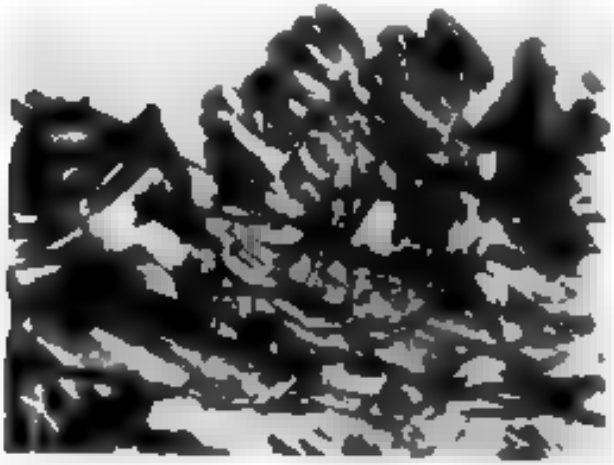
The same [illegible]



[illegible] the gracious and [illegible] of nature. Man ha[illegible] [illegible] he house where [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] of the Eternal as Architect [illegible] the Universe. With these preconceptions we would expect the Ancient of Days [illegible] signs [illegible] of human Blake's esoteric mythology [illegible] and [illegible] the power [illegible] reason which the poet [illegible] as is [illegible] destructive since it stifles [illegible] and [illegible] Blake [illegible] the universe was an [illegible] important [illegible] to observe the [illegible] world [illegible]

[illegible] imagine a greater contrast than [illegible] between *The Ancient of Days* and the *Landscape* [illegible] by Blake's older contemporary Alexander Cozens [illegible] Yet both [illegible] opposite was



were centrally concerned with inspiration. Cozens had [illegible] of the idyllic landscapes patterned after Claude Lorrain which were then so admired. Artists using them as a model, he felt, could produce only stereotyped variations on an established theme. The direct study of nature, important though it was, could not be the new starting point, for it did not supply the imaginative poetic quality that for Cozens constituted the essence of landscape painting. As a teacher Cozens developed what he called "a new method of assisting the invention in drawing original compositions of landscape," which he published with illustrations such as figure 301 shortly before his death. What was his method? Leonardo da Vinci, Cozens noted, had observed that an artist could stimulate his imagination by trying to find recognizable shapes in the stains on old walls, which not produce such chance effects on purpose to be used in the same way? Crumple a sheet of paper, smooth it, then, without thinking generally of landscape, blot it with ink, using as little [illegible] as possible [illegible] a [illegible] with a [illegible] ink blot landscape. With luck, or perhaps [illegible] representational elements may be picked out in the configuration of blots and then elaborated into a finished picture. The important difference between the two methods is that Cozens [illegible] a [illegible] of nature but a [illegible] of art, [illegible] [illegible] they show [illegible] dual graphic [illegible] Cozens [illegible] method has [illegible] as practical

above: 301. A Transcript of *Landscape* from a New Method, Assisting the Invention in Drawing Original Compositions of Landscape. 1786. Aquatint. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers Fund, 1906)

right: 302. John Constable, *Hampstead Heath*, 1821. Oil sketch, 10" × 13". City Art Galleries, Manchester

705. JOHN CONSTABLE
Stoke-by-Nayland
1836–49 × 68
The Art Institute of Chicago

but these could hardly have been [illegible] by his contemporaries. If they thought Blake was mad, they regarded the "blind master" as ridiculous. Nevertheless, the Method was not forgotten; its memory kept alive partly by its very absurdity. The two great masters of Romantic landscape in England, John Constable and William Turner, both profited from it, though they differed in almost every other way.

John Constable (1776–1837) admired both Ruisdael and Claude Lorrain, yet he strenuously opposed all flights of fancy. Landscape painting, he believed, must be based on observable facts; it should aim at embodying a pure apprehension of natural effects. Most of his pictures show familiar views of the English countryside. Although he painted the final versions in the studio, he prepared them by making countless sketches out of doors. These were not the first such studies, but unlike his predecessors he was more concerned with the intangible qualities—conditions of sky, light, and atmosphere—than with the concrete details of the scene. Often, as in *Hampstead Heath* (fig. 704), the land serves as no more than a foil for the ever-changing drama of wind, sunlight, and clouds. The sky, to him, was "the key note, the standard scale, and the chief organ of sentiment"; he studied it with a meteorologist's precision, the better to grasp its infinite variety as a mirror of those sweeping forces so dear to the Romantic view of nature. In endeavoring to record these fleeting effects, he arrived at a pictorial technique as broad, free, and personal as that of Cozens' "blotscapes," even though his point of departure was the exact opposite. The full-scale compositions of Constable's final years retain more and more of the [illegible] *Stonehenge* (fig. 705), the earth and the sky seem both to have become organs of sentiment, pulsating with the artist's poetic sensibility. His contemporary William Turner (1775–1851) had meanwhile arrived at a style which Constable deprecatingly but accurately described as "a vision painted with pure steam." Turner began as a watercolorist; the use of transparent washes on white paper may help to explain his preoccupation with the colored light. Like Constable, he made copious studies from nature, though not in situ; and the scenes he selected satisfied the Romantic taste for the Picturesque and the Sublime: mountains, the seas, or sites linked with historic events. In his full-scale pictures he often changed these views so freely that they became quite unrecognizable. Many of his landscapes are linked with literary themes, and bear such titles as *The destruction of Sodom—or Sirocco*, *Hannibal Crossing the Alps*, or *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage—Italy*. When they were exhibited, Turner would also appropriate quotations from ancient or modern authors to the catalogue, or he would make up some lines himself and claim to be citing his own unpublished poem, "Fallacies of Hope." Yet these canvases are the opposite of history painting as defined by Poussin: the titles indeed indicate noble and serious human actions, but the human figures, lost in the seething violence of nature, suggest the ultimate defeat of all endeavor, "the fallacies of hope." *The Slave Ship* (color plate 63) is one of Turner's most spectacular visions, and illustrates how he transmuted his literary sources into "liquid steam." First entitled *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying—Typhoon Coming On*, the painting compounds several levels of

[illegible] Sol Caspar David Friedrich
The Wreck of the "Hope"
[illegible]
Kunsthalle, Hamburg

[illegible] J. M. W. Turner
The Traders in the Storm
[illegible]
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Morris K. Jesup Fund, [illegible]

meaning. [illegible] a specific incident that Turner had recently read about when an epidemic broke out on a slave ship: the captain jettisoned his human cargo because he was insured against the loss of slaves at sea, but not by disease. Turner also thought of a relevant passage from *The Seasons* by the eighteenth-century poet James Thomson that describes how sharks follow a slave ship during a typhoon, lured by the scent of steaming crowds to rank disease and death. The title of the picture combines the slaver's action and the typhoon, but in what relation? Are the dead and dying slaves being cast into the sea against the threat of the storm (perhaps to lighten the ship)? Is the typhoon [illegible] mass [illegible] sea [illegible] scene's about [illegible] everything [illegible] sea [illegible] sea [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] been pleased by praise from Ruskin [illegible] passage [illegible] Gothic [illegible] saw in *The Slave Ship* which he owned, the [illegible] the beauty [illegible] and the [illegible] qualities has raised Turner above older landscape painters. Sol. Turner may have [illegible] wonder if his voiced steam had its intended effect on all beholders. Soon after finishing *The Slave Ship*, he could have read in his copy of Goethe's *Color Theory*, recently translated into English, that yellow has a gay, softly exciting character, while orange-red suggests warmth and gladness. Would *The Slave Ship* arouse these emotions in a viewer who did not know its title?

In Germany, as in England, landscape was the finest achievement of Romantic painting, and the underlying ideas, too, were often striking similar. When Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840), the most important German Romantic artist, painted *The Wreck of the "Hope"* (fig. 906), did he perhaps know of Turner's "Fallacies of Hope," or did the title come to him because he shared Turner's attitude toward human fate? As in so many previous instances, the picture was inspired by the

account of a specific event which the artist endowed with symbolic significance: the end of an [illegible] expedition to the Bering Straits. One wonders how Turner would have depicted the [illegible] named vessel crushed in the ice wastes of the Arctic; perhaps the subject would have been too static for him. But Friedrich was attracted by the immobility of ice. He has [illegible] piled up slabs into a kind of megalithic monument to man's defeat by the nature herself. Into [illegible] a haunting reflection. The [illegible] steam, the [illegible] and subject's harrowing [illegible] through the pygmy [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] interest in this technique or the [illegible] subject [illegible] special [illegible] Germanic [illegible] painting [illegible] from the early Neoclassical [illegible] Meng[illegible] [illegible] Germans who [illegible] [illegible] painting [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] DAVID
The Death of Socrates
[illegible]
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York (Wolfe Fund, [illegible])

[illegible] DAVID [illegible] *The Death of Marat*, 1793
[illegible] Royal Museums of Fine Arts, Brussels

[illegible] Nature [illegible] was a painter with a strong passion which appeared to the beholder's mind [illegible] intended to merely giving him pleasure [illegible] the [illegible] artists of the Renaissance. Under [illegible] the first flush of [illegible] enthusiasm accepted the narrative [illegible] David's picture as a noble and serious human action. [illegible] Poussin's sense [illegible] remembered his views [illegible] when a far more great [illegible] got out. Neo-Poussinism appeared in the work of Jacques-Louis David [illegible]. A disciple [illegible] David had developed his Neo-classic style in Rome during the [illegible] years [illegible]. In his *Death of Socrates* (fig. [illegible]) [illegible] he seems more Poussinesque than Poussin himself (compare fig. 654). The composition unfolds in a chief parallel to the picture plane, and the figures are as solid and as immobile as statues. Yet David has added one unexpected element: the glaring, sharply focused and casting precise shadows, is derived from Caravaggio, and so is the firmly realistic detail (note the hands and feet, the furniture, the texture of the stone surfaces). In consequence the picture has a quality of life rather astonishing in so doctrinaire a statement of the new ideal style. The very harshness of the design suggests that its creator was passionately engaged in the issues of his age, artistic as well as political. Socrates, about to drain the poison cup, is shown here not only as an example of Ancient Virtue, but also as the founder of the "religion of Reason," a Christ-like figure (there are twelve disciples in the scene). David took an active part in the French Revolution, and for some years he had a power over the artistic affairs of the nation comparable only to Lebrun's a century before. During this time he painted his greatest picture, *The Death of Marat* (fig. 710). David's deep emotion has made a masterpiece

from a subject that would have embarrassed any lesser artist. for Marat, one of the political leaders of the Revolution, had been murdered in his bathtub. A painful skin condition caused him to do his paperwork there with a wooden board serving as his desk. One day a young woman named Charlotte Corday burst in with a personal petition and plunged a knife into his chest while he read it. David has composed the scene with a stark directness that is truly awe-inspiring. In this canvas, which was planned as a public memorial to the martyred hero, devotional image and historical account combine. Because Classical art could offer little guidance here, he went far more than in *The Death of Socrates* to his drawings upon the Caravaggesque tradition of genre art. It is no accident that his *Marat* reminds us so strongly of Zurbarán's St. Serapion seeing Christ.

After the fall of Robespierre, David was imprisoned for some months in the Luxembourg Palace, and from his cell window he painted his first and only landscape (fig. [illegible]). The view of the park was predetermined by chance, and the picture has an astonishingly modern [illegible]. Thus he chose [illegible] painting away from the well-[illegible] figure composition [illegible] shows David's deep commitment to perfect [illegible] experience. Unencumbered [illegible] he created a landscape of timeless [illegible] that [illegible] visible [illegible] have existed.

While [illegible] met Napoleon [illegible] he became a [illegible] Bonaparte and painted several large portraits [illegible] the emperor. But [illegible] pupils. Among [illegible] David's [illegible] pupils [illegible] the painter of the Napoleonic [illegible] his pupils [illegible] the great general [illegible] leading his troops across the Alps in Antoine-Jean Gros's *Bonaparte Visiting the Victims of the Plague at Jaffa*. Soon after the series of victories that gave [illegible] the Lombard plain, [illegible] Napoleon's image as an irresistible man of destiny with a Roman robustness David could never match. Napoleon respected his teacher's [illegible] but emotionally [illegible] impelled him toward the color and drama of the Baroque. What he accomplished in his case seems especially remarkable if we consider the circumstances, recounted by an eyewitness. Napoleon [illegible] patient to pose was made to sweat by his wife, who held him firmly in the chair. David went into exile after the empire collapsed and turned his pupils over to Gros, urging him to return to Neoclassic orthodoxy. But even Gros was torn between his pictorial instincts and these academic principles; he never achieved David's authority and ended by suicide.

The mantle of David finally descended upon another pupil, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867). Too young to share in the political passions of the Revolution, Ingres never was an enthusiastic Bonapartist. In 1806 he went to Italy and remained for eighteen years. Only after his return did he become the high priest of the Davidian tradition, defending it from the onslaughts of younger artists. What had been a revolutionary style only half a

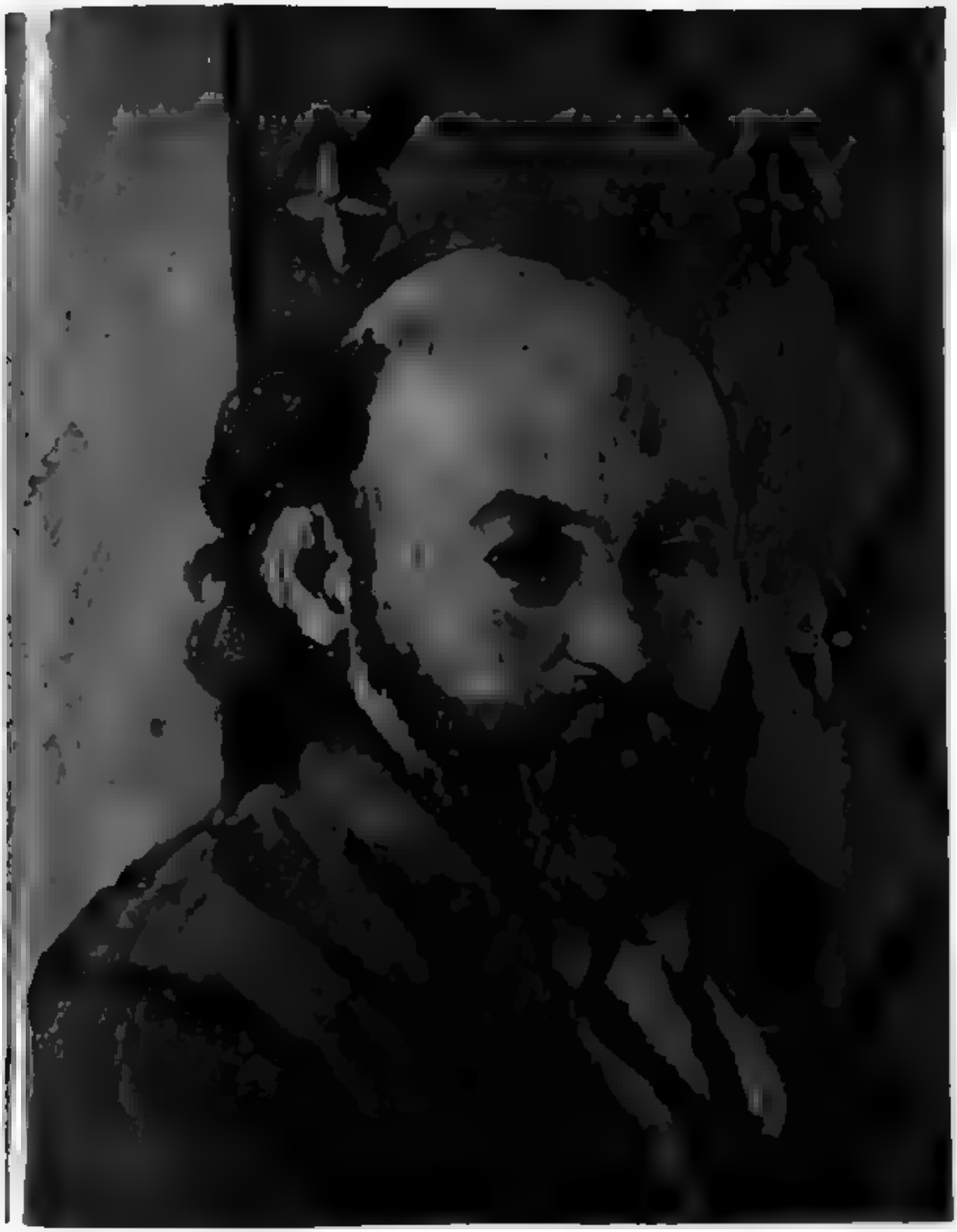
[illegible]

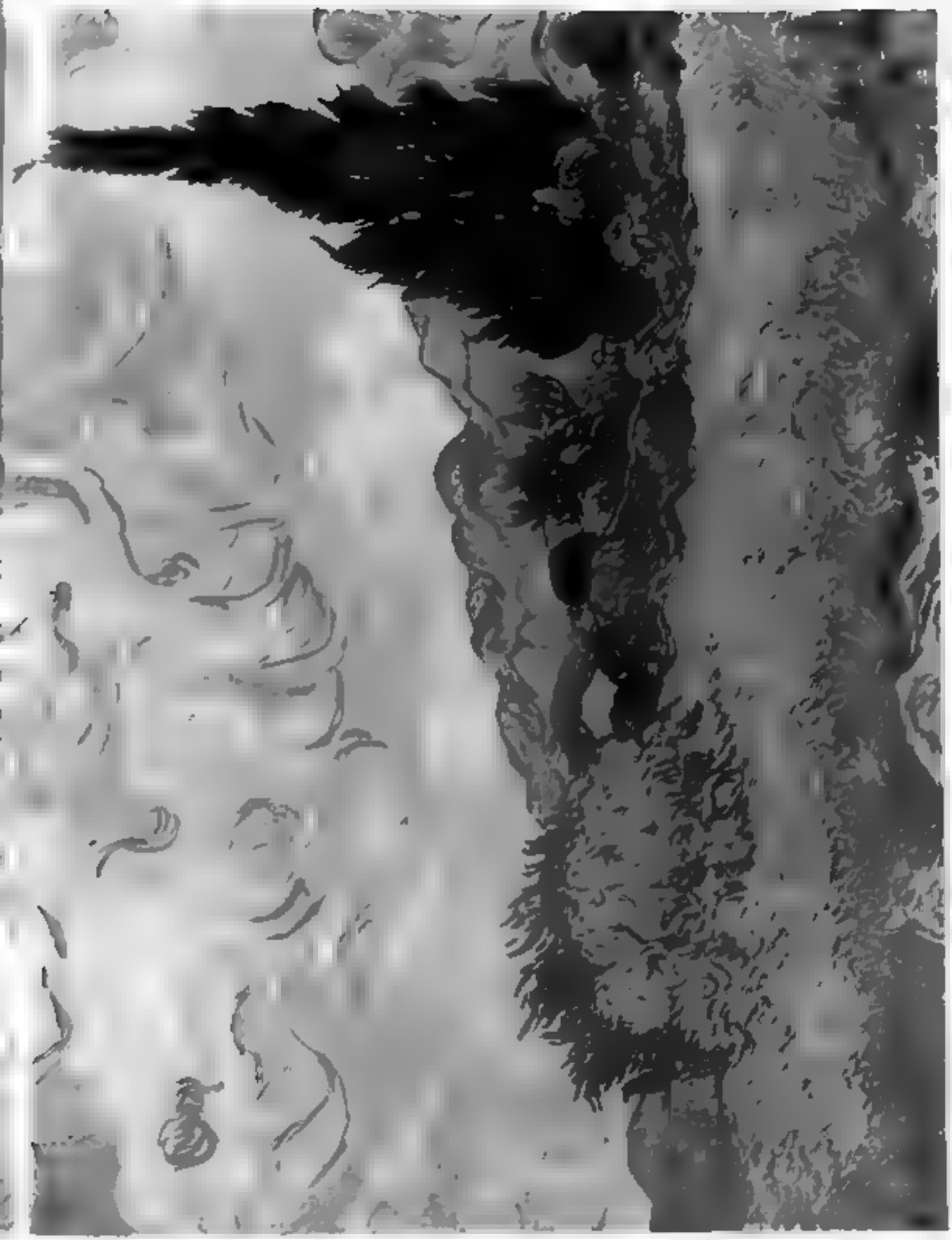
[illegible] Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte Visiting the Victims of the Plague at Jaffa*, [illegible]. The [illegible]

century before, now congealed into rigid dogma endorsed by the government and backed by the weight of conservative opinion. Ingres is usually called a Neoclassicist, and his opponents Romantics. Actually, both factions stood for aspects of Romanticism: the Neoclassic phase with

ngres as the last important successor and the Neo-Baroque first adumbrated in Gros's *Napoleon at Arcole*. These two camps seemed to revive the old quarrel between "Poussinistes" and "Rubenistes". The original "Poussinistes" had never quite practiced what they preached and Ingres's views for were far more orthodox than his pictures. He always held that drawing was superior to painting, yet a canvas such as his *Odalisque* (Louvre) proves he was an exquisite sensuous painter, instead of merely coating his designs in paint. The peculiar smooth nudes of this Ingres Venus, odalisque, or bathing woman for a harem slave girl, with a dazzling array of textures, richness and textures. The exotic subject reflected with the enchantment of the *Thousand and One Nights* was a characteristic of the Romantic movement. Examples be seen at home in the Rose Pavilion at Bagnères (see p. 88). Despite Ingres professed worship of Raphael, the nude embodies a classical ideal of beauty. The proportions, the languid grace and the strange mixture of coolness and sensuousness remind us rather of Tintoretto or Mannerist painters than of Raphael.

Ingres's pupils included Flandrin, Amaury-Duval, Ingres's most ambitious but least great disciple, who was a fashionable portraitist, which he necessarily had to be, because he was [illegible] Ingres's adjustment [illegible] Flandrin's work was [illegible] Although photography became a practical process [illegible] the exact [illegible] photographs [illegible] background [illegible] Ingres's experiments were [illegible] scientific [illegible] Romantic [illegible] the Louvre and Nature. The results [illegible] images [illegible] by Nature [illegible] be seen in the [illegible] because they were made by chance and [illegible] the [illegible] portraits [illegible] which [illegible] shadowy [illegible] Daumier's [illegible] *The* [illegible] Mozart and his [illegible] with the view from [illegible] standard [illegible] Ingres [illegible] *Bertin* (p. 4) [illegible] looks like a kind of "super photo" [illegible] But this impression is deceptive: comparing it with the preliminary pencil drawing (p. 5) we realize how much of interpretation the portrait contains. The drawing, quick, sure and precise, is a masterpiece of detached observation, while the painting, through subtle changes of emphasis and proportion, endows the sitter with a massive force of personality that has truly frightening intensity. Ingres could so unify psychological depth and physical accuracy. His followers concentrated on physical accuracy alone, competing vainly with the camera. The Neo-Baroque Romantics, in contrast, emphasized the psychological aspect to such a degree that their portraits tended to become records of the artist's private emotional relationship with the sitter (see

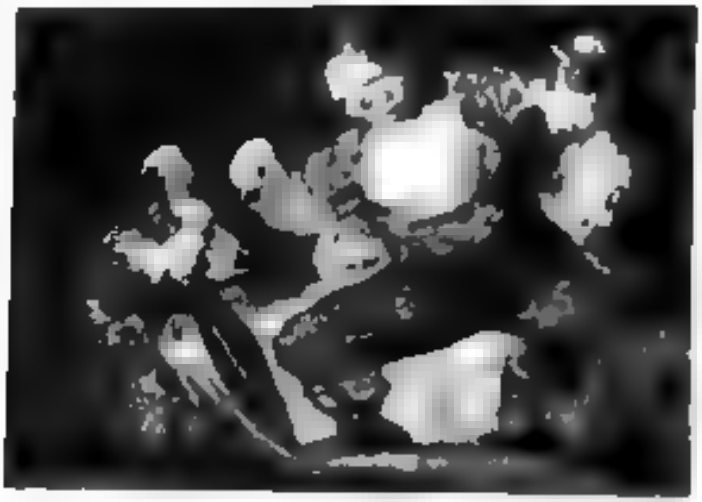




[illegible] *The Family of Charles IV*
[illegible]
The Prado, Madrid

[illegible] *The Maids of Honor* [illegible] Velázquez [illegible] Rembrandt [illegible] *The Family of Charles IV* [illegible] *The Maids of Honor* (see fig. 650) [illegible] the painting [illegible] the palace galleries of the palace. As in the earlier work, shadows envelope hang behind the group and the light pours in from the side, although its subtle gradations owe as much to Rembrandt as to Velázquez. The brushwork, too, has an [illegible] *The Maids of Honor* [illegible] aggressive [illegible] Neo-Baroque [illegible] Psychologically [illegible] conventions of [illegible] These [illegible] are with princess-consort. They are [illegible] infanta children, the [illegible] king, and in a master stroke of [illegible] Velázquez's vulgar queen posed [illegible] Velázquez [illegible] as Margarita, note the left arm [illegible] we [illegible] today could [illegible] They are dazzled by [illegible] splendid painting [illegible] costumes that they failed [illegible] them.

When Napoleon [illegible] occupied Spain in 1808 [illegible] enlightened men hoped that the con[illegible] would bring [illegible] reforms so badly needed. The savage [illegible] French troops crushed these hopes and generated a popular resistance of equal savagery. Many of Goya's works from this reflect this bitter experience. The greatest is *The Third of May, 1808* (see fig. [illegible]), commemorating the execution of a group of Madrid citizens. Here the blazing color, broad fluid brushwork, and dramatic nocturnal light are more emphatically Neo-Baroque than ever. The picture has all the emotional intensity of religious art, but these martyrs



left: 516 FRANCISCO GOYA, *Bobabilicon: Los Proverbios*, No. 4 (c. 1818). Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Dick Fund, 1931)

Below: 517 THEODORE GERICAULT, *Mounted Officer of the Imperial Guard* (c. 1812). The Louvre, Paris

are [illegible] but not the kings and leaders [illegible] their executioners are not the agents of Satan but of political tyranny, a formation of faceless automatons impervious to the victims' despair and defiance. The same scene was to be re-enacted countless times in modern history. With the clairvoyance of genius, Goya created an image that has become a terrifying symbol of our era.

After the defeat of Napoleon, the restored Spanish monarchy brought a new wave of repression, and Goya withdrew more and more into a private world. Although macabre visions such as *Bobabilicon* (fig. 516) (Big Bo-bys are [illegible] ng from the series [illegible] *Proverbs*, fig. 516). Although suggested by proverbs and popular superstitions, many of these scenes defy exact analysis. They belong to the realm of subjects experienced in a dream which we first encounter in Fuseli's *Nightmare*, but are infinitely more compelling. [illegible] Goya [illegible] unto a exile after a brief stay in Paris, he settled in Bordeaux, where he died. His importance for the New Baroque Romantic painters of France was attested by the greatest of them, Eugène Delacroix, who said that the ideal style would be a combination of Michelangelo's and Goya's.

But Goya's influence in France began only after his death. The New Baroque trend initiated by Gros had by then aroused the imagination of many talented younger artists. The *Mounted Officer of the Imperial Guard* (fig. 517) painted by Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) at the astonishing age of twenty-one offers the same conception of the Romantic hero as Gros's *Napoleon at Arcole* (see fig. 512) but on a larger scale and with a Rubens-like energy. Ultimately, the ancestors of his splendid figure are the equestrian soldiers in Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* (see fig. 515). Géricault's close [illegible] an enthusiastic horseman, later became interested in the British animal painters such as George Stubbs. But his chief heroes, apart from Gros and the great Baroque masters, were David and Michelangelo. A year's study in Italy deepened his understanding of the nude as an image of expressive power. He was [illegible] work *The Raft of the Medusa* (fig. 518). The *Medusa*, a government vessel, had foundered off the West African coast with hundreds of men on board; only a handful were rescued after many days on a makeshift raft. The event attracted Géricault's attention because it was a political scandal. Like many French liberals, he opposed the monarchy that was restored after Napoleon, and a modern tragedy of epic proportions. He went to extraordinary lengths to strive for authenticity: he interviewed survivors, had a model of the raft built, even studied corpses in the morgue. This search for uncompromising truth is like David's, and *The Raft* is indeed remarkable for its powerfully realistic detail. Yet these preparations were subordinate in the end to the spirit of heroic drama that dominates the canvas. Géricault depicts the exciting moment when the men on the raft first glimpse the rescue ship. From the prostrate bodies of the dead and dying in the foreground, the composition is built up to a rousing climax in the group that supports the frantically waving Negro, so that the forward surge of the survivors parallels the movement of the raft itself. Sensing, perhaps, that this

Left: THEODORE GERICAULT
The Raft of the Medusa
1818–19
The Louvre, Paris

Below: THEODORE GERICAULT
The Madman
1822–24
Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent

[illegible] the elements [illegible] appear on the side of the [illegible] where [illegible] painted *Boaz and the Shark* [illegible] years before [illegible] the monumental canvas [illegible] England [illegible] exhibition [illegible] had [illegible] *The Madman* [illegible] *Madame Bubbe* [illegible] *The Raft of the Medusa*, the *Massacre* was inspired by a contemporary event: the Greek war of independence against the Turks, which stirred a sympathetic response throughout Western Europe. [illegible] *Scenes of the Massacre at Chios: Greek Families Awaiting Death or Slavery*. Delacroix, however, aimed at poetic truth rather than a reportage of a specific, actual event. He shows us an idealized scene of serene calmness and repose, but horrors had happened, [illegible] suspense or disbelief. While we [illegible] the sheer splendour of the painting, we do not quite accept the human experience as authentic; we react [illegible] as much as we do to Turner's *Slave Ship* (see colorplate [illegible]). [illegible] the discontinuity [illegible] contrasts of light

[illegible] the [illegible] of the Romantic movement.

The year 1824 was crucial [illegible] French painting. Géricault died in consequence of a riding accident. Ingres returned to France and had his first public success. The first showing in Paris of works by Constable was a revelation to many French artists, and *The Massacre at Chios* (1824) established Eugène Delacroix as the foremost Neo-Baroque Romantic painter. An admirer of [illegible] Gros and Géricault, Delacroix (1798–1863) had been exhibiting for some years, but the *Massacre* [illegible] some called it the massacre of painting, others acclaimed it enthusiastically—made his reputation. For the next quarter-century he and Ingres were acknowledged rivals, and their polarity, fostered by partisan critics, dominated the artistic scene in Paris. Like *The Raft of the Medusa*, the *Massacre* was inspired by a contemporary event: the Greek war of independence against the Turks, which stirred a sympathetic response throughout Western

[illegible] Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

and shade, and the ominous sweep of the landscape behind (Delacroix is said to have hastily repainted the latter after seeing Constable's works). Originally the background of the *Massacre* was probably like that in Géricault's *Mounted Officer* (see fig. 7[illegible]): the Turkish [illegible] picture. Such a [illegible] *Raft* [illegible] Marmont's [illegible] rushes among [illegible] Mediterranean [illegible] Rubenesque [illegible] Messolonghi [illegible] a special nature.

Delacroix's sympathy with the Greeks doubtless prompted his sharing the enthusiasm of fellow Romantics for the Near East. He was enchanted by a visit to North Africa (1832), finding there a living counterpart of the brilliant colours and picturesque costumes so beloved of Romantic literature. His sketches from this trip supplied him with a large repertory of subjects for the rest of his life: harem interiors, street scenes, lion hunts. It is fascinating to compare his *Odalisque* (fig. [illegible]) with Ingres's version (see colorplate 60): reclining in exotic repose, she breathes passionate abandon and animal [illegible], the exact opposite of Ingres's ideal. This contrast persists in the portraiture of these perennial antagonists. Delacroix rarely painted portraits on commission; his finest specimens are

of his persona friends and fellow victims of the Romantic agony such as the famous Polish composer Frédéric Chopin (fig. [illegible]). Here we see the image of the Romantic hero at its purest a blend of Gros's *Napoleon* and Géricault's *Madman* he is consumed by the fire of his genius.

The later work of Delacroix reflects the attitude that eventually doomed the Romantic movement a growing estrangement from contemporary life. History literature the Near East these were the domains of the imagination where he sought refuge from the turmoil of the industrial revolution. [illegible] that Honoré Daumier (1808–79) the one great Romantic artist who did not shrink from reality remained in his day practically unknown as a painter his paintings had [illegible] at most until after his death. A biting political cartoonist Daumier contributed satirical drawings [illegible] weeklies most of his [illegible] Delacroix's paintings he hated but [illegible] public for his work. Daumier [illegible] and a great believer in [illegible] a sample show his [illegible] painting [illegible] developed a bolder and more penetrating style [illegible] and his [illegible] the Near East. The subject [illegible] show a [illegible] than are evident in his cartoons [illegible] *The Third-Class Carriage* [illegible]

[illegible] *Before The Ordeal*
[illegible] Lithograph

[illegible] Delacroix's standards. Yet its power [illegible] derived from the very freedom and for this reason Daumier cannot be labeled a realist. [illegible] not for the graphic surface of reality but the emotional meaning behind it. In *The Third-Class Carriage* he has captured a pessimistic modern human condition the [illegible] these people have [illegible] only that they are traveling together in a [illegible] Though they are physically [illegible] each other each is alone with his own thoughts. Daumier expresses his state with an insight into character and a breadth of human [illegible] of Rembrandt whose work he revered [illegible] of the poor also suggests [illegible]

Honoré Daumier
The Third-Class Carriage
c. 1862–64, 25 × 35 in.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York (Bequest of
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929
The H. O. Havemeyer Collection)

725 Honoré Daumier
Don Quixote Attacking the Windmills
c. 1866. 33 × 33
Collection Mr. and Mrs. Charles S. Payson, New York

Le Sa[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] Jean [illegible] Sculptor [illegible]
[illegible] Marble height 47"
Palais Museum, Montpellier, France

[illegible] Jean Antoine Houdon, *George Washington*
1788–92. Marble, height 74
State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia

[illegible] and sentimentalized [illegible] work of François Millet [illegible]. Millet was one of the artists of the Barbizon School, which has settled in the village of Barbizon near Fontainebleau painting landscapes and scenes of rural life. His sower (fig. [illegible]) reflects the simplicity and breadth of Daumier's [illegible] in the hazy atmosphere. The [illegible] of the sower's figure is somewhat [illegible] and quite [illegible]. Daumier and Millet have known the pathetic scenes from the [illegible] number page [illegible] the *Tres Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*. (Compare color plate 25.) Another artist linked with the Barbizon School, though not actually a member, was Camille Corot (1796–1875). Today his [illegible] seems not his late landscapes, misty and poetic, but the early ones that establish his importance in the development of modern landscape painting. In 1825 he went to Italy for two years and explored the countryside around Rome like a latter-day Claude. But Corot did not transform his sketches into idealized pastorals. Instead, what Claude recorded only in his drawings—the quality of a particular place at a particular time (see fig. 646)—Corot made into paintings, small canvases done on the spot in an hour or two. Such a work is his view of Papigno, an obscure little hill town (fig. 727). In size and immediacy, how quickly executed pictures are unlike those of Constable's oil sketches (see fig. [illegible]), for they stem from a different tradition, an immediate view of nature which emphasizes the sky as the chief organ of sentiment, a device derived from Dutch seventeenth-century landscapes. [illegible] for a [illegible] clarity and stability recall Poussin and Claude. But he too insists on the [illegible] of the moment, his exact observation and his readiness to seize upon any view that attracted him during his excursions, shows the same [illegible] moment and direct [illegible] experience as David's [illegible] *The Luxembourg Garden* (see fig. [illegible]).

The development of sculpture, which we must discuss briefly to complete our survey of Romanticism, follows the pattern of painting. We shall find it a good deal less venturesome than either painting or architecture. The unique virtue of sculpture, its solid, space-filling reality (or, if you will, its "idol" quality), was not congenial to the Romantic temperament. The rebellious and individualistic urges of Romanticism could find expression in rough, small-scale sketches but rarely survived the laborious process of translating the sketch into a permanent, finished monument. The sculptor was also overwhelmed by the authority accorded (since Winckelmann)

to ancient statues such as the *Apollo Belvedere* which were praised as being supreme manifestations of the Greek genius whereas actually each most of them were mechanical Roman copies after mediocre pieces of no great distinction. When Goethe saw the newly discovered late Archaic sculpture from Aegina (fig. 15) in 1786 he pronounced [illegible] and inferior. How could a modern artist [illegible] above the quality of these works, if he was everywhere assured that they were the acme of sculptural achievement? [illegible] the new standard of uncompromising realism [illegible] was embarrassing to the sculptor. When a painter renders [illegible] anatomical detail, or furniture with photographic precision he does not produce a duplicate of reality but a representation [illegible] while [illegible] in sculpture [illegible]

mechanical reproduction, a hand-made equivalent of the plaster cast. Sculpture thus underwent a crisis that was resolved only toward the end of the century.

As we might deduce from what has just been said, portraiture proved the most viable field for Neoclassic sculpture. Its most distinguished practitioner, Jean Antoine Houdon (1741–1828), still retains the acute sense of individual character introduced by Coysevox (see fig. 6b). His fine statue of Voltaire (fig. 92b) does justice to the sitter's skeptical wit and wisdom, and the classical drapery enveloping the famous sage in stress his equivalence to ancient philosophers is not disturbing. Could he wear it as casually as a dressing gown. Houdon was subsequently in demand in America to portray [illegible]

710. Antonio Canova
Pauline Borghese as Venus
1808. Marble, [illegible]
Borghese Gallery, Rome

711. Antonio Canova
Tomb of the Countess
Maria Christina, 1798–1805
Church of the Augustinians, Vienna

[illegible]

[illegible] Marshal Ney [illegible] Paris

and [illegible] Though meticulously [illegible] classical pose and [illegible] bronze [illegible] *Washington* [illegible] Washington escaped [illegible] his lifetime. These representations [illegible] among strongest [illegible] the most famous of them. [illegible] produced a colossal nude statue of [illegible] portraits of ancient rulers whose [illegible] status as divinities. [illegible] Pauline Borghese permitted [illegible] Venus [illegible] The statue [illegible] a [illegible] group. We recognize [illegible] classically proportioned [illegible] plate 60). Strange to say, *Pauline Borghese* seems the less three-dimensional of the two she designed as a relief in the round. For front and back view only and her very considerable charm comes a more [illegible] the fluid grace of her contours. Here we [illegible] the problem of representation versus duplication not of the figure itself but in the pillows, mattress, and couch.

The same question recurs on a larger scale in Canova's most ambitious work, the Tomb of the Countess Maria Christina (fig. [illegible]). Its design again essentially linear and relief, [illegible] though the statues are carved in the round, is unprecedented in earlier tombs. The deceased appears only as a portrait medallion, not visible in our [illegible] above the inscription. Presumably, but not [illegible] the urn carried by the woman in the center contains her ashes. This is an [illegible] burial service performed by classical figures, most allegorical. (The group [illegible] the left represents the Three Ages of Man, who are about to enter the pyramid-shaped tomb. What troubles us is that this ensemble, in contrast to the tombs of earlier times, such as fig. [illegible], does not include the real burial place. The pyramid is a sham, a shallow facade built against the wall of the church. It [illegible] we must view the monument as a kind of theatrical performance in marble, we expect the artist to characterize it as such by creating a stage space that [illegible] apart from its surroundings, like Bernini's *Ecstasy of St. Theresa* (see fig. [illegible]). Since Canova has not done this, the performance becomes confusingly realistic. Should we join the actors on their perfectly real marble steps? No, for we

714. Antoine-Louis Barye
Jaguar Devouring a Hare, 1850. Bronze, [illegible]. Musée du Louvre, Paris

cannot allow them to a mock pyramid. What [illegible] guishes the real from the mock architecture? To what level of reality does the cloth on the steps belong?

This dilemma could be resolved in two ways: by reviving a pre-classical style sufficiently abstract to restore the autonomous reality of sculpture, or by a return to the frankly theatrical Baroque. Only the latter alternative

715. Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *The Dance*, 1865–69. Plaster model, [illegible]. Musée d'Orsay, Paris

[illegible] gesture [illegible] although he made isolated attempts [illegible] earlier. By the [illegible] Neo-Baroque sculpture had produced a masterpiece in the splendidly rhetorical *Marseillaise* (fig. 712) on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris by François Rude (1784–1855). The soldiers-volunteers of 1792 rallying to defend the Republic are still classical figures, but the figure of Liberty above them imparts the great forward-pushing movement to the entire group, which would not be unworthy of Puget (see fig. 668). Twenty years later, Rude embodied the same vision in a single figure, the mounted of Marshal Ney (fig. [illegible]), as a whole a more [illegible] able complement. Nevertheless, the animate vitality of the figure's pedestal [illegible] Napoleon's [illegible] successors [illegible] Stubbs's [illegible] *Lion Attacking a Horse* (see fig. 660) [illegible] the animal groups by Antoine-Louis Barye (1796–1875), the Romantic sculptor [illegible] Delacroix. The [illegible] of his *Jaguar Devouring a Hare* (fig. 714) have energy and volume; here, [illegible] the anatomical details are indeed those of mid-nineteenth-century sculpture. However, these qualities can be found only in Barye's smaller pieces; as an architectural sculptor he is disappointingly academic. Rude's real successor in this field was Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827–75), whose famous group for the façade of the Paris Opera, *The Dance* (fig. 715), perfectly matches Garnier's Neo-Baroque architecture. The plaster model in our illustration is both livelier and more precise than the final stone group, visible in fig. 603, lower right. Its coquettish gaiety derives from small Rococo groups such as Clodion's (see fig. 671), and its sense of scale, too, seems at odds with its size: although the figures look smaller than life, the group is actually 15 feet tall. Nor is this the only discrepancy. Carpeaux's figures, unlike Clodion's, look undressed rather than nude. We cannot accept them as legitimate denizens of the realm of mythology, and they slightly embarrass us, as if "real people" were acting out a Rococo scene. A single leg, detached from this group, might well be mistaken for a cast from nature. "Truth" here has destroyed the ideal reality that was still intact for Clodion a century before.

2. Realism and Impressionism

an Jupiter survive the lightning rod?" asked Karl Marx not long after the middle of the century. The question sums up the dilemma we felt in [illegible] *The Flower*. The French poet and art critic Charles Baudelaire was addressing himself to the same problem when in 1846 he called for paintings that expressed "the heroism of modern life." At that time no one painter was willing to make an artistic creed of this demand. Baudelaire's friend Gustave Courbet [illegible] of his rural background. He was born in the village of Ornans near the French-Swiss border, and as a Socialist in politics Courbet had begun as a Neo-Barbizon Romantic in the early 1840s, but by 1848 under the influence of the revolutionary upheavals then sweeping Europe Courbet had come to believe that the Romantic emphasis on feeling and imagination was merely an escape from realities. The modern artist, he felt, should base his art on direct experience. "I cannot paint an angel because I have never seen one," he said, "be it be a Raphael." As a literal-minded realist, Courbet [illegible] precisely [illegible] he meant something akin to his [illegible] of Caravaggio (see page 404). As an admirer of Rubens and Rembrandt, he had no [illegible] with the Caravaggesque realism and [illegible] Caravaggio's work [illegible] supported [illegible] and ask [illegible] spiritual content. [illegible] when he exhibited *The Stone Breakers* [illegible] the first canvas fully embodying his programmatic Realism. Courbet had seen two men working on a road and had asked them [illegible] he painted them [illegible]

none of Millet's overt pathos or sentiment: the young man's face is averted, the old one's half hidden by a hat. Yet he cannot have picked them arbitrarily; their contrast in age is significant, one is too old for such heavy work, the other too young. Underneath the dignity of their symbolic stature, they do not turn us off in sympathy. Courbet's friend, the socialist Proudhon, referred them as paradigms of the proletariat.

At the Paris Salon of 1850 works by Ingres and Decamps were prominently displayed, while Courbet failed to gain entrance for his pictures. He brought them to public attention by organizing a private exhibition in a large wooden shed and by distributing a manifesto of Realism. The show centered on a huge canvas, the most ambitious of his, a work entitled *Interment at Ornans* (*A Burial at Ornans*, *Summoning Up Souvenirs of the Dead*, *Funeral at Ornans*, 1849–50). Realism is something of a catch-all term, and Courbet's definition of Realism is one that does not conflict with the [illegible] of the figures in his canvas embodying [illegible]. The [illegible] is familiar [illegible] Courbet's composition [illegible] belongs to the type of [illegible] *Mundus Muliebris* and [illegible] *Vanitas* [illegible] (see figure [illegible]). But [illegible] the artist has moved [illegible] the center, his guests are here his guests [illegible] persons who enter whenever they wish. He has [illegible] them specially for a purpose that becomes evident only upon thoughtful reflection: the picture does not yield its full meaning unless we take the title seriously and inquire into Courbet's relation to the assembly. There are two main groups, on the left

GUSTAVE COURBET
The Stone Breakers
1849–50
formerly State Picture Gallery
Dresden (destroyed 1945)

[illegible]

[illegible] people [illegible] rather [illegible] target [illegible] the artist's [illegible] hunters persuaded [illegible] a few a priest a young mother with her baby [illegible] the right [illegible] groups of peasants representing the [illegible] side of Courbet's side [illegible] reading a Bible [illegible] passive as if they were waiting [illegible] know what. Some are quietly conversing among themselves, others seem immersed in thought. [illegible] Courbet. They are much [illegible] sampling of his human [illegible] which he [illegible] suggest [illegible] and [illegible] mores. What [illegible] be as inspiration [illegible] Muse, but [illegible] real [illegible] here [illegible] probably mean [illegible] Nature [illegible] and ignored Truth which he proclaimed he guided [illegible] ple of his art [illegible] the emphasis on the clothing she has just taken off. Significantly enough, the center group is illuminated by clear, sharp daylight and the background and the farm figures are veiled in semi-darkness to underline the contrast between the artist, the active creator, and the world around him that waits to be brought to life.

Courbet's Studio helps us to understand a picture that shocked the public even more: Manet's *Luncheon on the Grass* (fig. [illegible]), showing a nude model accompanied by two gentlemen in frock coats. Édouard Manet (1832–83) was [illegible] among the [illegible] painting the nude [illegible] the light [illegible] he [illegible] highlighted [illegible] see page [illegible] that Manet certainly [illegible] an actual event, perhaps the meaning of the [illegible] this denial of plausibility [illegible] the scene [illegible] the painting [illegible] events as experienced [illegible] that of a dream. [illegible] a sun-drenched [illegible] illusionary than [illegible] the painter's privilege to combine whatever elements he pleases for aesthetic effect alone. The nudity of the nude is explained by the contrast between her warm, creamy flesh tones and the cool black-and-gray of the men's attire. In other words, the world of painting has its own laws that are distinct from those of familiar reality, and the painter's first loyalty is to his canvas, not to the outside world. Here begins an attitude that was later summed up in the doctrine of Art for Art's Sake and became a bone of contention between progressives and conservatives for the rest of the century (see page 499). Manet himself disdained such controversies, but his work attests his lifelong devotion to "pure painting"—to the belief that brush strokes and color patches themselves, not what they stand for, are the artist's primary reality. Among painters of the past, he found that Hals, Velázquez, and Goya had come

[illegible] to this idea. He admired the [illegible] technique, their preoccupation with light and [illegible] values. Many of his canvases are [illegible] pastiches of [illegible] they translate [illegible] modern terms the [illegible] particularly challenged him. [illegible] the expressive [illegible] he beholds [illegible] the [illegible] painting where the objects [illegible]

[illegible] further is said to have remarked that Manet's pastoralists were [illegible] playing cards, looking at *The Fifer* [illegible] what he meant. Done three years after [illegible] painting which had [illegible] the figure [illegible] because its contour tender [illegible] clung otherwise. Manet [illegible] the [illegible] a flat [illegible] space. The

[illegible] Manet
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] Auguste Renoir
Le Moulin de la Galette
[illegible]
The Louvre, Paris

undifferentiated light gray. The background seems as near to us as the figure, and just as solid. If the fifer stepped out of the picture, he would leave a hole in the cut-out shape. [illegible] When he [illegible] has been redeemed [illegible] but a screen made up of flat patches [illegible] How radical a step this was can be readily seen if we match *The Fifer* against Deveria's [illegible] and a Cubist work such as Picasso's *Three Musicians* [illegible] The structure of Manet's painting [illegible] resembles that of Picasso's [illegible] even Courbet [illegible] the Renaissance. In retrospect we can see that the revolutionary qualities of Manet's art were already to be seen. [illegible] in the *Luncheon*. The three figures lifted from Raphael's group of [illegible] are as shadowless and [illegible] as the fifer. They would be more at home on a flat screen [illegible] the *hair* [illegible] of their present setting, inspired by the landscapes of Courbet, no longer fits them.

What brought about this revaluation of the color palette? We do not know, and Manet himself surely did

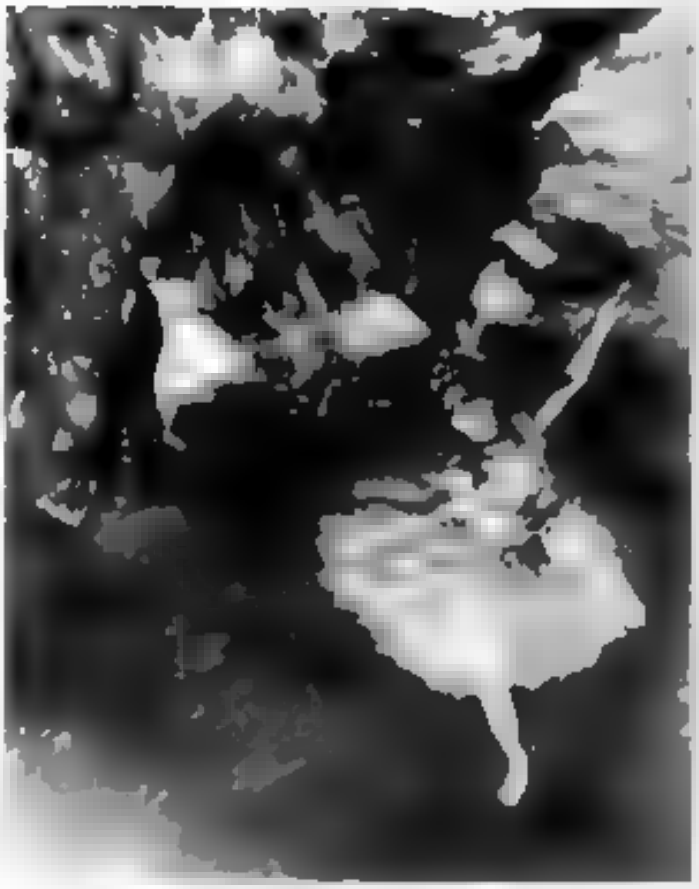
Edouard Manet, *The Fifer*, 1866. The Louvre, Paris.

Edgar Degas, *Edouard Manet*, c. 1866. Pencil drawing. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers Fund, 1918).

not reason it out beforehand. It is tempting to think that he was impelled to create the new style by the challenge of photography. The point of view, invented a quarter-century before, had vindicated the objective truth of Renaissance perspective, but it established a standard of representational accuracy that no hand-made image could hope to attain. Painting needed to be rescued from competition with the camera. This Manet accomplished by insisting that a painted canvas is above all a material surface covered with pigments, that we must look at it not *through* it. Unlike Courbet, he gave no name to the style he had created; when his followers began calling themselves impressionists, he refused to accept the term for his own work. The word had been coined in 1874, after a hostile critic had looked at a picture entitled *Impression: Sunrise* by Claude Monet (1840–1926), and it certainly fits Monet better than it does Manet. Monet had adopted Manet's concept of painting and applied it to landscapes done out-of-doors. Monet's *The River* of 1868 (colorplate 65), is flooded with sunlight so bright that conservative critics claimed it made their eyes smart. In this flickering network of color patches, the reflections on the water are as "real" as the banks of the Seine. Even more than *The Fifer*, Monet's painting is a

playing card. Were it not for the woman and the boat in the foreground, the picture could hang upside-down with hardly any difference of effect. The mirror image here serves a purpose contrary to that of earlier mirror images (compare fig. 457) instead of adding to the illusion of real space, it strengthens the units of the actual painted surface. This inner coherence sets *The River* apart from Romantic "impressions" like Constable's *Hampstead Heath* (see fig. 304) or Corot's *Papigno* (see fig. [illegible]) even though all three share the same mood of the spontaneity and fresh perception. The latter qualities come less easily to the austere and deliberate Manet. He appears in his work only after [illegible] under Monet's influence. Manet's last major picture, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* of 1881–82 (fig. 748), shows a single figure against a [illegible] and as firmly set within the rectangle of the canvas as he lifer, but the background [illegible] no longer [illegible]. A huge shimmering mirror image now reflects the [illegible] of the nightclub. But Jeppesen's three-dimensional reality. The mirror image behind the barmaid [illegible] of the picture. The barmaid herself [illegible] detached and [illegible] with melancholy [illegible] poignancy with the sparkling gaiety [illegible] which she is not permitted to share. [illegible] of the census reflects [illegible] society. Daumier's *The [illegible] Carriage* (see fig. [illegible]).

Scenes from the world of entertainment—dance halls, concerts, the theatre—were favorite subjects for impressionist painters. Auguste Renoir [illegible] another important member of the group, filled his work with the [illegible] of a singularly happy temperament. The flirting couples in *La Moulin de la Galette* (fig. [illegible]) under the dappled patterns of sunlight and shadow radiate a human warmth that is utterly captivating, even though



[illegible] Pastel [illegible]

749. Edgar Degas
The Tub, 1886
Pastel, 23 × 34
The Louvre, Paris

[illegible]

JAMES WHISTLER [illegible] *Arrangement in Black and Gray: The Artist's Mother* [illegible] The Louvre, Paris

the artist permits us a [illegible] than a fleeting glance at [illegible] of them. [illegible] the casual stroller who takes in the sance [illegible] as he passes. By contrast, Degas [illegible] steadily at the [illegible] exhausted [illegible] scene. [illegible] but we [illegible] speak [illegible] the corner of our eye. The design of his picture at first glance seems [illegible] as a snapshot. Yet the longer we look, the more we realize that everything has been made to [illegible] pressure. [illegible] has the zigzag [illegible] between us and the duchess couple reinforces the [illegible] the [illegible] components as being calculated as this set Degas apart from his fellow Impressionists. [illegible] although he had been trained in the tradition of Ingres, which he [illegible] Degas [illegible] drawing of Manet [illegible] made several [illegible] Degas [illegible] the portrait [illegible] artist [illegible] Thus [illegible] Degas [illegible] flexible [illegible] the shape [illegible] Degas [illegible] Vidal de la [illegible] shows an unique view. But [illegible] design has [illegible] and the [illegible] square [illegible] rest of the [illegible] by a [illegible] sharply [illegible] the plane of [illegible] as the [illegible] Degas has placed [illegible] the [illegible] that [illegible] the [illegible] and depth [illegible] breaking point.

The Tub is impressionistic [illegible] but [illegible] the qualities more characteristic of the 1880s: the first post-Impressionist decade, when many artists showed a renewed concern with problems of form (see the next chapter). Among the major figures of the movement, Monet alone remained faithful to the Impressionist view of nature. About 1890 he began to paint pictures in series, showing the same subject under various conditions of light and atmosphere. These tended increasingly to resemble Turner's late visions, painted with tinted steam, as Monet concentrated on effects of colored

[illegible] see page 270) he had visited London and knew Turner's work. But Monet never [illegible] objective far as [illegible] did he abandon the basic approach of his earlier work. [illegible] *The River* [illegible] a consistent [illegible] [illegible] greater variety and a more [illegible] [illegible] James McNeill Whistler [illegible]

[illegible] *The Falls* [illegible]
The [illegible] Institute of Arts

[illegible] Winslow Homer *The Morning Bell* [illegible]
Yale University Art Gallery
New Haven, Connecticut
[illegible] C. Clark Collection

[illegible] Thomas Eakins, *The* [illegible] 1876
Oil, 78 × [illegible]. Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia

explanatory subtitle we would have real difficulty making out. No French painter had yet dared to produce a picture so non-representational, so reminiscent of modern Blot-scapes and Turner's United States (see fig. 203, colorplate 61). It was this canvas, more than any other, that prompted Ruskin to accuse Whistler of "flinging a pot of paint in the public's face." Since the same critic had highly praised Turner's *Slave Ship*, we must conclude that what Ruskin really hated was not the United States itself but the Romantic sentiment behind it. During the subsequent suit for libel, Whistler offered a definition of his aims that seems to be particularly applicable to *The Falling Rocket*: "I have perhaps meant rather to indicate an artistic interest, a one in my work, divesting the picture from any outside sort of interest. It is an arrangement of line, form and color first, and I make use of any incident of it which shall bring about a symmetrical result." The last phrase has special significance, since Whistler acknowledges that in studying chance effects, he does not look for resemblances but for a purely formal harmony. While he rarely practiced what he preached to quite the same extent as he did in *The Falling Rocket*, his statement reads like a prophecy of American abstract painting today (see colorplate 70).

Whistler's gifted contemporary in America, Winslow Homer (1836–1910), also came to Paris as a young man, but left too soon to receive the full impact of Impressionism. He was a pictorial reporter throughout the Civil War and continued as a magazine illustrator until 1875. Yet he did some of his most remarkable paintings in the 1860s. Such a work is *The Morning Bell* (fig. 247). The fresh delicacy of the sunlit scene might be called pre-Impressionist—halfway between Corot and Monet (compare fig. 221, colorplate 65). But the picture has an extraordinarily subtle design as well: the dog, the teacher, and the children form the footpath and a seesaw is upward-slant counterbalanced by the descending line of treetops. Thomas Eakins (1844–1916), after visiting Paris from Philadelphia about the time he painted *The Morning Bell*, he returned four years later with decisive impressions of Courbet, Manet, and Velázquez. Elements from these three artists are combined in *The Gross Clinic* (fig. 248), the most imposing work in American nineteenth-century painting. A powerful realistic canvas, it is a literate view of an heroic surgeon guiding, yet none of the gruesome details that contemporary critics denounced as a degradation of art, but—as it seems a splendid fulfillment of Baudelaire's demand of painters that they express the heroism of modern life.

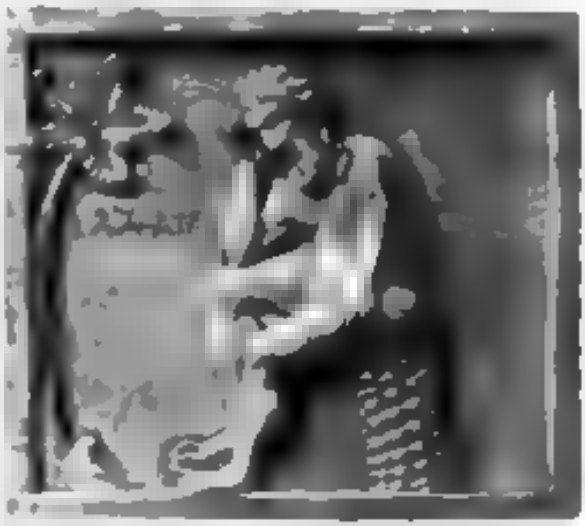
"Impressionism" is often said to need less of a gloss than painting. The statement is a mere one and misleading. Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), the first sculptor of genius since Bernini, redefined sculpture during the same years that Manet and Monet redefined painting. In doing so, however, he did not [illegible]

Auguste Rodin, *The Man with the Broken Nose*, 1864. Bronze, height [illegible]. Rodin Museum, Philadelphia Museum of Art

lead. How indeed could the effect of such pictures as *The Fifer* or *The River* be reproduced in three dimensions and without color? What Rodin did accomplish is already visible in the first piece he tried to exhibit (it was rejected, as we might expect), *The Man with the Broken Nose* of 1864 (fig. 749). Earlier he had worked briefly under Barye, whose influence may help to explain the vigorously creased surface (compare fig. 734). These warts and wrinkles produce, in polished bronze, an ever-changing pattern of reflections. But is this effect borrowed from Impressionist painting? Does Rodin discover three-dimensional [illegible] flickering patches of light and dark? These fiercely exaggerated shapes pulsate with sculptural energy, and they retain this quality under whatever conditions the piece is viewed. For Rodin did not work directly in bronze; he insisted it was [illegible] work calculate in advance the reflections [illegible] bronze surfaces of the casts that would ultimately be made from these models? He worked as he did, we must assume, [illegible] an altogether different reason: not to capture [illegible] effects but to emphasize the process of [illegible] the malleable dead matter [illegible] human. As the color patch for Manet and Monet [illegible] the primary reality to art are the malleable lumps from which Rodin humans his forms. And conservative critics [illegible] *The Man with the Broken Nose* and Impressionist painting in the same grounds: it was unfinished, a mere sketch. Sculptors, of course, have always made small informal sketches, the plastic equivalent of drawings, but these were for the artist's private use, not for public display. Rodin was the first to make of unfinishedness an aesthetic principle that governed both the handling of surfaces and the whole shape of the work. *The Man with the Broken Nose* is not a bust but a head "broken off" at the neck. By discovering what might be called the autonomy of the fragment, he rescued sculpture from its mechanical servitude, just as Manet rescued painting from photographic realism.

This sculptural revolution proclaimed with such daring by Rodin at twenty-four did not reach full force until the late 1880s. For his living, the young artist had to collaborate with officially recognized sculptors on their public commissions: monuments, memorials, and architectural sculpture in the Neo-Baroque style of Carpeaux. In 1879 he was at last entrusted with a major task: the entrance of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris. Rodin elaborated the commission into an ambitious ensemble called *The Gates of Hell*, a symbolic program inspired by Dante's *Inferno*. He never finished the *Gates*, but they served as a matrix for countless smaller pieces that he eventually made into independent works. The most famous of these autonomous fragments is *The Thinker* (fig. 750), intended for the lintel of the *Gates*, whence the figure was to contemplate the panorama of despair below. The ancestry of *The Thinker* goes back, indirectly at least, to the beginning phase of Christian art (the brooding Adam of the Byzantine ivory in fig. 751

[illegible] Rodin [illegible] 1864 [illegible] Bronze, height [illegible] Museum of Art, New York [illegible]



751. *Adam*. Byzantine, 12th century. Ivory. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

[illegible]
Ma[illegible]

[illegible]
Pla[illegible]

reflects an Early Christian source. It also includes the action-response of Michelangelo's superhuman bodies (see figs. [illegible]), contrapposto (as the torso in Puget's *Milo* (see fig. 668) especially the feet) and the expressive dynamism of *The Man with the Broken Nose* (which is *The Thinker*). Partly Adam, no doubt, though there is also a different Adam by Rodin, another figure with, of the *Gates*, parts Prometheus and parts the brute (not tamed by the passions of the flesh). Rodin wisely refrained from giving him a specific name, so the statue brings preconceived ideas to his new image of man. Form and meaning are one, instead of clearly apart as in Carpeaux's *Dance*. Carpeaux produced naked figures that pretend to be nude, while *The Thinker* (like the nudes of Michelangelo) is free from subservience to the undressed model.

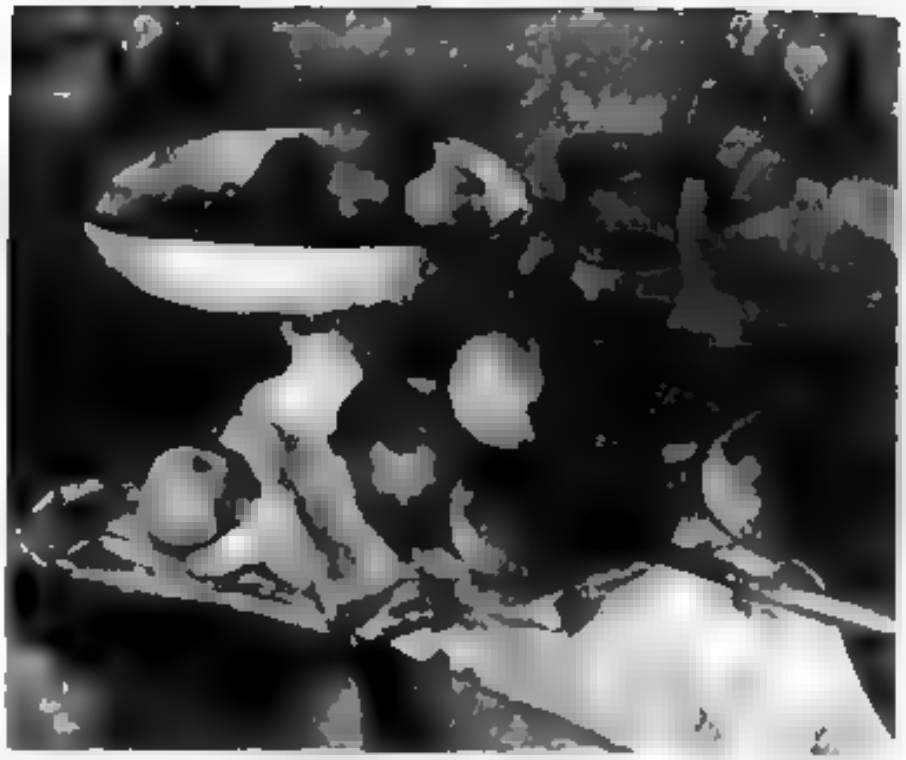
The Age (fig. [illegible]), an over-life-size group in marble, also derives from the *Gates*. Less powerful than *The Thinker*, it exploits another kind of artful unfinishedness. Rodin had been impressed by the struggle of Michelangelo's "Slaves" against the remnant of the blocks that imprison them. *The Age* was planned from the start to include the mass of roughhewn marble to which the powers are attached, and which thus becomes symbolic of the earthly and passive. The contrast of textures emphasizes the veiled sensuousness of the bodies. But Rodin was by no means a modern, not a carver like Michelangelo. His greatest works were intended to be cast in bronze. Even these, however, except the [illegible] strength [illegible], when we see them in plaster casts made [illegible] Rodin's own original. The *Burghers of Calais* [illegible] has most lasting reality remained in plaster for years, cast reluctantly by the municipal authorities, who commissioned the work. The figure's weight, bulk, physicality and spirituality has the overpowering presence of a sculpture like a huge moment in the man in genius powers above the crowd. He shares the sublime egotism of the gods, as the Romantics put it. Rodin has minimized the articulation of the body so that from a distance we see only its great bulk. As we approach, we become aware that *Balzac* is wrapped in a long shroud-like cloak. From this mass the head thrusts upward—one is tempted to say erupts—with elemental force. When we are close enough to make out the features clearly, we sense beneath the disdain an inner agony that stamps *Balzac* as the kin of *The Man with the Broken Nose*.

3. Post-Impressionism

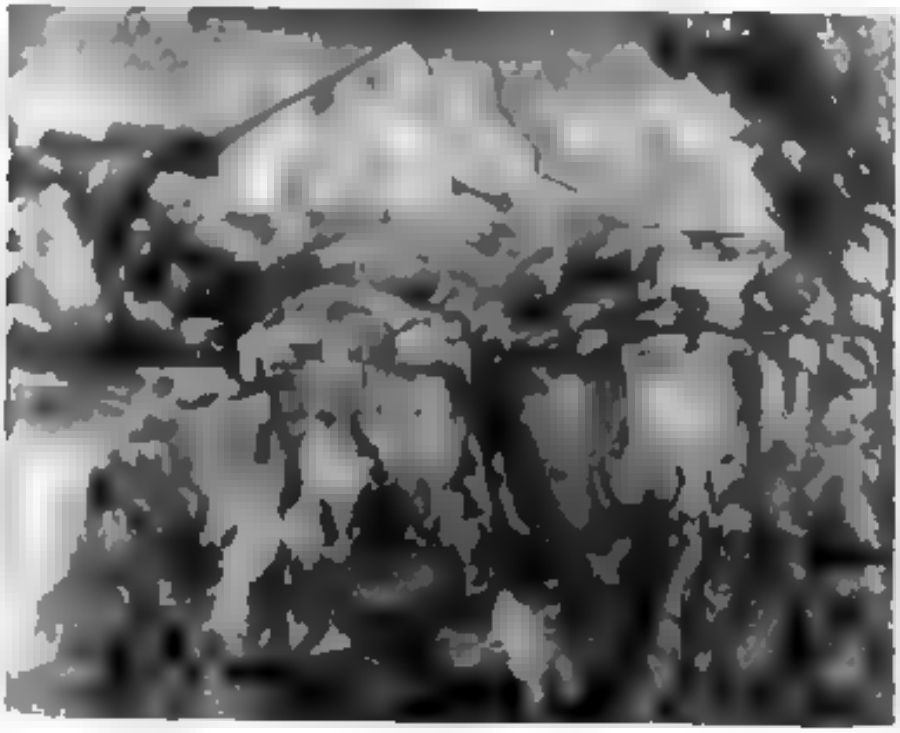
In 1882, just before his death, Manet was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour by the French government. Four years later the Impressionists, who had been exhibiting together since 1874, held their last group show. These events mark the end of the Impressionist movement, gained with acceptance and recognition, and have been so to the same extent with the Impressionist pioneering movement. The artists now belonged to the past, and a new generation, under the influence of the Impressionists, was ready to take up the challenge of painting a new art. [illegible] Paris became [illegible] Manet's death, [illegible] Impressionists had grasped [illegible] Manet's death [illegible] Manet [illegible]

effects of the Manet Revolution. They wanted to carry further the Post-Impressionist movement in a more [illegible] later stage. Though [illegible] the development [illegible] such pictures as Manet's [illegible]

Paris remained the centre of the Post-Impressionist movement. Van Gogh, for example, came to Paris in 1886 and spent two years there. Paris was the hub of the art world. [illegible] Van Gogh's [illegible] Paris [illegible] Van Gogh's [illegible] Paris [illegible] Van Gogh [illegible] Paris [illegible] Van Gogh [illegible] Paris [illegible] Van Gogh



[illegible] PAUL CÉZANNE
Fruit Bowl, Glass and Apples
1879–82 [illegible]
Collection René Lecomte, Paris



[illegible] PAUL CÉZANNE, *Mont Sainte-Victoire Seen from Bibemus Quarry*
c. 1898–1900 [illegible]
The Baltimore Museum of Art
(The Cone Collection)

modeling in a continuous scale of tones from dark to light, he treats the shadows as shapes in their own right, solid and clearly bounded. And he is bolder than Manet in his disregard of the logic of external appearance for the sake of the inner logic of the design.

Cézanne soon began to paint bright outdoor scenes, but he never shared his [illegible] Impressionists' interest in [illegible]-of-life subjects, in movement and change. About 1879, when he painted the *Self-Portrait* reproduced in colorplate 66, he had decided "to make of Impressionism something solid and durable, like the art of the museums." His Romantic impulsiveness of the 1860s has

now given way to a patient, disciplined search for harmony of form and color. Every brush stroke is like a building block firmly placed within the pictorial architecture. The balance of "two-D" and "three-D" is less harsh than before. Note how the pattern of wallpaper in the background frames the rounded shape of the head, and the colors are deliberately controlled so as to produce "chords" of warm and cool tones that reverberate throughout the canvas. In Cézanne's masterpieces such as *Fruit Bowl, Glass and Apples* (fig. 158), this quest for the solid and durable can be seen even more clearly. Since Chardin have simple, everyday objects assumed such importance in a painter's eye. Again, the ornamental backdrop is integrated with the three-dimensional shapes, and the brush strokes have a rhythmic pattern that gives the canvas its shimmering texture. We can notice another aspect of Cézanne's mature style, which is more conspicuous here than in the *Still Life* (fig. 157), and may puzzle us at first: the forms are deliberately simplified and aligned with dark contours, and the perspective is incorrect. For both the fruit bowl and the tabletop surfaces, which seem to tilt upward, the longer we look at the picture, the more we realize the rightness of these apparently arbitrary distortions. When Cézanne takes these liberties with reality, his purpose is to uncover the permanent qualities beneath the accidents of appearance. Forms in nature, he believed, are based on the cone, the sphere, and the cylinder. This order underlying the external world was the true subject of his pictures, but he had a interpretation of the separate, closed world of the canvas. One detail of our painting is particularly revelatory in this respect: the stem of the fruit bowl is slightly off-center, as if the oval shape of the bowl in response to the pressure of the other objects were expanding toward the left.

To apply this method to landscape became the greatest challenge of Cézanne's career. From Aix, in the south of France, near his home town, capturing the contrast between Provence and Paris, he exported the Roman countryside. One motif, the distinctive shape of a mountain called Mont Sainte-Victoire, seemed almost to obsess him: its craggy profile looming against the blue Mediterranean sky appears in a long series of compositions, such as the very monumental oil work in figure 159. There are no hints of man's presence here: houses and trees would only disturb the lonely grandeur of this view. Above the wall of rocky cliffs that bar our way like a chain of fortifications, the mountain rises in triumphant clarity, infinitely remote yet as solid and palpable as the shapes in the foreground. For all its architecture stabilizing the scene, it is rife with movement, but the forces at work here have been brought into equilibrium, subdued by the greater power of the artist's will. This disciplined energy, distilled from the chaos of a cosmos in which gives the mature style of Cézanne its enduring strength.

Georges Seurat (1859–91) shared Cézanne's aim to make impressionism solid and durable, but he went about it very differently. His career was as brief as those of Mazzola, Giorgione, and Vermeer, and his achievement, just as astonishing, Seurat devoted his main efforts to a few very large paintings, spending a year or more on each of them. He made endless series of preliminary studies before he felt sure enough to tackle the definitive version. His painstaking method reflects his belief that art must be based on a system. He began he had studied with a few years of Ingres, and his theoretical statements came from this experience. But, as with all artists of genius, Seurat's theories do not really explain his pictures, it is the pictures rather that explain the theories. The subject of his first large-scale composition, the *Bathers* (fig. 158), is one that had long been popular among Impressionist painters. Impressionists, too, are the brilliant colors and the effect of intense sunlight. Otherwise, however, the picture is the very opposite of a quick impression: the firm, simple contours and the relaxed, immobile figures give the scene a timeless stability, but recall Piero della Francesca rather

158. Georges Seurat
Bathers (1883–84)
79 × 118 in.
The Tate Gallery, London

right: Vincent van Gogh
The Potato Eaters
1885
Collection V. W. van Gogh
Laren, Holland

Below: Vincent van Gogh
Self-Portrait, 1889
Collection Ingelborg and
Arthur Hahn Whitney, New York

[illegible] the brushwork shows Seurat's passion for order and permanence. The canvas surface is covered with systematic, impersonal flicks that make Cézanne's varied, texture brush strokes seem temperamental and dynamic by comparison. In Seurat's watercolor, like such as Sunday Afternoon, *La Parade*, [illegible] place, the flicks become [illegible] were suppressed [illegible] more uniform.

[illegible] Seurat had adopted the rules [illegible] precisely [illegible] a system of vertical and horizontal color notes that [illegible] them in place and defines the canvas as a set [illegible] a ned rectangular field. Only in the work of Vermeer have we encountered a similar area consciousness [illegible] color complements.

While Cézanne and Seurat were converting Impressionism into a more severe, classical style, Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890) pursued the opposite direction, for he believed that Impressionism did not provide the artist with enough freedom to express his emotions. Since this was his main concern, he is sometimes called an Expressionist, but the term ought to be reserved for certain later painters (see the next chapter). Van Gogh, the first great Dutch master since the seventeenth century, did not become an artist until 1880, as he died only ten years later. His career was even briefer than that of Seurat. His early interests were in literature and religion, profoundly

disgusted with the vanities of industrial society and moved with a strong sense of mission he worked for a while as a lay preacher among peasants stricken [illegible] This same intense feeling [illegible] the [illegible] paintings [illegible] his preoccupation [illegible] *The Power Forces* [illegible] [illegible] of those years there remains a [illegible] that comes from his [illegible] among [illegible] he adds [illegible] he expresses [illegible] are reminded of Daumier and [illegible] Rembrandt [illegible] his pleasure [illegible] [illegible] importance [illegible]

When he painted *The* [illegible] not so [illegible] the impact [illegible] Paris where [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and by 1889 was he cen[illegible] as figure of a new movement called Synthetism [illegible] Symbolism. His style, though less [illegible]tically persona[illegible] than Van Gogh's, was in some ways an even bolder [illegible] beyond Impressionism. Gauguin believed that Western [illegible]ization was [illegible] out of joint. [illegible] industrial society had forced men into an incomplete life dedicated [illegible] material gain while their emotions lay neglected. [illegible] set forth in [illegible] his hidden world of [illegible] Gauguin left Paris for western France to [illegible] among the peasants of Brittany. He noticed particularly that religion was [illegible] part of the everyday life of the [illegible] people and in pictures such as [illegible] *The Vision After the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel)* he tried [illegible] depict their simple, direct faith. Here a[illegible] was what no Romantic painter had achieved: a style based on pre-Renaissance sources. Modeling and perspective have given way to flat, simplified shapes outlined heavily in black, and the brilliant colors are equally "un-natural." This style, inspired by folk art and medieval stained glass, is meant to re-create both the imagined reality of the vision and the trance-like rapture of the peasant women. Yet we sense that Gauguin, although he tried to share this experience, remains an outsider: he could paint pictures *about* faith, but not *from* faith.

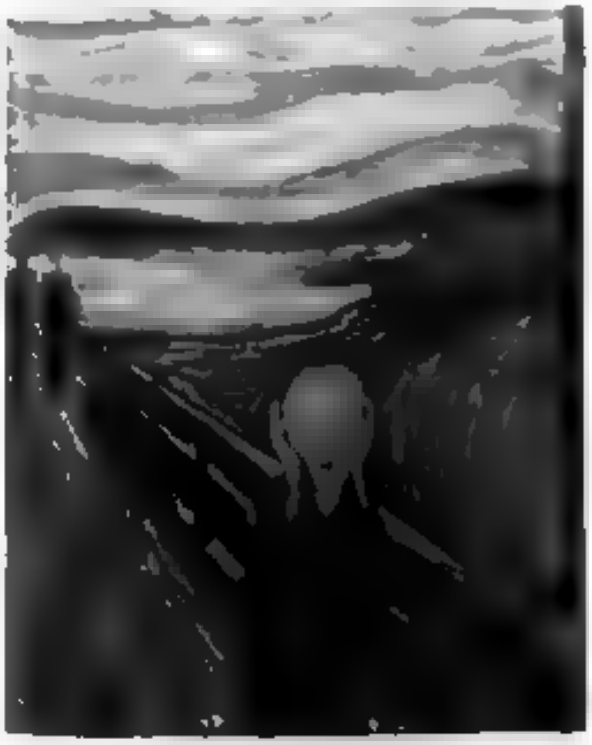
Two years later, Gauguin's search for the unspoiled life led him even farther afield. He voyaged to Tahiti as a sort of "missionary in reverse," to learn from the natives instead of teaching them. Although he spent the rest of his life in the South Pacific, he returned home [illegible] once in 1893–95; none of his Tahitian canvases are as daring as those he had painted in Brittany. His strongest works of this period are woodcuts. *Offerings of Gratitude* (fig. 761) again presents the theme of religious worship, but the image of a local god now replaces the biblical subject of the vision. It is frankly carved wood and is held white on black pattern; we can feel the influences of the native art of the South Seas and of other non-European styles. The renewal of Western art and Western civilization as a whole, Gauguin believed, must come from the Primitives. He advised his fellow Symbolists to shun the Greeks and Romans and to turn instead to Persia, the Far East, and ancient Egypt. His idea of self was not new: it was the Romantic myth of the Noble Savage, propagated by the thinkers of the Enlightenment. Man had had, and might perhaps once again have, a state of nature and innocence. But no one before Gauguin had gone as far to put the doctrine of primitivism into practice. His pilgrimage to the South Pacific had more than a purely private meaning: it symbolizes the end of the four hundred years of economic expansion which had brought the entire globe under Western domination. The "white man's burden," once so cheerfully and ruthlessly shouldered by the empire builders, was becoming unbearable.

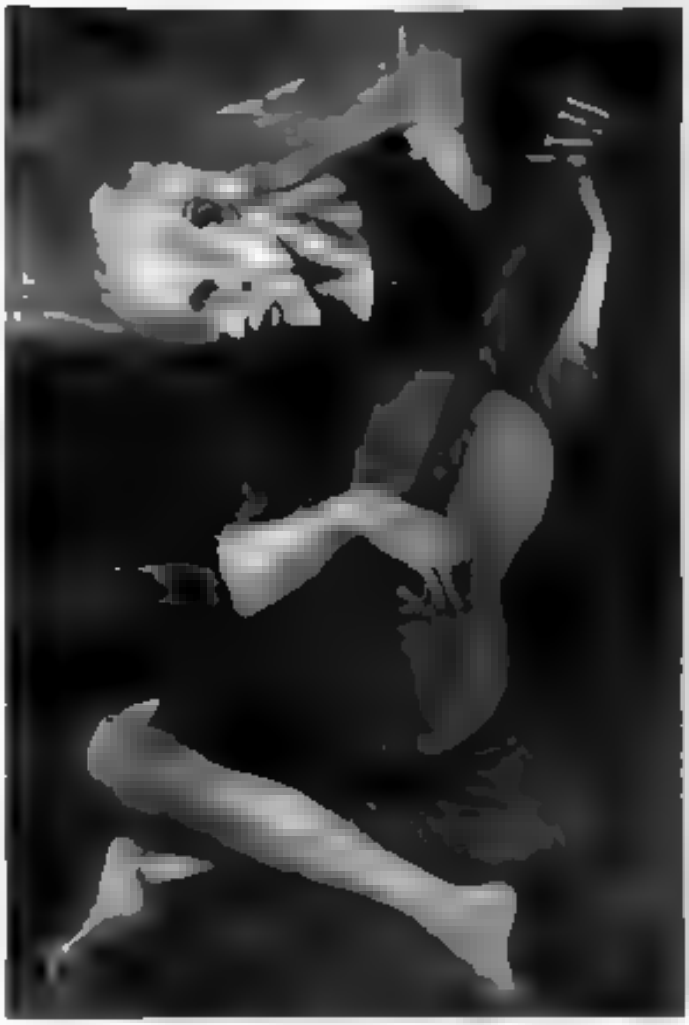
above: 762. HENRI DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC, *At the Moulin Rouge*, 1892. 48" × 55 [illegible]. The Art Institute of Chicago, Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection

right: 763. JAMES ENSOR, *Intrigue*, 1890. 31 × 39". Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp

Van Gogh's and Gauguin's discontent with the spiritual ills of Western civilization was part of a sentiment widely shared at the end of the nineteenth century. A self-conscious preoccupation with decadence, evil, and darkness pervaded the artistic and literary climate. Even those who saw no escape analyzed their predicament in fascinated horror. Yet, somewhat paradoxically, this very awareness proved to be a source of strength: the truly decadent, we may assume, are unable to realize their plight. The most remarkable instance of this strength was Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–90), a physically ugly dwarf, he was an artist of superb talent who led a dissolute life in the night spots of Paris and died of alcoholism. He was a great admirer of Degas, and his *At the Moulin Rouge* (fig. 962) recalls the strange composition of Degas' *The Ballet at Opéra* (see fig. 4). Yet this view of the well-known night club is a passing, fast slice of life. Toulouse-Lautrec sees only the gay surface of the scene, showing performers and customers with a ruthless sharpness that reveals, behind the encroaching hair, the heavy, bestial, manic features of one in the back of the room. The large areas of flat color, however, and the emphasis on sinuously curving outlines reflect the influence of Gauguin. Although Toulouse-Lautrec was no Symbolist, he Moulin Rouge, he shows here has an atmosphere of sadness and oppressive that we cannot but regard it as a parallel to the work of the Belgian painter James Ensor (1860–1949). This pessimistic view of the human condition reaches obsessive intensity in *Intrigue* (fig. 963), a grotesque genius, but as we scrutinize these masks we become aware that they are the mummers, not the faces

964. Edvard Munch. The Scream. 1893. Oil on cardboard, 36 × 29". National Museum, Oslo.

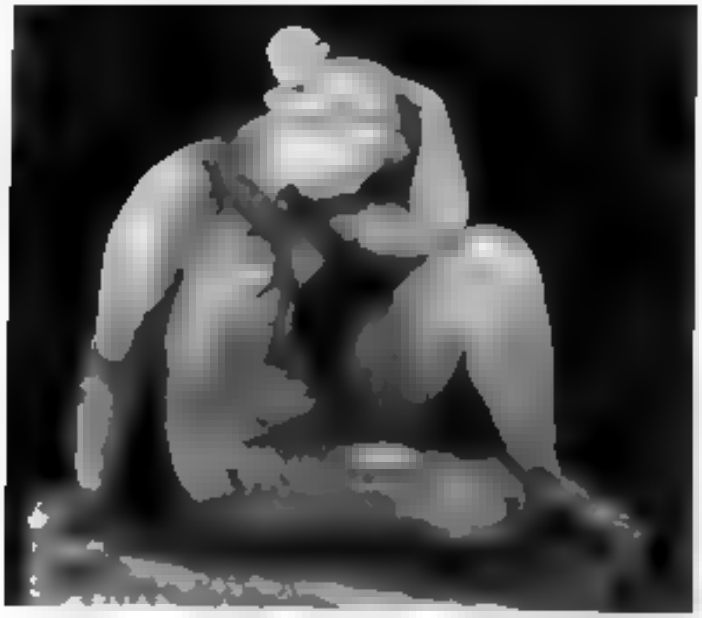




962. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. At the Moulin Rouge. 1892–95. Oil on canvas, 48 × 55". The Art Institute of Chicago. Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection.

revealing the depravity ordinarily hidden behind the façade of everyday appearances. The demon-ridden world of Bosch and Schongauer has come to life again, in modern guise (compare figs. 456, 461). Something of the same macabre quality pervades the early work of Edvard Munch (1863–1944), a gifted Norwegian who came to Paris in 1889 and based his starkly expressive style on Toulouse-Lautrec, Van Gogh, and Gauguin. The Scream (fig. 964) shows the influences of all three. It is an image of fear, the terrifying, unreasoned fear we experience in nightmares (as do Fuseli and Goya; see figs. 900, 901). Munch visualizes this experience without the aid of ghosting apparitions, and his achievement is the more persuasive for that very reason. The rhythm of the long, wavy lines seems to carry the echo of the scream into every corner of the picture, making of earth and sky one great sounding board of fear.

When the young Pablo Picasso arrived in Paris in 1900, he came under the spell of the same artistic atmosphere that had generated the style of Munch. His so-called Blue



[illegible] heights [illegible] Academy [illegible] Rosenberg [illegible] Michigan

Period (the term refers [illegible] the prevailing [illegible] of his subjects as well as to their mood) consist [illegible] exclusively of pictures of beggars and derelicts such as *The Old Guitarist* of 1903 [illegible] outcasts [illegible] of society whose pathos reflects the artist's own sense of isolation.

Yet these figures [illegible] poses poetic melancholy more than straight despair. The aged musician accepts his fate with a resignation [illegible] he seems almost saint[illegible] and he attenuated grace of his limbs reminds us of El Greco (compare [illegible] plate 45). *The Old Guitarist* is a strange amalgam of Mannerism and of the art [illegible] Cézanne and Toulouse-Lautrec [illegible] note [illegible] and colours imbued [illegible] the personal [illegible] with [illegible] year-old genius. A few years [illegible] and [illegible] friends [illegible] a [illegible] who [illegible] he had a [illegible] for his [illegible] since 1886 [illegible] *Dreams* [illegible] What goes on in the enlightened world of [illegible] needs no explanation [illegible] because [illegible] possible, but perhaps [illegible] becomes unbearable [illegible] Rousseau himself described the scene [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Picasso's [illegible] agreed [illegible] sculpture [illegible] Signatures of a younger generation [illegible] been called under the common influence [illegible] Rousseau were heads [illegible] Aside Maillol [illegible] began [illegible] sculptor [illegible] though he did not share [illegible] admiring the self-pitied strength [illegible] Greek sculpture he rejected its later phases. The [illegible] evokes memories of the Archaic and Severe Styles (compare figs. [illegible]) [illegible] rather than of Phidias and Praxiteles. The solid form and clearly defined volumes [illegible] Cézanne's statement that all natural forms are based on the cone, the sphere and the cylinder. But the most notable quality of the figure is its harmonious self-sufficient repose, which the outside world cannot disturb. A statue, Maillol thought, must above all be static, structurally balanced like a piece of architecture; it must represent a state of being that is detached from

[illegible] *The Great Mask*
Kneeling Figure [illegible] Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent

[illegible] *Standing Figure* [illegible]
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
[illegible] Rockefeller [illegible]

[illegible] *The Kneeling Figure* by the Belgian sculptor George Minne [illegible] the haggard angularity [illegible] classical influence and the balance [illegible] pose suggests religious meditation. The statue is part of a fountain design that consists of five nude[illegible] kneeling boys grouped around a circular basin as [illegible] engaged in a solemn ritual. We must see his figure as one anonymous member of a rhythmically repeated sequence. If we [illegible] understand its mood of ascetic withdrawal. Minne's art attracted little notice in France but was admired in Germany. Its influence is apparent in the *Standing Figure* by Wilhelm Lehmbruck. [illegible] here a Gothic elongation and angularity are conjoined with a fine balance derived from Maillol's art and also with some of Rodin's expressive energy. The total effect is a looming monumental figure well anchored [illegible] that poets [illegible] as we [illegible] Rilke [illegible] that the [illegible] German sculpt[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] Rilke. [illegible] Lehmbruck [illegible] Gothic [illegible] Munch [illegible] the Western Symbolist [illegible]. What Gauguin had experienced in Brittany and the [illegible] Barlach found by going [illegible] Russia: the simple humanity of a pre-[illegible] age. His figures such as the *Man Drawing a Sword* [illegible] embody elementary emotions—wrath, fear, grief—that seem imposed upon them by invisible presences. When they act they are like somnambulists, unaware of their own impulses. Man in Barlach is a humble creature at the mercy [illegible] he is never the master of his fate. Characteristically these figures do not fully emerge from the material substance—often as here a massive block—of which they are made. Their clothing is like a hard chrysalis that hides the body, as in medieval sculpture. Barlach's art has a range that is severely restricted in both form and emotion, yet its mute intensity within these limits is not easily forgotten.

4. *Twentieth-Century Painting and Sculpture*

In our section on modern art we have already discussed a succession of "isms": Neoclassicism, Romanticism, Realism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Divisionism, Symbolism. There are many more to be found in twentieth-century art—so many, in fact, that nobody has made an exact count. These "isms" can form a serious obstacle to understanding; they may make us feel that we cannot hope to comprehend the art of our time unless we immerse ourselves in a welter of esoteric doctrines. Actually, we can disregard all but the most important "isms"; like the terms we have used for the styles of earlier periods, they are merely labels to help us put things in their proper place. Labels fail the test of usefulness if we need not retain it. This is true of many "isms" in contemporary art: the movements they designate either cannot be seen very clearly as separate entities or have so little importance that they can interest only the specialist. It has always been easier to invent new labels than to create a movement in art that truly deserves a new name.

Still we cannot do without "isms" altogether. Since the start of the modern era the Western world—and increasingly the non-Western world—has faced the same basic problems everywhere, and local artistic traditions have steadily given way to international trends. Among these we can distinguish three main currents, each comprising a number of "isms" that began among the Post-Impressionists and have developed greatly in the twentieth century: Expression, Abstraction, and Fantasy. The first stresses the artist's emotional attitude toward himself and the world; the second, the formal structure of the work of art; the third explores the realm of the imagination, especially its spontaneous and irrational qualities. We must not forget, however, that feeling, order, and imagination are all present in every work of art: without imagination it would be deadly dull; without some degree of order it would be chaotic; without feeling it would leave us unmoved. These currents, then, are not mutually exclusive. We shall find them interrelated in many ways, and the work of one artist may well belong to more than one current. Moreover, each current embraces a wide range of approaches, from the realistic to the completely non-representational, from the objective to the subjective. Thus these three currents do not correspond to specific styles but to generic attitudes. The primary concern of the Expressionist is the human personality; of the Abstractionist, the structure of reality; and of the artist of Fantasy, the subconscious, the mind's dark and animal depths.

The twentieth-century movement in painting began in France. Between 1890 and 1905 several comprehensive exhibitions of the work of Van Gogh, Gauguin, and Cézanne were held in Paris. Thus for the first time the achievements of these masters became accessible to a broad public. The young painters who had grown up in the decadent mood of the 1890s (see page 539) were profoundly impressed and so

210. Henri Matisse
The Joy of Life (1905–06)
Barnes Foundation
Merion, Pennsylvania

several of them developed a musical new style full of violent color and bold distortions. On their first public appearance in 1905, they so shocked critical opinion that they were dubbed the *Fauves* (the wild beasts), a label they wore with pride. Actually, it was not a common program that brought them together but their shared sense of liberation and experiment. As a movement, Fauvism comprised numerous loosely related individual styles, and the group dissolved after a few years.

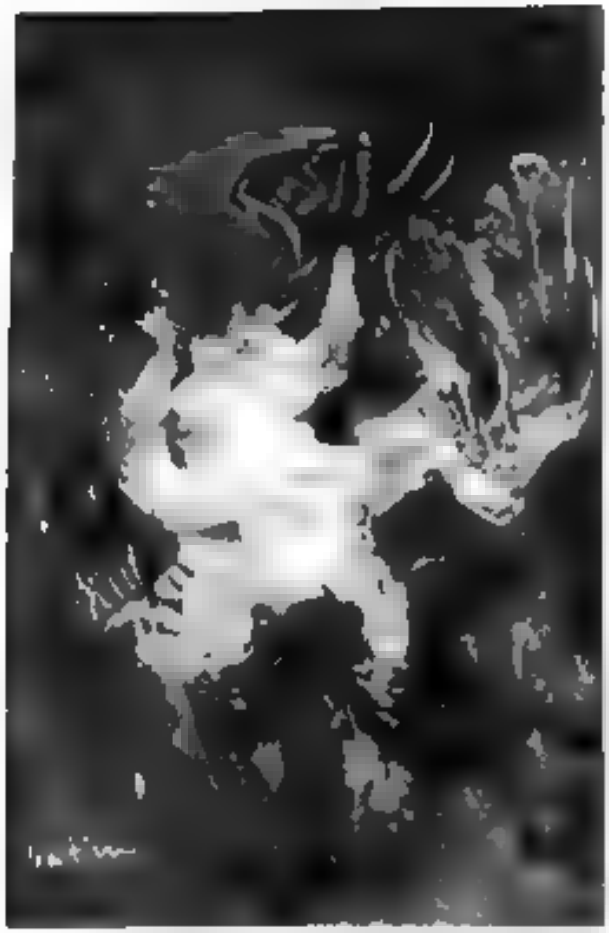
Its leading member was Henri Matisse (1869–1954), the oldest of the founding fathers of twentieth-century painting. *The Joy of Life* (fig. 770), probably the most important picture of his long career, sums up the spirit of Fauvism better than any other single work. Its obvious debt to Cézanne's flat planes and heavy undulating outlines and the primitive flavor of its forms (from Gauguin) seem appropriate to even its subject, suggesting the state of Nature that Gauguin had pursued in vain seeking Tahiti. But we sense rather that these figures are Noble Savages under the spell of a native god—the subject is a pagan scene in the classical sense, a bacchanale. Titian's contemporary colorplate 41 (on the opposite page) shows the figures have for the most part a classical origin, and the apparently naive Gauguin also hides a profound knowledge of the human body. Matisse has been trained in the academic tradition. What makes the picture so revolutionary is its radical simplicity, a genius of omission. Everything that possibly can be has been left out or pared to the minimum, yet he does not lose the essential qualities of form and spacing in painting. Matisse seems to say to the bathers, arrangement of line and color on a flat plane has a value that has nothing to do with the image of nature be preserved without destroying its basic properties and thus reducing it to mere surface ornament? What I am after above all is the other expression. But expression does not consist in the passion mirrored upon a human face. The whole arrangement of my picture is expressive. The placement of the figures, the empty spaces around them, the proportions, everything plays a part. But what we wonder does *The Joy of Life* express? Exactly what its title says. Whatever his debt to Gauguin, Matisse was never seized by the same agonized discontent with the decadence of our civilization. He had strong feelings about only one thing—the act of painting; this to him was an experience so profoundly joyous that he wanted to transmit it to the beholder in all its freshness and immediacy. The purpose of his pictures, he always asserted, was to give pleasure.

The radical new balance Matisse struck between the "2-D" and "3-D" aspects of painting is particularly evident in his *Harmony in Red* (colorplate 42). He spreads the same flat blue-on-red pattern on the tablecloth and on the wall, yet he distinguishes the horizontal from the vertical planes with complete assurance. Cézanne had pioneered this integration of surface ornament into the design of a picture (see colorplate 66), but Matisse here

[illegible] *Head of Christ* (fig. 771). Oil on paper mounted on canvas, [illegible]. Collection Walter P. Stendahl, New York.

makes the mainstay of his composition. Equally bold but perfectly readable is the view of a garden with flowering trees seen through the window; the house in the distance is painted the same bright pink as the interior and is thereby brought into relation with the rest of the picture. Likewise the blue of the sky, the greens of the foliage, and the bright yellow dots (for flowers) all recur in the foreground. Matisse's "genius of omission" is again at work: by reducing the number of units to a minimum, he makes of color an independent structural element of such importance that *Harmony in Red* would be meaningless in a black-and-white reproduction.

Another member of the *Fauves*, Georges Rouault (1871–1958), would not have used Matisse's definition of "expression." For him this had still to include, as it had in the past, the passion mirrored upon a human face—we need only look at his *Head of Christ* (fig. 771). But the expressiveness does not reside only in the "image quality" of the face. The savage, slashing strokes of the brush speak equally eloquently of the artist's rage and compassion. (If we cover the upper third of the picture, it is no longer a recognizable image, yet the expressive effect is hardly diminished.) Rouault is the true heir of



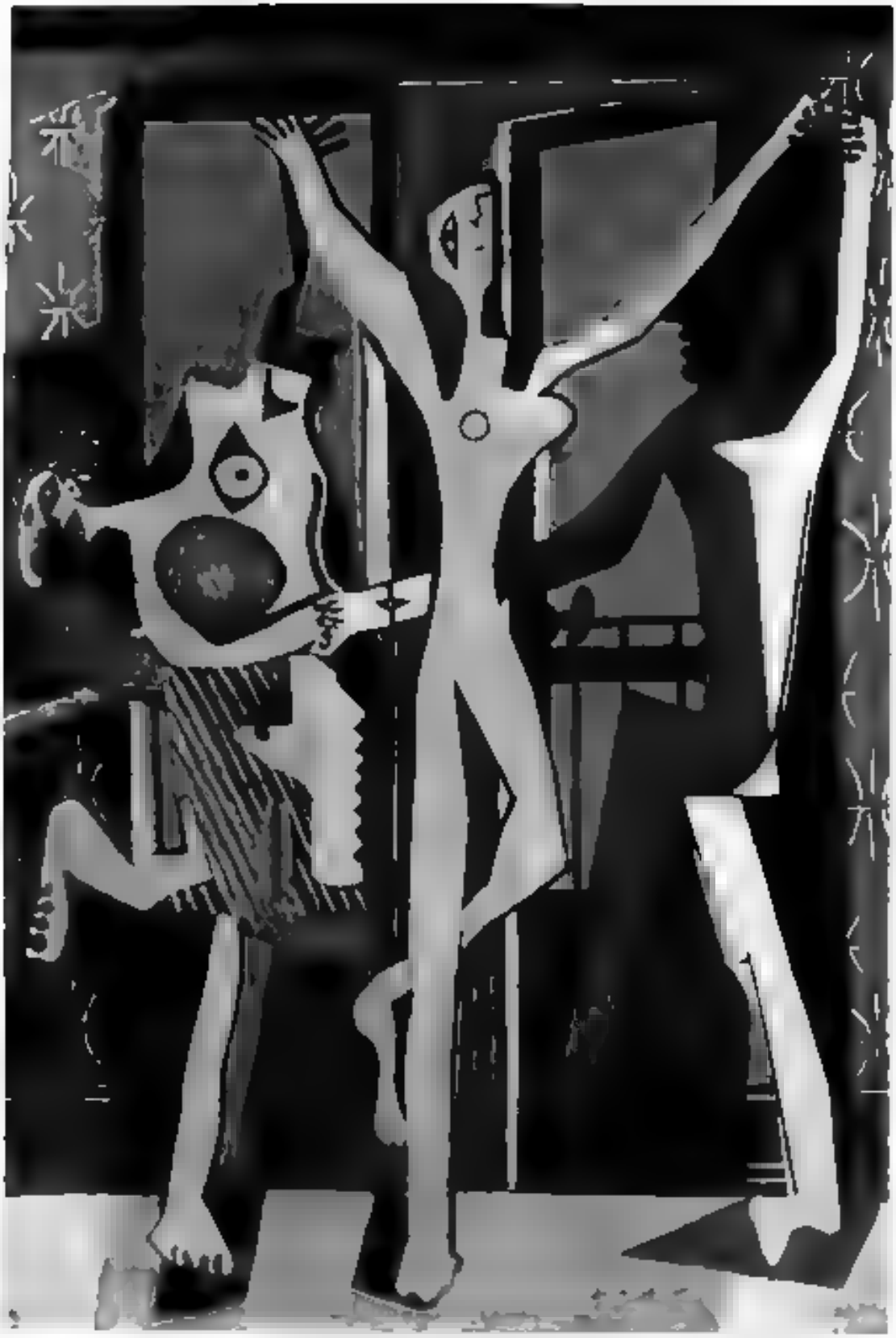
[illegible]

771. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. *Street*, 1913. Oil on canvas, [illegible] × [illegible] cm. The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Purchase)

Van Gogh's and Gauguin's concern for the corrupt state of the world, the homeless, hoped for spiritual renewal through a stylized Catholic faith. His pictures, whatever the subject, are personal statements of this modern hope. Trained in his youth as a stained glass worker, he was better prepared than the other *Fauves* or Gauguin, who had no medieval art. It would have work such as *The Bathers* [illegible] and compartmentized black bordered [illegible] inspired by the stained glass windows [illegible] fig. [illegible]. Within this framework he retained a good deal of the painter's freedom we saw in the *Heu* [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] expressive mixed [illegible] and times offering [illegible] Rem[illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] *Die Brücke* [illegible] the Bridge, a group [illegible] who [illegible] research [illegible] the [illegible] Matisse's simplified rhythmic line and [illegible] their association [illegible] influence of Van Gogh and Gauguin. Kirchner also was temporarily deeply [illegible] Munch's [illegible] fig. [illegible], which was then having its decline and deeply impressed by the intense expressiveness of the *Brücke* [illegible] than he could be shaken. Kirchner's preferred [illegible] group here [illegible] although he was a less [illegible] painter. The thick, [illegible] surfaces and the deliberate [illegible] through smashing [illegible] *Supper*, fig. 774, make it clear that Nolde [illegible] all pictorial refinement [illegible] of a medieval direct concern [illegible] inspired by Gauguin. [illegible] grotesque masks [illegible] mind see [illegible] and the more intensely [illegible] Barlach's peasants, see fig. [illegible]. Another artist of highly individual talent [illegible] the *Brücke* although not a member of it is the Austrian Oskar Kokoschka (born 1886). His most memorable works are his portraits painted before the First World War, such as the splendid *Self-Portrait*, fig. [illegible]. Like Van Gogh, Kokoschka sees himself as a visionary, a witness to the truth and reality of his inner experiences (compare fig. 760), the hypersensitive features



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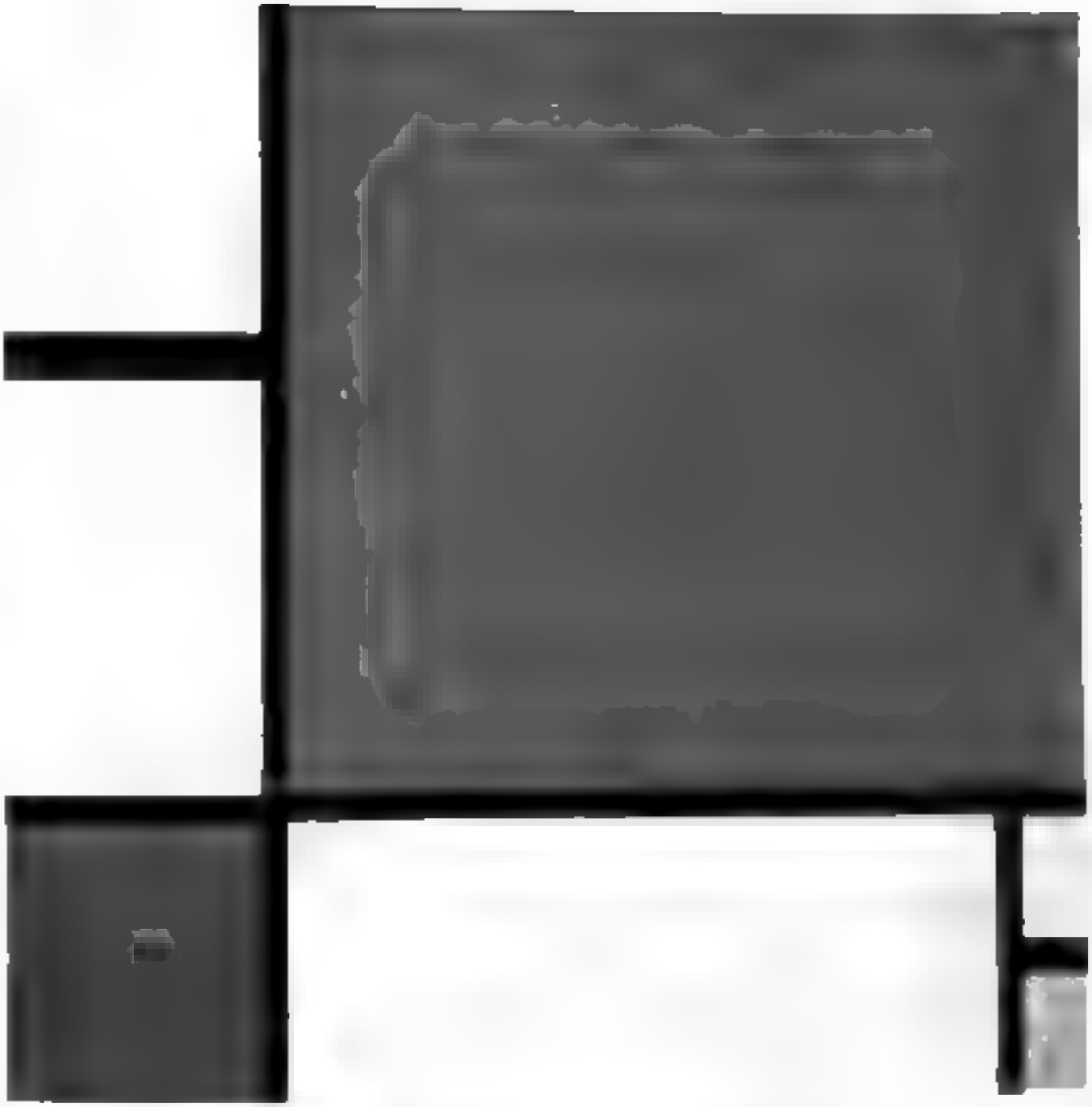
[illegible] collection of the artist



seem incarnated by a great artist of the imagination. [illegible] Max Beckmann [illegible] Second World War, which left him [illegible] *The Departure* [illegible] Beckmann spent the last three years of his career in America.

But the most astonishing and significant step beyond Expressionism was taken in Germany by a Russian, Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), the leading member of a group of Munich artists called the *Blaue Reiter*. The Blue Horseman. [illegible] Kandinsky abandoned representation in favor of pure color, the rainbow colors and the free, dynamic brushwork of the Paris Fauves, he created a completely

above: 274 Leon Nolde
The Last Supper 1909 [illegible]
Stiftung Seebüll Ada and Emil Nolde
Neukirchen (Schleswig) Germany

[illegible] 275 Oskar Kokoschka
Self Portrait [illegible]
The Museum of Modern Art
New York (Purchase)

276 Max Beckmann
The Dream 1921 [illegible]
collection Morton D. May
St. Louis Museum

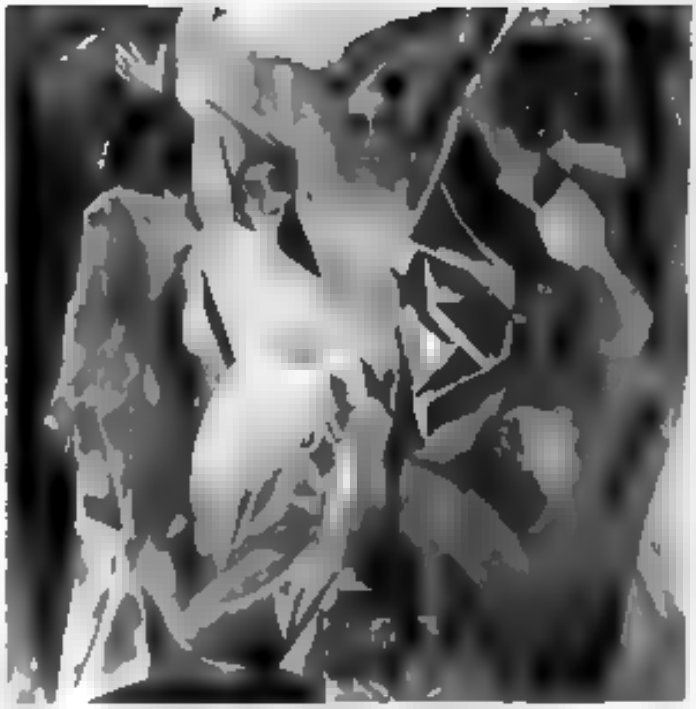
[illegible] Mexico

non-objective [illegible]. These works have [illegible] as abstract as the [illegible] for example, [illegible] the most striking [illegible] called *Sherd* [illegible] *Composition* [illegible] *Explosion*. Perhaps we should avoid the term abstract because it is so often taken to mean that the artist has analyzed and simplified the shapes of visible reality. Compare a painting by Kandinsky that is a pure abstract form based on the cosmosphere and wonder. This was not the method of Kandinsky. Whatever traces of representation his works contain are quite incidental. His aim was to change form and color with a purely spiritual meaning as he put it, by eliminating all resemblance to the physical world. Whistler, who had spoken of "withdrawing the picture from any outside sort of interest," he even anticipated Kandinsky's use of musical titles (see page 499). But it was the liberating influence of the *Fauves* that permitted Kandinsky to put this theory into practice. The possibility was clearly implicit in Fauvism from the start as shown in our experiment with Rouault's *Head of Christ*, when the upper third of the picture is covered, the rest becomes a non-representational composition strangely similar to Kandinsky's. How valid is the analogy between painting and music? When a painter like Kandinsky carries it through so uncompromisingly, does he create a fifth art, or another plane? Or could it be that his devoted independence from representational images [illegible] forces him instead to represent music, which [illegible] even more sovereign? Kandinsky's adversaries [illegible] that representational painting has a [illegible] and [illegible] dependence on another art, but [illegible] explain why the musical element of his [illegible] painting should be more desirable [illegible] than literature [illegible] music is a higher art than literature [illegible] painting [illegible] representational [illegible] has been [illegible] with an ancient tradition. He goes back [illegible] to St. Augustine [illegible] Augustine [illegible] the [illegible] images as [illegible] art. The [illegible] argument [illegible] painting [illegible] has expressed.

Americans [illegible] was a [illegible] express [illegible] well. American [illegible] the new [illegible] Expression of the New World was Mexican [illegible] than the United States. The Mexican Revolution began [illegible] decades [illegible] inspired a group of young painters [illegible] the great native heritage of pre-[illegible] Indian art (see page 55). They also felt that their art must be [illegible] the people expressing the spirit of the Revolution in vast mural cycles in public buildings. Although each developed his own distinctive style, they shared a common point of departure: the symbolist art of Gauguin. This art had shown how non-Western forms could be integrated with the Western tradition, and the flat, decorative quality was moreover particularly suited to murals. The involvement of these artists in the political turmoil of the day often led them to overburden their works with ideological significance. The artist least subject to this imbalance of form and subject matter was José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949), a passionately independent artist who refused to get embroiled in factional politics. Our detail from the mural cycle at the University of Guadalajara (fig. 777) illustrates his most powerful trait, a deep humanitarian sympathy with the silent, suffering masses.

The second of our main currents is the one we called Abstraction. When discussing Kandinsky, we said that the term is usually taken to mean the process (or the result) of analyzing and simplifying observed reality. Literally, it means "to draw away from, to separate." If we have ten apples and then separate the ten from the apples, we get an abstract number, a number that no longer refers to particular things. But apples, too, are abstractions, since it places ten apples in one class without regard for their individual qualities. The artist who sets out to paint ten apples will find no two of them alike, yet he cannot possibly take account of all their differences, even the most painstakingly realistic painting. If these particular pieces of fruit are bound to be some sort of an abstraction. Abstraction then goes on in painting any work of art, whether the artist knows it or not. The process was [illegible] the Renaissance when artists [illegible] mathematics [illegible] see page [illegible] Cézanne [illegible] revolutionary approach and experiment. Together, this are the direct [illegible] of the abstract [illegible] twentieth century. A real creator [illegible] was Pablo Picasso.

[illegible] Picasso [illegible] Blue Period [illegible] Toulouse-Lautrec, Degas, and Cézanne, but he [illegible] *The Jugglers* [illegible] *Demoiselles d'Avignon* [illegible] Barcelona, where Picasso painted the picture, was [illegible] with a composition of five nudes and a still life. Most nude. Matisse's generalized figures in *The Joy of Life* [illegible] seem [illegible] compared to this savage aggressiveness. The three on the left are angular [illegible] classical figures, but the violently [illegible] features and bodies of the other two have [illegible] the [illegible] of primitive art. Comparedigs about 14 [illegible] showing Gauguin's lead. The *Fauves* had discovered the aesthetic appeal of African and Oceanic sculpture and had introduced Picasso to this material. Yet it was he rather than they who used primitive art as a battering ram against the classical conception of beauty. Not only the proportions but the organic integrity and continuity of the human body are denied here so that the canvas (in the apt description of one critic) resembles a field of broken glass. Picasso then has destroyed a great deal; what has he gained in the process? Once we recover from the initial shock, we begin to see that the destruction is quite methodical: everything, the figures as well as their setting, is broken up into angular wedges or facets. These, we will note, are not flat, but



[illegible] Picasso [illegible] The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest.

[illegible] Pablo Picasso [illegible] Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

780 Pablo Picasso [illegible] Bequest of the Artist

781 Georges Braque [illegible] The Philadelphia Museum of Art [illegible]

shading in a way that gives them an illusion of three-dimensionality. We cannot always be sure whether they are [illegible] or concave, some look like chunks of solidified space, others like fragments of transparent bodies. They [illegible] a unique kind of matter which imposes a new integrity and [illegible] on the entire canvas. The [illegible] work, unlike *The Jungle of Tarascon*, can no longer be read as an image of the external world. It [illegible] among us [illegible] nature but [illegible] according to different principles. Picasso's [illegible] building materials [illegible] compounded [illegible] and [illegible] describe with any precision. He called [illegible] who saw [illegible] the preference [illegible] sharp edges and angles dubbed the new style Cubism.

That the *Demoiselles* owes anything to Cézanne may at first seem incredible. Nevertheless Picasso has studied Cézanne's late work (such as fig. 75) with great care, finding in Cézanne's abstract treatment of volume and space the transparent structural units from which to derive the facets of Cubism. The link is clearer in Picasso's portrait of Ambroise Vollard (fig. 779), painted four years later. The facets are now sharp and precise, more like prisms, and the canvas has the balance and refinement of a fully mature style. Contrasts of color and texture so pronounced in the *Demoiselles* are now reduced to a minimum; the subdued tonalities of the picture approaches monochrome so as not to compete with the design. And the structure has become so complex and systematic that it would seem wholly cerebral if the impressive sitter's face did not emerge with such dramatic force. Of the barbaric distortions in the *Demoiselles* there is now no trace: they had served their purpose. Cubism has become an abstract style within the purely Western sense. But its distance from observed reality has not significantly increased. Picasso may be playing an elaborate game of hide-and-seek with nature, but he still needs the visible world to challenge his creative powers. The non-objective realm held no appeal for him, then or later.

Braque's Cubism was established as an [illegible] Paris [illegible] Picasso and here [illegible] be [illegible] other artists notable for [illegible] Braque [illegible] who [illegible] laboratory [illegible] the work [illegible] the time [illegible] Picasso [illegible] been [illegible] [illegible] where [illegible] the [illegible] Braque [illegible] next phase [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] first. We see [illegible] Braque's [illegible] fig. 8[illegible]. Many [illegible] the paintings [illegible] are [illegible] artists except [illegible] [illegible] shape [illegible] form beneath the [illegible] emerge [illegible] [illegible] painting [illegible] been based on [illegible] and the picture [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] has a more remarkable effect: the abstract [illegible] appears [illegible] in a [illegible] surface [illegible] [illegible] and the substantiality of [illegible] [illegible] emphasized by the tape. Which a real [illegible] and Braque were [illegible] [illegible] composed a most [illegible] of [illegible] and pasted scraps [illegible] material with [illegible] a few [illegible] added [illegible] complete the design. In one fine example by Braque (fig. 78[illegible]) we recognize scraps [illegible] wood graining paper [illegible] wallpaper with [illegible] stamp, half the masthead of a newspaper and a bit of newspaper made into a playing card (the ace of hearts). The technique came to be known as *collage* (the French word for "paste-up"). Why did Picasso and Braque suddenly prefer the contents of the wastepaper basket to brush and paint? Because wanting to explore the new concept of the picture as entity they found the best way was to put real things in the way. The ingredients of a collage actually play a double role: they have been shaped and combined then drawn or painted upon to give them a representational meaning, but they do not lose their original identity as scraps of material, "outsiders" in the world of art. Thus their function is both to *represent* (to be part of an image) and to *present*

to be themselves). In this latter capacity they endow the collage with a self-sufficiency that no facet-Cubist picture can have. A tray, after all, is a self-contained area detached from the rest of the physical world, unlike a painting. It cannot show more than a small part of it. The difference between the two phases of Cubism may also be defined in terms of picture space. Analytic Cubism creates a certain kind of depth, the picture surface acting as a window through which we see perceptible remnants of the familiar perspective space of the Renaissance. Through fragmented and redefined, this space lies behind the picture plane, and has [illegible] hidden [illegible] the picture [illegible] the plane [illegible] space [illegible] such as [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] painting.

[illegible] the [illegible] picture space [illegible] had [illegible] painting [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] painting [illegible] the image [illegible] human presence [illegible] mask.

By now Picasso was internationally famous, and his influence had spread throughout the Western world. Influence on other painters, but sculptors and even architects [illegible] Picasso himself. He was [illegible] a new direction. Soon after the invention of collage Cubism he had begun to [illegible] a particularly realistic manner reminiscent of Ingres, and by [illegible] he was working simultaneously in two quite separate styles. Just as in *Three Musicians* and a Neoclassic style [illegible] strongly modeled, heavy-bodied figures such as his *Mother and Child* (fig. [illegible]). To many of his admirers this seemed a kind of betrayal, but in retrospect the reason for Picasso's double-track performance is clear. Chafing under the limitations of collage Cubism, he needed to resume contact with the classical tradition, the "art of the museums." The figures in *Mother and Child* have a mock monumental quality that suggests colossal statues rather than flesh-and-blood human beings, yet the theme

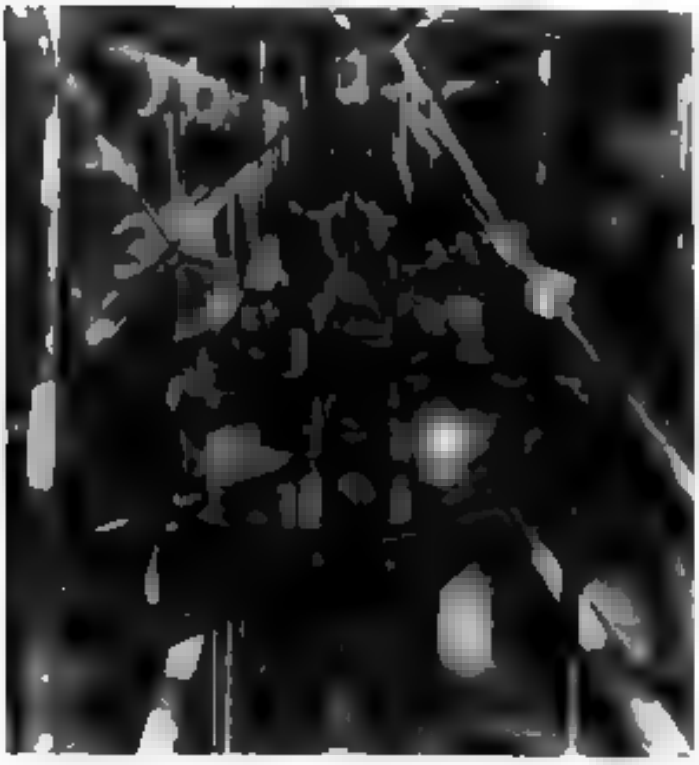
[illegible]

[illegible] PABLO PICASSO, *Mother and Child*, [illegible] 38. Collection Mr. and Mrs. Alex [illegible]man, New York

384 PARIS. Picasso, *Guernica*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 11'5" × 25'5". The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Inter-American Fund. Photo: The Museum of Modern Art, New York

is treated with surprising tenderness. The forms, however, are carefully dovetailed within the frame, not unlike the way the *Three Musicians* is put together. A few years later the two tracks of Picasso's style began to converge, making an extraordinary synthesis that has since become the basis of his art. The *Three Dancers* (fig. 425, colorplate 75) shows how he accomplished this seemingly impossible feat. Structurally, the picture is pure collage Cubism; it even includes painted imitations of specific

384 (detail). Pablo Picasso, *Bowl of Fruit, Violin and Wine Glass*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 36 × 29". Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. Collection of Collector [illegible] Anonymous

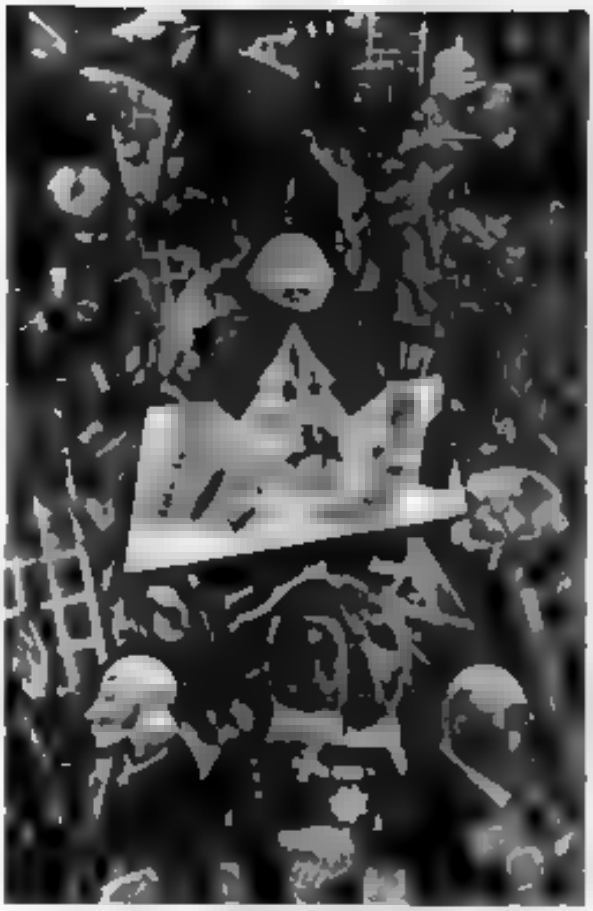


materials: patterned wallpaper and samples of various fabrics cut out with pinking shears. But the figures, a wildly fantastic version of a classical scheme, continue the dancers in Matisse's *The Dance* (fig. 330), are an even more violent assault on convention than the figures in the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Human anatomy is here simply the raw material for Picasso's insatiable fetishistic inventiveness. Limbs, breasts, and faces are handled with the same sovereign freedom as the painted simulacrum of reality in Braque's *Le Guéridon* (fig. 384). The original identity no longer matters: breasts may turn into eyes, profiles merge with frontal views, shadows become substance and vice versa in an endless flow of metamorphoses. They are visual puns, offering white unexpected possibilities of expression, humorous, grotesque, macabre, even tragic. The Picasso show at the museum has brought monumental grandeur to a student in his mural *Guernica* (fig. 384), painted in 1937. As a citizen of a neutral nation, Picasso had been little affected by the First World War, nor did he show any interest in politics during the 1920s. But the Spanish Civil War forced him to ardent partisanship with the Loyalists. The mural, executed for the Pavilion of the Spanish Republic at the Paris International Exposition, was inspired by the terrible bombing of Guernica, the ancient capital of the Basques in northern Spain. It does not represent the event itself, rather, with a series of powerful images, it evokes the agony of civil war. The destruction of Guernica was the first demonstration of the technique of saturation bombing which was later employed on a huge scale during the Second World War; the mural was thus a prophetic vision of doom—the doom that threatens us even more in this age of nuclear warfare. The symbolism of the scene resists precise interpretation, despite its several traditional elements: the mother and her dead child are the descendants of the Pietà (see fig. 408), the woman with the lamp recalls the Statue of Liberty, and

the dead fighter's hand still clutching a broken sword is a familiar emblem of heroic resistance. We also sense the contrast between the menacing, human-headed bull, surely intended to represent the forces of darkness, and the dying horse. These figures, like the terrifying eloquence of what they are not to what they mean, the anatomical dislocations, fragmentations, and metamorphoses which in the *Three Dancers* seemed willful and fantastic, now express a stark reality, the reality of unbearable pain. The ultimate test of the validity of a language of construction, here superimposed that accounts restricted to black, white, and gray, is that it should serve as the vehicle of such overpowering emotion.

As originally conceived by Picasso and Braque, Cubism was a formal discipline of subtle balance applied to traditional subjects, such as the reclining nude. Later painters, however, saw in the new style a special affinity with the geometric precision, engineering, and music. Uniquely attuned to the tempo of modern life. The short-lived Orphic movement, in an extension of Delaunay's painting, considered a manner of depicting the past and evoking the beat of jazz. Fernand Léger, who put aside his original interest in the Cubist language, was in part inspired by the appearance in the *Armory Show* of Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*. A French painter and graphic artist who studied in Paris, Léger, after the end of the First World War, developed a hieratic language of massive forms expressive of the machine age. Léger's *Three Figures* (fig. 188) has a ballroom ambiance and, against a background of abstract shapes, a large figure, which are superimposed on an image of the mechanized world. Its massive forms, like a bust, are stable and heroic, suggesting a primitive idol, a goddess, and a robot. Similarly, Léger's *The Card Game* (fig. 189), by the French painter Fernand Leger, 1888–1955, is a beautiful combination of abstract and landscape that is stable without being static and reflects the clean geometric shapes of modern machinery. Boccioni, with optimism and pleasurable excitement, it computes on a mechanized utopia. In his instance, the term "abstraction" applies more to the choice of design elements and their manner of combination than to the shapes themselves, since these (except for the two figures on the staircase) are prefabricated entities.

The most radical abstractionist of our time was strangely enough, a Dutch painter nine years older than Picasso, Piet Mondrian (1872–1944). He came to Paris in 1912 as a mature Expressionist in the tradition of Van Gogh and the *Fauves*. Under the impact of Cubism, his work soon underwent a complete change, as illustrated in *Flowering Trees* (fig. 188). The branches here



The Cathedral, Brazil, Germany, a Modern Tale, with Elements, Obstacles, Servants, Mistresses, Germany

form a network of dark lines against a background of pinkish and blond grass compounded of blossoms and sky, which shows a strong tendency to break up into separate cells. The dark lines hold these cells in place as lead frames hold the panes of a stained-glass window. By thus simplifying these elements, Mondrian developed a style he was devoted to a complete abstraction representational style that he called Neo-Plasticism. The movement as a whole was known as *De Stijl* after the Dutch magazine advocating his ideas. *Composition with Red, Blue, and Yellow* (color plate 41) shows Mondrian's style at its most severe. He restricts his design to horizontals and verticals and his colors to the three primary hues, plus black and white. Every possibility of representation is thereby eliminated. Yet Mondrian sometimes gave to his works such titles as *Trafalgar Square* or *Broadway Boogie-Woogie*, that hint at some degree of recognition, however indirect, with observed reality. Like Kandinsky, Mondrian did not strive for pure, visual emotion. His goal, he asserted, was "pure reality," and he defined this as equilibrium "through the balance of unequal but equivalent oppositions." Perhaps we can best understand what he meant if we think of his work as "abstract collage" that uses black bands and colored rectangles,

[illegible]

[illegible]

instead [illegible] newspaper. He was [illegible] and wanted [illegible] But by establishing [illegible] hands and rectangles [illegible] as Braque [illegible] pasted paper [illegible] *Le Courrier*. [illegible] shape and number [illegible] hands and rectangles. In Braque's *Le Courrier* the ingredients are [illegible] given by chance. Mondrian, apart from his self-imposed rules, constantly faced the dilemma of unlimited possibilities. He could not change the relationship of the hands to the rectangles without changing the hands and rectangles themselves. When we consider his task we begin to realize its infinite complexity. Looking again at *Composition with Red, Blue, and Yellow*, we find that when we measure the various units—only the proportions of the canvas itself are truly rational, an exact square. Mondrian has arrived at [illegible] the rest by feel and must have undergone agonies of trial and error [illegible] we wonder, did he change the dimensions of [illegible] rectangle [illegible] and the other elements in [illegible] standard [illegible] range as [illegible] seem Mondrian's exquisite sense [illegible] harmonical balance [illegible] acquainted with his work have [illegible] difficulty [illegible] takes from good architectures. Designers who [illegible] architecture, such as architects and typographers, [illegible] the most sensitive [illegible] Mondrian has had a greater influence among [illegible] than among painters, see the next chapter.

The [illegible] Fantasy [illegible] than the [illegible] depend [illegible] hand [illegible] part [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

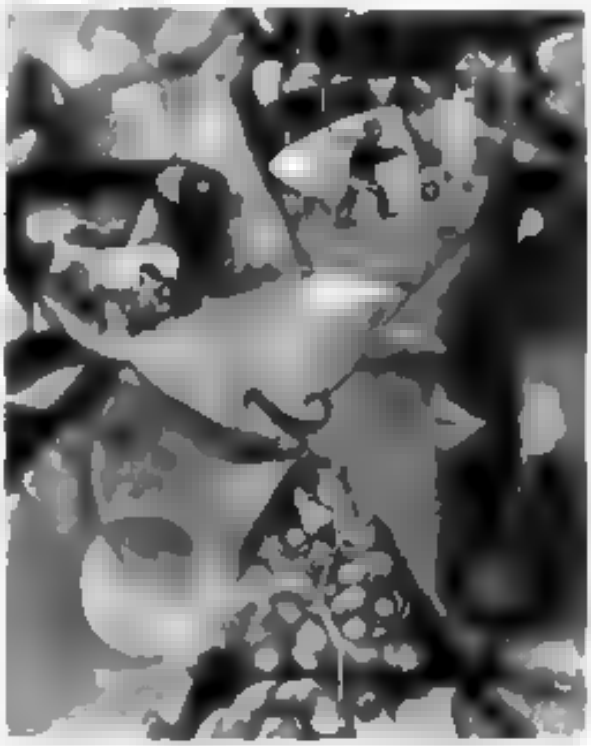
[illegible] 1914 [illegible]
Stanley R. Resor [illegible]

between [illegible] and imagination [illegible] the walls [illegible] and legends [illegible] had been the [illegible] private fantasy [illegible] the [illegible] great [illegible] and [illegible] which [illegible] fabulous [illegible] a sense of isolation and [illegible] spectator attitude and finally the Romantic [illegible] that [illegible] the artist [illegible] subjective experience and [illegible] private fantasy was [illegible] After [illegible] became a major [illegible]

The heritage [illegible] Romantic [illegible] can be seen most clearly in the astonishing pictures painted in Paris just before the First World War by Giorgio de Chirico, born 1888, such as *Mystery and Melancholy of a Street* [illegible] The deserted square with its endlessly diminishing arcades [illegible] the poetry of Romantic revolt. But it has also a strange sinister air [illegible] sense of that term everything here suggests an [illegible] potency of unknown and disquieting significance. De Chirico himself could not explain the [illegible] these paintings. The empty furniture [illegible] the hoop that trouble and fascinate us. Later, after he had returned to Italy, he adopted a conservative style and repudiated his early work, as if he were embarrassed at having put his dream world on public display. The power of nostalgia, so evident in *Mystery and Melancholy of a Street*, also dominates the fantasies of Marc Chagall, born 1887, a Russian Jew who came to Paris in

1910. *I and the Village* (fig. 300) is a Cubist fairy tale that weaves dreamlike memories of Russian folk tales, Jewish proverbs, and the Russian countryside into one glowing vision. Here, as in many later works, Chagall relives the experiences of his childhood; these were so important to him that his imagination shaped and reshaped them [illegible] his persistence being unfinished. [illegible] the German-Swiss painter Paul Klee (1879–1940) [illegible] more purposeful and controlled than Chagall's, although [illegible] they may strike us as more [illegible] Klee [illegible] had seen [illegible] Cubism, but [illegible] his drawings [illegible] children, beloved [illegible] walls [illegible] during the First World War, he modified [illegible] these [illegible] a poetic [illegible] language [illegible] and perceive [illegible] Machine [illegible] drawing [illegible] our [illegible] Klee [illegible] simple lines [illegible] he [illegible] a ghostly mechanism [illegible] the miracles of the machine age and [illegible] appreciation of bird song. [illegible] aspect [illegible] the beauty [illegible] like fishermen [illegible] birds [illegible] complex of ideas about progress [illegible] The [illegible] has an indelible [illegible] the war. Klee [illegible] appealing. Does it [illegible] quality [illegible] unless he [illegible] us

[illegible] Museum of Modern Art, New York [illegible]



what I mean. The title [illegible] turn needs the picture. The [illegible] concept of a twittering machine does not kindle our imagination until we are shown such a thing. This inter-dependence is fast [illegible] from caricature. Klee [illegible] to the level of high art without relinquishing the playful [illegible] of these sketches [illegible]. This art was a language [illegible] shapes that are images of ideas as the shape of a letter is the image of a specific sound, or an arrow is the image of the command. This was only [illegible] But he also treasured that in an [illegible] conventional system the sign is no more than a trigger: the instant we perceive it we automatically [illegible] with its meaning without stopping to ponder its shape. Klee wanted his signs to impinge upon our awareness as visual arts yet also to share the qualities of triggers. Towards the end of his life he immersed himself in the study of ideographs of all kinds, such as hieroglyphics, heraldic signs, and the mysterious markings in prehistoric caves. [illegible] boiled down, stripped down, representational images that appealed to him because they had the same quality he strove for in his own graphic language. This ideographic style is even more pronounced in his [illegible] *Paysage à l'avenue*, which makes a fascinating [illegible] paper sign with Mondrian's *Flowering Trees* (see fig. 788): as a lyric poet may use the plainest words, these deceptively simple shapes sum up a wealth of experience and sensation, the [illegible] gaiety of spring, the [illegible] freshness peculiar to captive plant life in a park. Has it not also a relationship, in spirit if not in fact, with the Romanesque *Spring Landscape* in the Munich manuscript of *Carmina Burana* (see fig. 366)? Only one other painter, the American Mark Tobey (born 1890), has developed a "picture-writing" style comparable to Klee's. His personal ideographs, however, have the fluent character of Chinese calligraphy. In *1951* (fig. 792) these signs are suspended in space like constellations seen against the night sky.

In Paris on the eve of the First World War we encounter yet another painter of fantasy, the Frenchman Marcel Duchamp (born 1887). After basing his early style on Cézanne, he initiated a dynamic version of facet Cubism similar to Futurism by superimposing successive phases of movement on each other, as in multiple-exposure photographs. His *Nude Descending a Staircase* (done in this vein) caused a scandal at the Armory Show of modern art in New York in [illegible]. A most immediate, however, Duchamp's development took on a farther-reaching turn. In *The Bride* (fig. [illegible]) we will look in vain for any resemblance, however remote, to the human form: what we see is a mechanism that seems partly motor, partly distilling apparatus. The artist's [illegible] Klee's twittering machine, it is a beautifully engineered [illegible] serve a purpose whose [illegible] which [illegible] be [illegible]

[illegible] Paul Klee, *Twittering Machine*, [illegible]
Water [illegible] and ink [illegible]
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Purchase

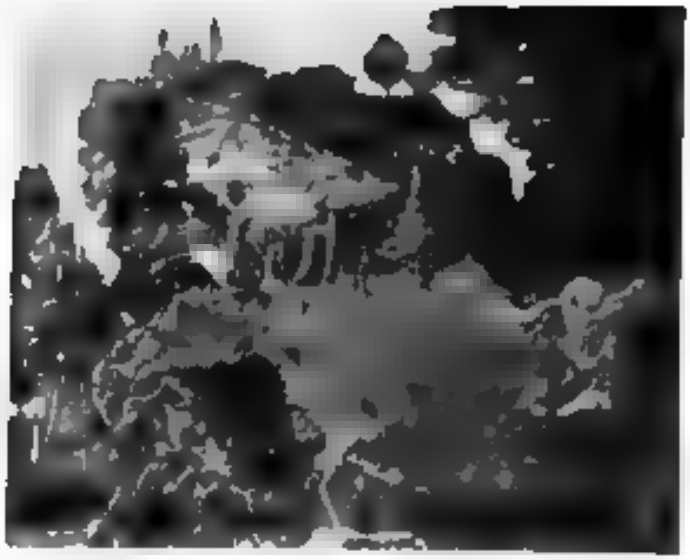
[illegible] Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride*, [illegible]
Oil [illegible] on canvas, [illegible] × [illegible] cm
[illegible]

[illegible] Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride* [illegible]
[illegible] The Philadelphia Museum of Art
Gift of Walter Arensberg Collection

[illegible] Man Ray, *Copper Plate, Zinc Plate, Rubber Cloth, 2 Glass Balls, Drawing Instrument, Paper Man*, 1920. [illegible] Collection Marie A.-P. Meudon, France

Duchamp by letting a light fall on the canvas has emphasized its importance, causes us to ask people to look. He intends to substitute the sweetness of a woman by attaching the bride and she is reduced to a complicated piece of plumbing. Thus the picture may be the negative counterpart of the glorification of the machine so evidently proclaimed by the Futurists.

It is hardly surprising that the mechanized mass killing of the First World War should have driven Duchamp to despair. Together with a number of artists who shared his attitude he launched in protest a movement called Dada or Dadaism. The term, meaning hobbyhorse in French, was reportedly picked at random from a dictionary but as an infantile, a purposeless word it perfectly fitted the spirit of the movement. Dada has often been called nihilistic, and its declared purpose was indeed to make clear to the public at large that all established values, moral or aesthetic, had been rendered meaningless by the catastrophe of the great war. During its short life (c. 1916–22) Dada preached non-sense and anti-art with a vengeance. Duchamp would put his signature and a provocative title on ready-made objects such as bottle racks and snow shovels and exhibit them as works of art; once he improved a reproduction of Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* with a moustache and the letters LHOOQ, which, when pronounced in French, make an off-color pun. Not even modern art was safe from the Dadaists' assaults: one of them exhibited a monkey under a tame, conventional portrait of a lady; on the same day they adopted the technique of vaudeville clowns for their own purposes. Figure [illegible] by the Dadaist Man Ray (Emmanuel Radnitsky), an assemblage of Duchamp, is largely composed of snippets from contraptions, machines. The caption pretends to enumerate these mechanical ingredients, which include a vacuum [illegible] Drawing Man. Actually there are no men made of piping, who stare at us blindly through their goggles. It groans for Duchamp's present *Bride*. Yet Dada was not a completely negative movement. In its calculated irrationality there was also liberation, a voyage into unknown provinces of the creative mind. The only law respected by the Dadaists was that of chance and the only reality that of their own imaginations. That is the message of Duchamp's Ready-Mades, which the artist created simply by shifting their context from the utilitarian to the aesthetic. They are certainly extreme demonstrations of a principle. But the principle itself, that artistic creation does not depend on manual craftsmanship, is an important discovery, as



[illegible]

[illegible] *Artist* [illegible] with brush and pen drawing. [illegible] Private Collection, New York

we recall from our discussion of Picasso's *Bull Head* (the [illegible] on page [illegible]).

Duchamp [illegible] having made his point, [illegible] with a crew from [illegible] gather some [illegible] chance [illegible] Surrealism. They [illegible] pure psychic automatism [illegible] express [illegible] the true process of thought [illegible] the exercise of reason and from any aesthetic or moral purpose. Surrealist theory was heavily larded with concepts borrowed from psychology and, as it were, through hetero-[illegible] not always to be taken seriously. The notion that a dream can be transposed directly from the unconscious mind to the canvas by passing the conscious awareness of the artist did not work in practice; some degree of control was simply unavoidable. Nevertheless, Surrealism stimulated several novel techniques for soliciting and exploiting chance effects. Max Ernst, the most inventive member of the group, often combined collage with "frottage" (rubbings from pieces of wood, pressed flowers, and other relief surfaces; the process we all know from the children's game of rubbing with a pencil on a piece of paper covering a coin). In *Swamp Angel* (1940), he has obtained fascinating shapes and textures by decalcomania, the transfer by pressure of wet paint from the canvas from some other surface. This procedure is in essence another variant of those recommended by Alexander Cozens and Leonardo da Vinci (see page [illegible]), and Ernst has certainly found inspiration upon an extraordinary wealth of images among his canvas. The end result does have some of the quality of a dream, but it is a dream born of a strenuous human imagination. The drawing by Salvador Dali [illegible] reproduced on page [illegible] uses exactly the same method. Ernst's method yields a landscape with figures; Dali's would have dreamed without attention, among the folds and landscapes of Rembrandt's [illegible].

Surrealism however, [illegible] branch [illegible] greatest exponent [illegible] Spanish painter Joan Miró [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]
Wauters [illegible]

[illegible]

between [illegible] and his predecessors, his total commitment to [illegible] painting. Hence his preference for huge canvases that provide a field of combat large enough [illegible] not merely with his arms but with the [illegible] along the term [illegible] Expressionism. [illegible] sufficiently in [illegible] more [illegible] and expansive [illegible]

[illegible] painting thus he [illegible] should [illegible] When [illegible] the richer [illegible] ship has [illegible] and [illegible] important [illegible] which is rather [illegible] sculptors by [illegible] a strong [illegible] sculptor [illegible] Hartung. But he [illegible] the inner [illegible] expressive [illegible] work [illegible] group [illegible] Mathieu's Score. [illegible] figure [illegible] created much as he [illegible] Expressionism. Bramlage has a genuine of mission [illegible] Matisse [illegible] student is an upright [illegible] a permanent marker

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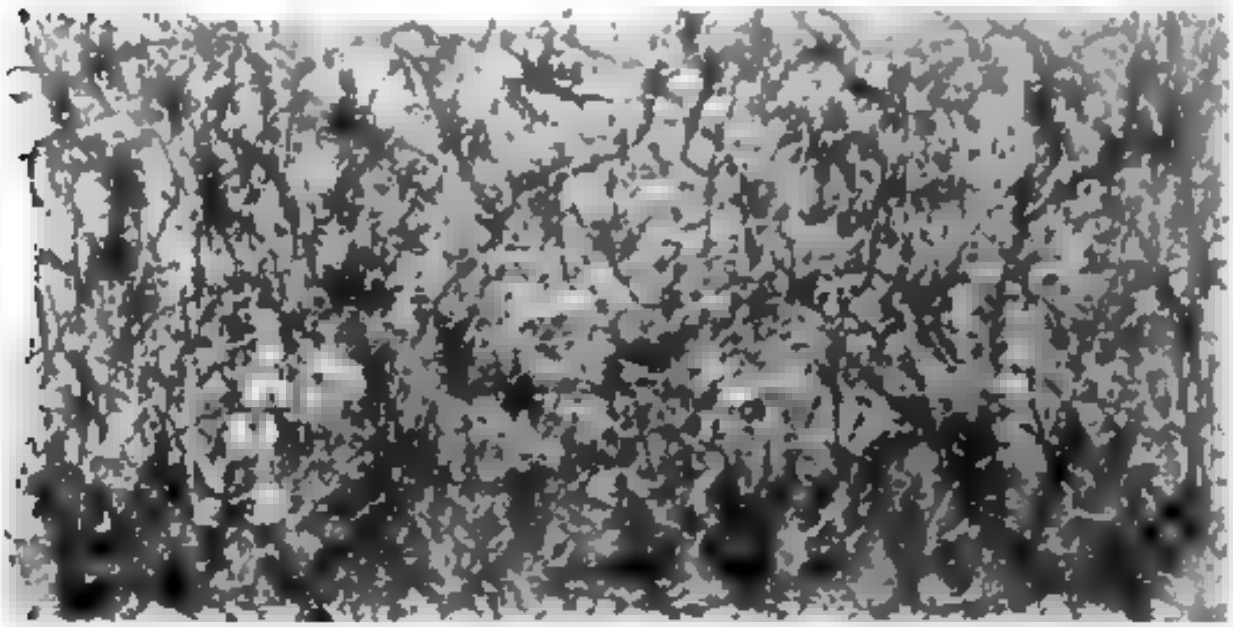

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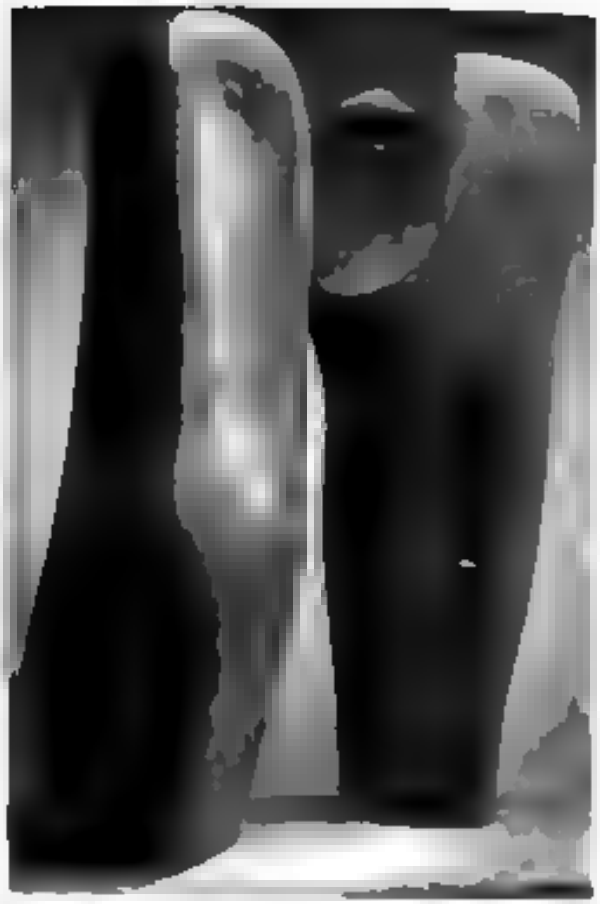
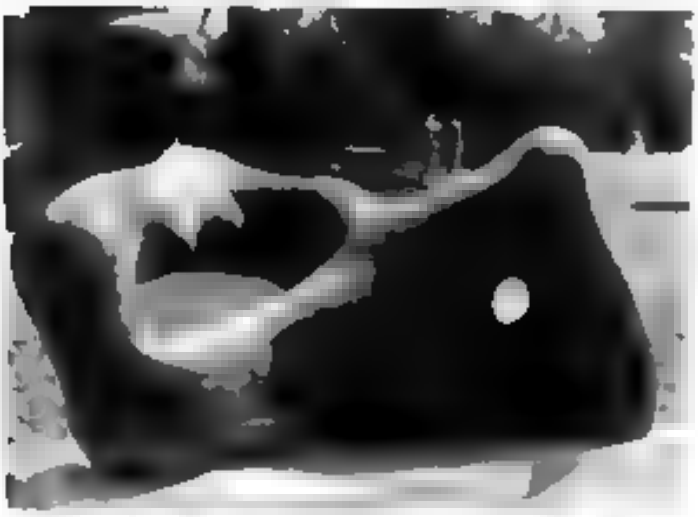


[illegible] Stone, [illegible] height [illegible] Collection Sir Michael Sadler, London



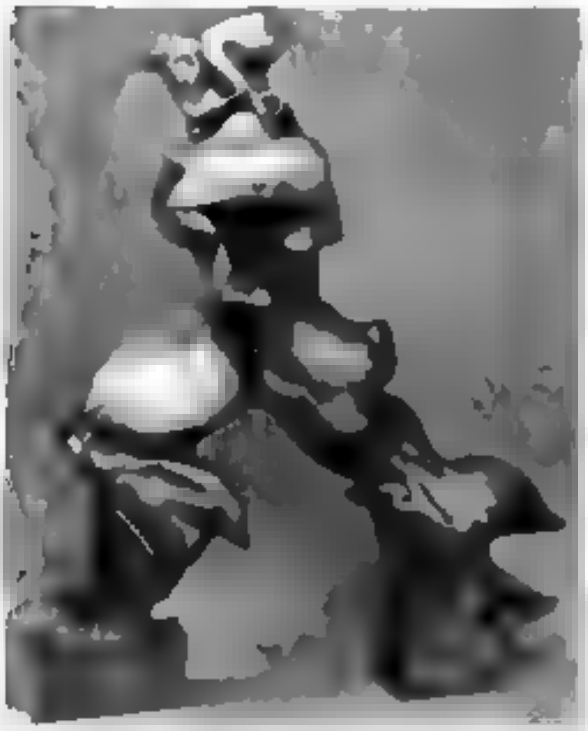
Henry Moore, *Reclining Figure*, 1938. Green Hornton stone, length [illegible] cm. The Tate Gallery, London

like the steles of the ancients — and he disturbs this basic shape as little as possible. The embracing lovers are differentiated just enough — to be separately identifiable — and seem more primeval than primitive. They are a timeless symbol of generation, innocent and anonymous — the exact opposite of Rodin's *Kiss* (see fig. 752), where [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and drive.

Brancusi's [illegible] was the starting point [illegible] sculptural tradition that [illegible] Moore [illegible] separated particularly [illegible] English sculptors as we have seen in the early works of Henry Moore, born 1898, a majestic *Two Figures* of reclining [illegible] are as were the second-generation offspring of Brancusi's *Kiss*. More abstract and subtle in shape, they are nevertheless persons — even though they can be called images only in the metaphoric sense. This famous group — the forkers — has evolved from the artist's studies of the mother and child theme — as mysterious and remote like the monoliths of Stonehenge, which greatly impressed the sculptor (see fig. [illegible]). His *Reclining Figure* (fig. 8[illegible]) retains both a classical motif — one thinks of a reclining river god — and a primeval look, as if the forms had resulted from the slow erosion of a thousand years. The design of the figure is in complete harmony with the natural striations of the stone.

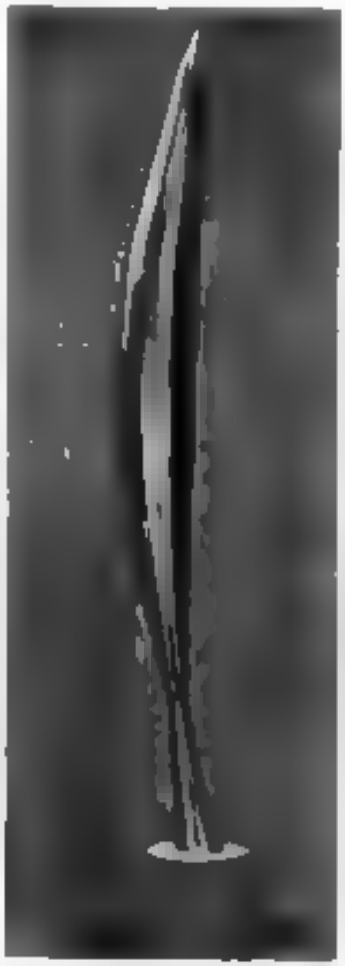
Brancusi meanwhile had taken another daring step. About 1910, he began to produce non-representational pieces in marble or metal, reserving his "primeval" style for wood and stone. The former fall into two groups: variations on the egg shape, with such titles as *The Newborn* or *The Beginning of the World*, and soaring vertical

"bird" motifs (*Bird in Space*, figure [illegible]) is one of these. Because he concentrated on the basic forms of each, an compromising simplicity, Brancusi has [illegible] been called the Mondrian of sculpture; this comparison is misleading, however, for Brancusi strove for essences not for relationships. He was fascinated by the [illegible] of life as potential and [illegible] energy; he sought the perfection of the egg, which hides the mystery of creation, and the pure dynamics of the [illegible] released from this shell. *Bird in Space* is not the abstract image of a bird, rather [illegible] flight, made visible and concrete. It is a symbolized quality, emphasized by the high polish that gives the surface the [illegible] and thus establishes a new [illegible] between the molded space within and the free space without. Other sculptors at that time were tackling the problem of body space relationships with the dynamic [illegible] of futurism; the running figure [illegible] (*Dynamism of a Dog on a Leash*, fig. [illegible]) by the Futurist [illegible] Boccioni [illegible] was breaking [illegible] complex. *Bird in Space* is simple. Boccioni's [illegible] represents the human [illegible] but he emphasized [illegible] the medium in which [illegible] the figure [illegible] behind [illegible] garments of [illegible] [illegible] that the running [illegible] [illegible] than the Winged Victory [illegible] although [illegible] were [illegible] the Winged Victories, the [illegible] [illegible] the design [illegible] and [illegible] perhaps [illegible] [illegible] set at hand [illegible] [illegible] Brancusi [illegible]



eldest brother of Marcel Duchamp, achieved a bolder solution in *The Great Horse* (fig. [illegible]). He began with abstract studies of the animal, but his final version is an image of horsepower, wherein the body has become a coiled spring and the legs resemble piston rods. Because of this very remoteness from the organic model, there was no [illegible] shapes for a dynamism that is more persuasive [illegible] less picturesque than that of Boccioni's figure.

[illegible] also [illegible] which were [illegible] positive [illegible] negative [illegible] space. A group of Russian artists [illegible] applied his approach to sculpture and [illegible] thought he called three dimensional [illegible]. According to [illegible] these constructions were actually [illegible] since they [illegible] [illegible] Tatlin's [illegible] flowers [illegible] Russian [illegible] but was soon suppressed as bourgeois [illegible]. Some of its members [illegible] the West and [illegible] with [illegible] group. One of them, Antoine Pevsner, [illegible] Paris where he had spent some years [illegible] before the First World War. [illegible] fig. [illegible] combine [illegible] and [illegible]



above left: [illegible] Brancusi
Unique Forms of Continuity in Space
[illegible] Bronze, height [illegible]
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York (Acquired through
the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest)

left: [illegible] Brancusi
Bird in Space [illegible]
Bronze, height [illegible]
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York (Anonymous Gift)

[illegible] *The Great Horse* [illegible] The [illegible] of Chicago. Gift of Miss Margaret Fisher

[illegible] *Passer* [illegible] The Museum of Modern Art [illegible]

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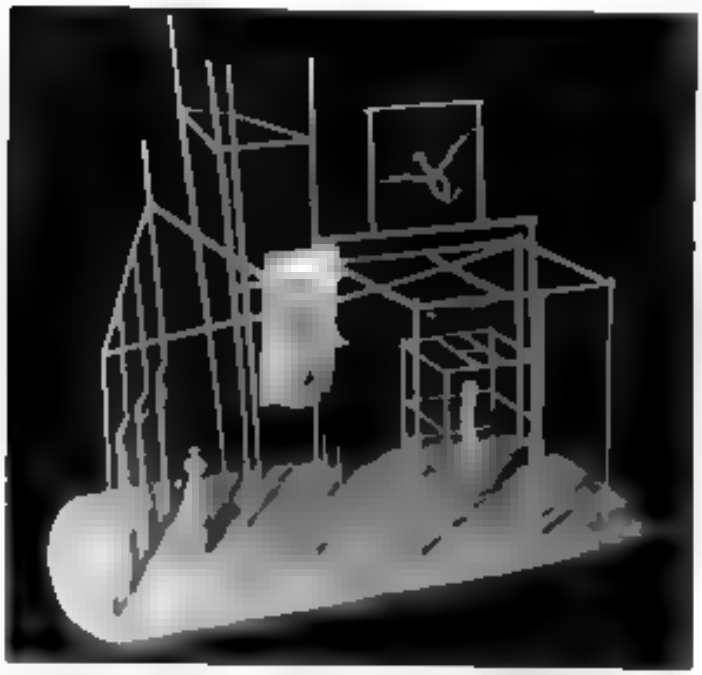


Rob [illegible] *The* [illegible] Construction in wood, glass, wire and string, height [illegible] The Museum of Modern Art, New York (Purchase [illegible]

[illegible] shrieking [illegible] assemblage [illegible] with or intangible [illegible] but [illegible] of the shapes suggests the influence of Marcel Duchamp whose [illegible] great [illegible] [illegible] and unimportant single objects [illegible] Dada [illegible] perhaps even more [illegible] Ready-Mades the sculpture of Dada. Some of Duchamp's examples [illegible] found objects these [illegible] Ready-Mades approach the status of [illegible] three-dimensional image. His technique [illegible] assemblage [illegible] have [illegible] possibilities. It has produced such striking pieces [illegible] Picasso's *Bull's Head* see fig. [illegible] and numerous younger sculptors have explored it since the Second World War, especially in [illegible] America. The Surrealist contribution to sculpture is harder to define. It was difficult to apply the theories of pure psychic automatism to painting, but still harder to give up to it in sculpture. How indeed could solid, durable materials be given shape without the sculptor being consciously aware of the process? Thus, apart from the devotees of the Ready-Made, few sculptors were associated with the movement, and the effects produced by those who were cannot be directly compared with Surrealist painting.

above: 807. [illegible] Picasso, *The Head*, c. 1914. Wrought iron, height [illegible]. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase.

left: 808. Alexander Calder, [illegible] *Lobster Trap and Fish Tail*, 1939. Steel wire and sheet aluminum, [illegible]. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the Advisory Committee.

one of the exceptions is *The Fantastic Mirror* (fig. 806), by the Swiss sculptor and painter Meret Oppenheim (born 1913). The materials—wood, glass, wire, and string—suggest Constructivism, but the mechanistic aspects are not with structural problems. This assemblage is the three-dimensional equivalent of a Surrealist picture: unlike earlier pieces of sculpture, it creates its own spatial environment that clings to it, as though the eerie miniature world were protected from everyday reality by an invisible glass bell. The space thus trapped is mysterious and corrosive, and gnaws away at the forms until only their skeletons are left—even they, we feel, will disappear before long. Surrealism may also have contributed to the astonishing sculptural imagination of Julio Gonzalez (1872–1942). Trained as a wrought-iron craftsman in his native Catalonia, Gonzalez had come to Paris in 1900. Although he was a friend of both Brancusi and Picasso, he produced little of consequence until the 1930s, when his creative energies suddenly came into focus. It was Gonzalez who established wrought iron as an important medium for sculpture, taking advantage of the very difficulties that had discouraged its use before. The *Head* (fig. 807) combines extreme economy of form with an aggressive reinterpretation of anatomy that is derived from Picasso's work after the mid-1910s (see color plate 75, especially the head of the figure on the left): the mouth is an oval cavity with spike-like teeth, the eyes two rods that converge upon an "optic nerve" linking them to a jagged mass of the "brain." Similar grotesque expressionistic metaphors have since been created by a whole generation of younger sculptors in wrought iron and welded steel, as if the violence of their working process mirrored the violence of modern life.

The early 1930s, which brought Giacometti and Gonzalez to the fore, produced yet another important development: the mobile sculpture—mobiles, for short—of the American Alexander Calder (born 1898). These are delicately balanced constructions of metal wire hanging together and weighted so as to move with the slightest breath of air. They may be of any size, from tiny tabletop models to the huge *Lobster Trap and Fish Tail* (fig. 808). Kinetic sculpture had first been conceived by the Constructivists, and their influence is evident in Calder's earliest mobiles: these were motor-driven, and tended toward abstract geometric configurations. It was Calder's contact with Surrealism that made him realize the poetic possibilities of "natural" rather than fully controlled movement. He borrowed biomorphic shapes from Miró, and began to think of mobiles as simulacra of organic structures: flowers on flexible stems, foliage quivering in the breeze, marine animals floating in the sea. Such mobiles are infinitely responsive to their environment: unpredictable and ever-changing, they incorporate the fourth dimension as an essential element of their structure. Within their limited sphere, they are more truly alive than any other man-made thing.

5. *Twentieth-Century Architecture*

For more than a century, from the mid-eighteenth to the late nineteenth, architecture had been dominated by a succession of revival styles (see pages 454–464). This term, we recall, does not imply that earlier forms were slavishly copied; the best work of the time has both individuality and high distinction. Yet the architectural wisdom of the past, however freely interpreted, proved in the long run to be inadequate for the needs of the present. The authority of historic modes had to be broken if the industrial era was to produce a truly contemporary style.

The search for such a style—one that would be analogous to the achievement of Courbet and Manet in painting—began in earnest about 1880. It demanded far more than a reform in architectural grammar and vocabulary: to take advantage of the expressive—not merely the utilitarian—qualities of the new building techniques and materials that the engineer had placed at his disposal, the architect needed a new philosophy. He had to redefine the traditional concepts that concerned form and function, and also the broader role of architecture in society. The leaders of modern architecture have characteristically been vigorous and articulate thinkers in whose minds architectural theory is closely linked with ideas of social reform. It is equally significant that the movement began in commercial architecture—stores, offices, apartments—outside the range of established building types, that its symbol was the skyscraper, and that its first home was Chicago, then a burgeoning metropolis not yet encumbered by any allegiance to the styles of the past. The great Chicago fire of 1871 had opened vast opportunities for architects from older cities such as Boston and New York. Among them was Henry Hobson Richardson (1838–86), who as a young man had profited from

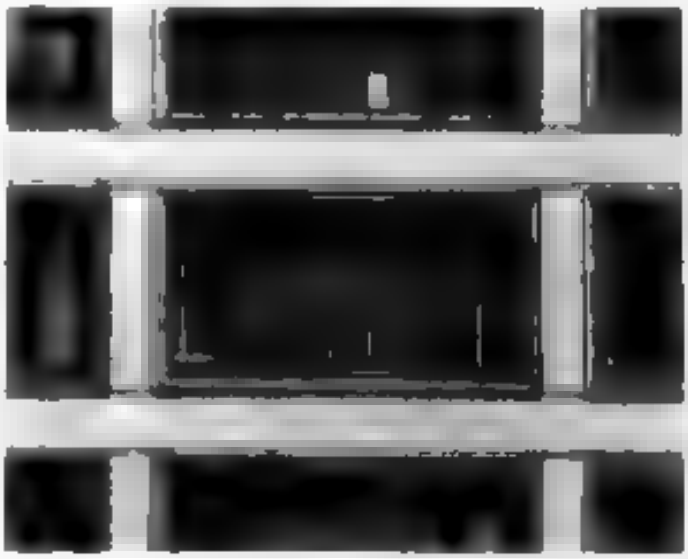
above: Box: Henry Hobson Richardson, Marshall Field Wholesale Store (demolished 1930), Chicago, 1885–87

right: Big: Louis Sullivan, Wainwright Building, St. Louis, Missouri, 1890–91

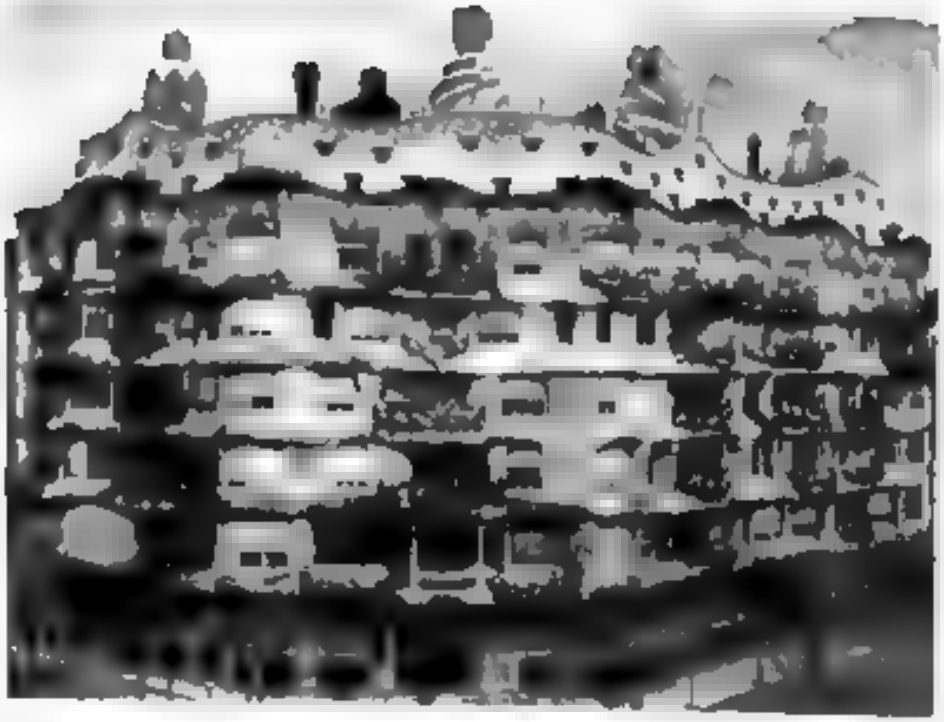
contact with Labrouste in Paris (see page 484). Most of his work along the Eastern seaboard shows a massive neo-Romanesque style. There are still echoes of this in his last major project for Chicago, the Marshall Field Wholesale Store, designed in 1885 (fig. 800). The huge structure filled an entire city block. In its symmetry and the treatment of masonry, it may remind us of Italian Early Renaissance palaces (see fig. 440). Yet the walls do not present a continuous surface pierced by windows, except for the corners, which have the effect of heavy piers; they show a series of superimposed arcades, like a Roman aqueduct (see fig. 206), an impression strengthened by the absence of ornament and the thickness of the masonry (note how deeply the windows are recessed). These arcaded walls are as functional and self-sustaining as their ancient predecessors. They invest the building with a strength and dignity unrivaled in any earlier commercial structure. Behind them is an iron skeleton that actually supports the seven floors, but the exterior does not depend on it either structurally or aesthetically. The Field Store has stands midway between the old and the new: it embodies with utmost severity and logic a concept of monumentality derived from the past, but is pieced up with widely divided and vertical bays. Much few years later, the work of Louis Sullivan (1856–1924), perhaps the first indisputably modern architect, the Wainwright Building in St. Louis (fig. 8[illegible]), Sullivan's first skyscraper, was designed only five years after the Field Store. It too is monumental, but in a very untraditional way. The organization of the exterior both reflects and expresses the internal steel skeleton: in the slender, unbroken brick piers, but not between the windows from the base to the attic. Their collective effect is that of a vertical grating enclosed by the corner piers and by the emphasis horizontally on attic and mezzanine. This is of course only one of the many possible skins that could be stretched over the structural frame; what counts is that we immediately feel that this wall is derived from the skeleton underneath, that it is not self-sustaining. Skin is perhaps too weak a term to describe this brick sheathing. To Sullivan, who often thought of buildings as analogous to the human body, it was more like the "flesh and muscle" that is organically attached to the "bone" yet capable of an infinite variety of expressive effects. When he insisted that "form follows function," he meant a flexible relationship, not rigid dependence. The range of his invention becomes evident if we compare the Wainwright Building with his last skyscraper, the department store of Carson Pirie Scott & Company in Chicago, begun nine years later (figs. 8[illegible]–[illegible]). The sheathing of white terracotta here follows the grid of the steel frame far more closely, and the over-all effect is one of lightness and crispness rather than of harnessed energy. Yet the contrast between the horizontal continuity of the flanks and the vertical accent at the corner has been subtly calculated.

In Europe, meanwhile, the authority of the "revival styles" was being undermined by a movement now usually called by its French name, *Art Nouveau*, although it was known by various other names as well. It was primarily a new style of decoration, based on linear patterns of sinuous curves that often suggest water lilies, and vaguely related to the styles of such painters as Gauguin and Munch (see colorplate 6a, fig. 784). During the 1890s

[illegible] & Company

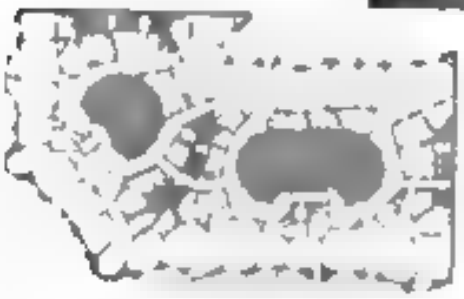


[illegible] Detail, Carson Pirie Scott & Company



Right: R.3 Antoni Gaudí
Casa Milà Apartment House
Barcelona 1906–07

Below: R.4 Typical Floor Plan
Casa Milà



Right: R.5 Frank Lloyd Wright
Plan of Robie House Chicago 1909

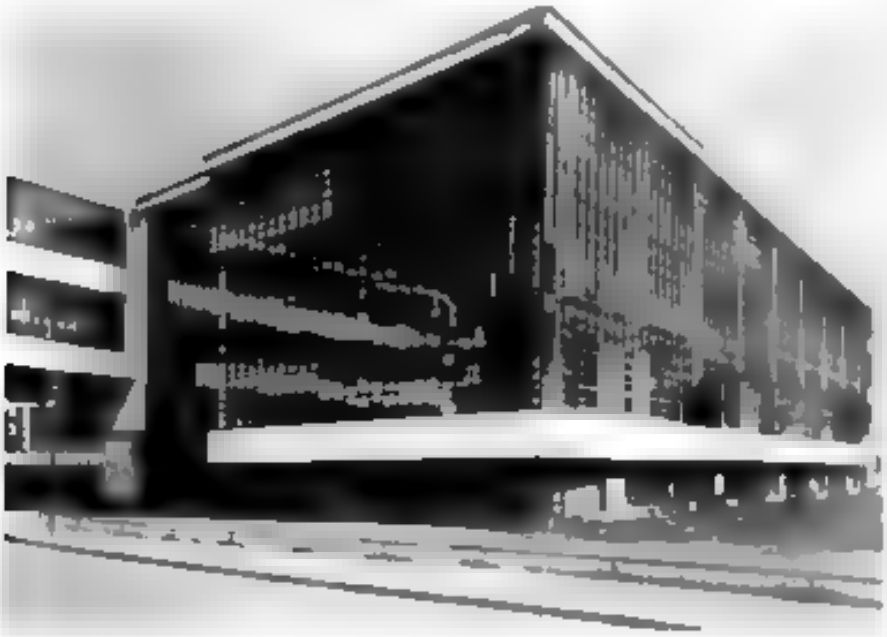
Below: R.6 Frank Lloyd Wright Robie House

and early 1900s its pervasive influence on the applied arts may be seen in wrought-iron work, furniture, jewelry, glass, typography, and even women's fashions. It had a profound effect on public taste, but did not lend itself easily to architectural design on a large scale. The most remarkable instance is the Casa Milà in Barcelona (figs. [illegible]), a large apartment house by Antoni Gaudí (1852–1926). It shows an almost manic avoidance of flat surfaces, straight lines, and symmetry of any kind, so that the building seems as if it had been freely modeled of some malleable substance. The material is not stone or cement, as we might suppose, but concrete. The softly rounded openings and balconies have the effect of shapes in Henry Moore's sculpture (see fig. [illegible]), but the balconies have the rhythmic motion of a wave, and the chimneys seem to have been squeezed from a pastry tube. The Casa Milà expresses, one reads, fantasies [illegible] the [illegible] natural [illegible] and [illegible] be repeated [illegible] developed further. [illegible] unfinished [illegible] architects [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] stand [illegible] the same [illegible] independent [illegible]

[illegible] Sullivan [illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible] stage [illegible] great disciple [illegible] represents [illegible] public [illegible] influence [illegible] neighboring [illegible] first [illegible] was [illegible]

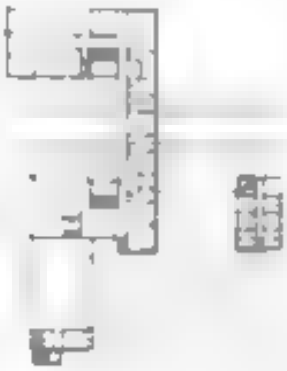
[illegible] Robie House, Chicago, 1908–10

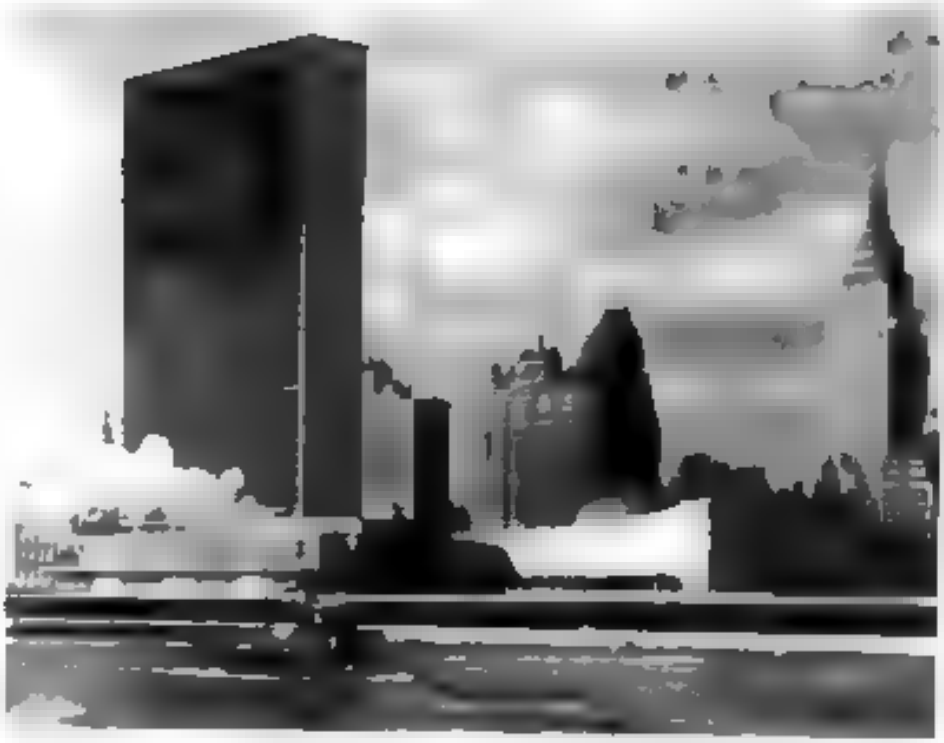
sign of suburban houses in the Chicago area. These were known as Prairie Houses because the low horizontal lines were meant to blend with the flat landscape around them. The last and most sophisticated example of this style is the Robie House (figs. [illegible]), by [illegible] metres [illegible] but of straight [illegible] designed a number of [illegible] grouped around a central core. The bedrooms [illegible] the blocks are [illegible] and others are [illegible] with equal precision. Thus the space that has been architecturally shaped includes the [illegible] and gardens as well as the house



Walter Gropius
Shop Block, the Bauhaus
Dessau, Germany, 1925–26

Below: Site Plan, the Bauhaus

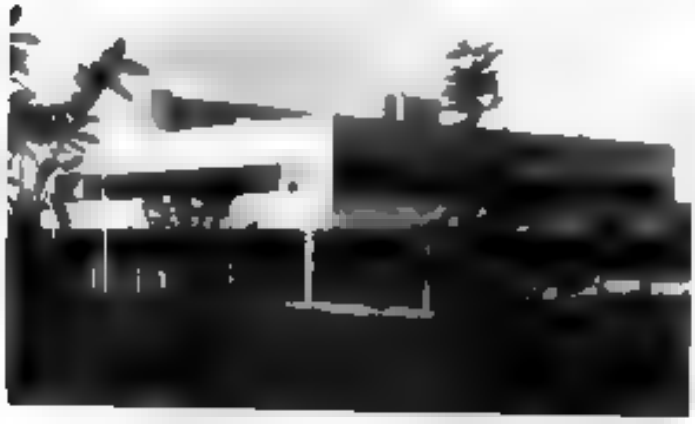




right 820 WALLACE K. HARRISON and an International Advisory Committee of Architects (Le Corbusier, Oscar Niemeyer and others) United Nations Buildings New York 1949–51

below 821 LE CORBUSIER Savoye House Poissy-sur-Seine France 1929–30

bottom 822 Interior Savoye House



itself voids and solids are regarded as equivalents analogous in their way to facet Cubism in painting, and the entire complex enters into active and dramatic relationship with its surroundings. Wright did not aim simply to design a house but to create a complete environment. He even took command of the details of the interior and designed stained glass, fabrics and furniture. The controlling factor here was not so much the individual client and his special wishes as Wright's conviction that buildings have a profound influence on the people who live, work or worship in them, so that the architect is really a molder of men, whether or not he consciously assumes this responsibility.

The work of Frank Lloyd Wright had attracted much attention in Europe by 1914. Among the first to recognize its importance were some young Dutch architects who, a few years later, joined forces with Mondrian in the De Stijl movement. The Schröder House in Utrecht (fig. 823), designed in 1924 by Gerrit Rietveld (born 1888), includes a number of Wrightian features: the sublike, overhanging roof and the juxtaposition of closed and open blocks of space, combined with a façade that looks like a painting by Mondrian transposed into three dimensions (compare colorplate 76). At the end of the First World War the De Stijl group represented the most advanced ideas in European architecture. Its austerely geometric designs, based on Mondrian's principle of an equilibrium achieved through the balance of unequal but equivalent oppositions, had a decisive influence on so many architects abroad that the movement soon became international. The largest and most complex example of

this "International Style of the 1920s" is the group of buildings created in 1925–26 by Walter Gropius (born 1883) in Germany for the Bauhaus at Dessau, the famous art school of which he was the director. Its curriculum embraced all the visual arts, linked by the root concept of structure. *Bauhaus* The plan consists of three main blocks (fig. 819) for classrooms, shops, and studios, the first two linked by a bridge of ferroconcrete containing offices (fig. 818, extreme left). The most dramatic is the shop block, a four-story box which wears, like a crown, a continuous surface of glass. This radical step had been possible ever since the introduction of the structural steel skeleton several decades before, which relieved the wall of any bearing function. Sullivan had approached it in the Carson Pirie Scott & Co. store (fig. 815), but he could not yet free himself from the traditional notion of the window as a hole in the wall. Gropius (fig. 818) has made the edges of glass, that modern architecture, he says, is more than a curtain or climate barrier, which may consist entirely of glass—maximum daylight is desirable. A quarter-century later, the same principle was used on a much larger scale for the United Nations Plaza, the great skyscraper that houses the Secretariat of the United Nations (fig. 1[illegible]). The effect is rather surprising, since such walls

reflect as well as transmit light; their appearance depends on the interplay of these two effects. They respond, as it were, to any change of conditions without and within, and thus introduce a strange quality of life into the structure. The mirror-like finish of Brancusi's sculpture serves a similar purpose.

Since the most distinguished representative of the International Style during the 1920s was the Swiss-born architect Le Corbusier (Charles Edouard Jeanneret, born 1886), at that time he built very private houses, for necessity not luxury, but these are as important as Wright's. Practice [illegible] Le Corbusier called his machines "habitations-machines" he lived in," a term intended to suggest his admiration for the clean, precise shapes of machinery and a desire for mechanized living. The paintings of his central Purist period (fig. 8[illegible]) perhaps he also wanted to suggest that his houses were so different from conventional homes as to constitute a new species. Such is indeed our impression as we approach the most famous of them, the Savoye House at Poissy-sur-Seine (fig. 8[illegible]). It resembles a low square box resting on stilts, points of reinforced concrete that are the parts of the structural skeleton and

Fig. [illegible]. George Howe and William Lescaze, Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building, Philadelphia, 1932–[illegible]

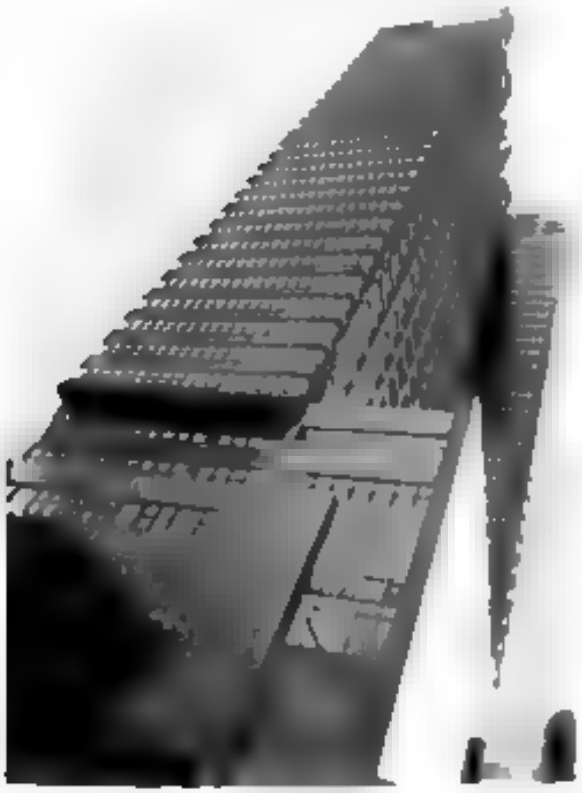


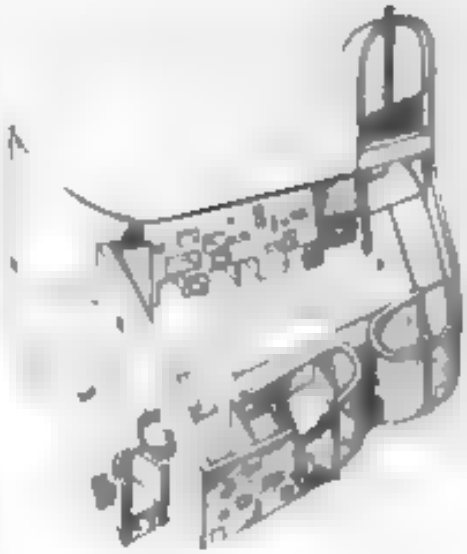
Fig. [illegible]. Mies van der Rohe, Lake Shore Drive Apartment Houses, Chicago, 1[illegible]–[illegible]

reappear to divide the ribbon windows running along each side of the box. The flat smooth surfaces denying any sense of weight express Le Corbusier's preoccupation with abstract "space-time" as a concept. To find out how the house is subdivided we must enter it (fig. [illegible]). We then realize that the simple package contains living spaces that are open as well as zoned separately by glass walls. Within the house we are constantly in communication with the windows: views of the sky and the surrounding terrain are everywhere in the scene. Yet we enjoy a complete privacy: a visitor or observer in the grounds cannot see us unless we stand next to a window. The unobtrusiveness of the [illegible] is greatly enhanced by the design of the single-bedroom apartments, which are highly ingenious.

America, despite its early pioneering leadership, did not share the rising greatness of the phase of European architecture during the 1930s. The impact of the International Style in America began before the rise of the Axis and the second World War made it a pioneer example in the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building of [illegible] by George Howe and William F. Lescaze (born 1896), a Swiss-born American who incorporates in his design many features of [illegible] Since the end of the First World War Dessau was for many years the best German architects, which [illegible] Dessau, and greatly stimulated the development of American architecture. A [illegible] who was appointed chairman of the architectural department of Harvard University had an important educational influence. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (born 1886), his former colleague at Dessau, settled in Chicago as a practising architect. The Lake Shore Drive apartment houses (fig. [illegible]), two severely elegant slabs placed at right angles to each other, exemplify Mies van der Rohe's dictum that "less is more." He is the great spiritual heir of Mondrian among present-day designers, possessed of the same absolute pitch in determining proportions and spatial relationships.

Le Corbusier, in contrast, Mies van der Rohe has abandoned the geometric purism of the International Style. Even in his earlier work he shows a growing preoccupation with sculptural effects and biomorphic effects. The Unité d'habitation, a large apartment house in Marseilles (fig. [illegible]), looks like a box of bricks, like the Savoye House, but the piloti are notch-ended, their shape is expressive, their muscular strength is such that makes us think of giant humans. The exposed concrete on the flank is gigantic sculpture, and the flat plane of the glass-walled living-room has a horizontal brise-soleil, which breaks the flat plane of the glass and forms a sun-break. This [illegible] in [illegible] the quality of the whole. This [illegible] has proved [illegible] great influence [illegible] practice and aesthetics [illegible] a [illegible] The most recent [illegible] of the Unité [illegible] Nantes [illegible]

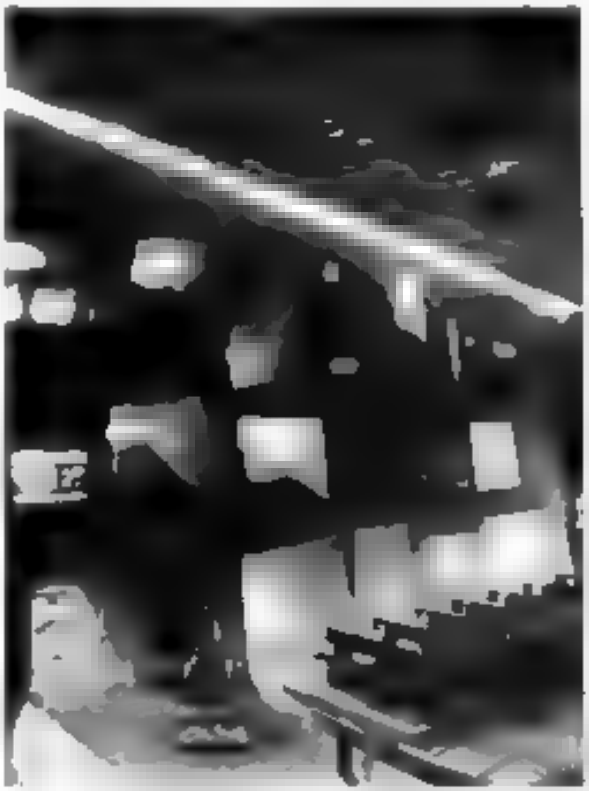
Fig. [illegible] Le Corbusier: Unité d'Habitation, Apartment House, Marseilles, [illegible]



[illegible] Notre-Dame-du-Haut. From the southeast. Ronchamp, France, 1950–55

[illegible] Perspective diagram, Notre-Dame-du-Haut

[illegible] Notre-Dame-du-Haut



[illegible] defies analysis [illegible] perspective diagram. The plan [illegible] outer edges where as Austen [illegible] Caroline Casa Mila, though the shapes are now simpler and more [illegible] the masses, walls seem to [illegible] unseen [illegible] makes them [illegible] and [illegible] like [illegible] and [illegible] hanging roof suggests the hull of an [illegible] hut [illegible] the hull of a ship upside-down lengthwise [illegible] the sharp-edged buttress [illegible] which [illegible] suspended. [illegible] Mila brings [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] Henry Moore's *Reclining Figure*. Ronchamp has [illegible] the [illegible] of the same [illegible] *The Poem* [illegible] high [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] prehistoric [illegible] [illegible] Corbusier must have [illegible] that this was the primary task of architecture: placing him in a direct line of succession with the men who built Stonehenge, the ziggurats of Mesopotamia, and the Greek temples. Hence he [illegible] consciously avoids any correlation between exterior and interior. The doors are concealed; we must seek them out like clefts in a mountainside, and to pass through them is much like entering a secret and sacred cave. Only inside do we sense the specifically Christian aspect of Ronchamp. The light channeled through stained-glass windows so tiny that they seem hardly more than slits or pinpricks on the exterior, cuts widening paths through the thickness of the wall and thus becomes once more what it had been in medieval architecture: the visible counterpart of the Light Divine. There is true magic in the interior of Ronchamp, but also a strangely disquieting quality, a nostalgia for the certainties of a faith that is no longer unquestioned. Ronchamp mirrors the spiritual condition of Modern Man, which is a measure of its greatness as a work of art.

POSTSCRIPT

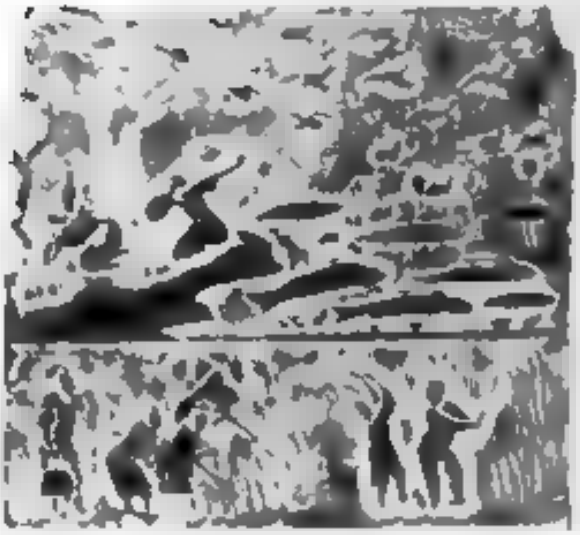
The Meeting of East and West

The author of a history of art for the general reader faces one dilemma at the outset: should he proportion his book to give equal weight to every significant area? If not, what should he leave out? Fortunately, perhaps, no one solution to this problem is clearly superior to the others. We might think of encyclopedic breadth and historic continuity can be balanced against each other in countless ways, and the pattern of the present volume has, like the best, the defects of its virtues. The purpose of this postscript is to take the reader on a brief excursion through the domain we have so far omitted, and by showing him a small sample of the wealth of material he will find there, to whet his appetite for a longer stay.

Our interest in the past springs from a desire to understand the present. Behind it lies always the question: how did we get to where we are now? For the historian of art, now, means the living art of our century, this art is the product of Western civilization on both sides of the Atlantic. We have accordingly discussed in this book only those elements outside Europe and America that have contributed to the growth of the Western artistic tradition: prehistoric and primitive art, as well as the art of Egypt, the ancient Near East, and Islam. Three major areas have been omitted: Indian Asia, China and Japan, and pre-Columbian America, because their indigenous artistic traditions are no longer alive today, and because these styles did not, generally speaking, have a significant influence on the West. But, even if they are not essential for our account, they are nevertheless important in their own right: a book half again as large as this, with three hundred more pages and five hundred more illustrations, would certainly include them. The very fact that the ancient arts of India, the Far East, and America are so admired in the West today suggests their relevance to the modern world. They may yet become a vital source of inspiration for Western art. If they failed to do so in the past, even after the West had learned of their existence, this was not because they were "less advanced." More often it was because they were "too refined": their style, the result of many centuries of continuous development, was keyed to special sensibilities alien to the Western tradition. This is true particularly of the art of the Far East. Printing from wood blocks, we recall, was a Chinese invention taken over by the West (see page 102). We do not know which Chinese prints actually reached medieval Europe, but they might have included woodcuts like the splendid *Landscape* (fig. 830) from a recently discovered set of four dated 956 A.D. It represents, skillfully transcribed into black and white, the atmospheric style of the great landscape painters of the period, such as Fan K'uan (fig. 830). Its origins can be traced back at least eight hundred years (fig. 82). After a long period of growth, this art had achieved a poetic vision of nature that contrasts the majesty of mist-shrouded mountains with the insignificance of man. Who in the West could have responded to the pictorial and emotional subtleties of such works? Chinese silks and porcelains, we know, were greatly admired in the Middle Ages, but

830. *Landscape with a Hermit Priest.* Chinese (from the first printed Buddhist Canon). Northern Sung Dynasty, 956 A.D. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

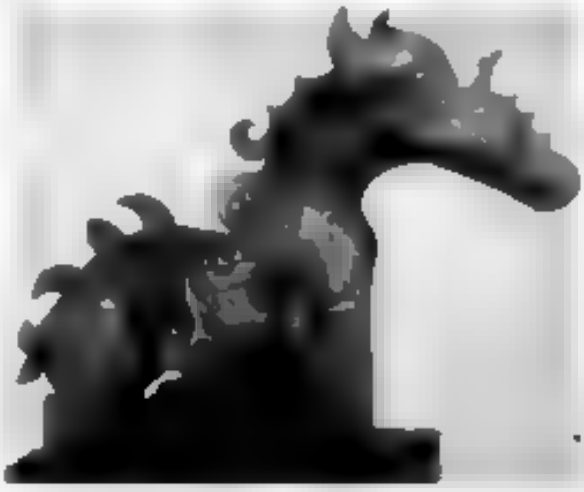
FAN K[illegible] *Travelers among Mountains and Streams*
c. 1000 A.D. Hanging Scroll; ink and colors on silk
8' 40"
Palace Museum, Taichung, Taiwan



[illegible] *Hunting and Threshing Scene*
[illegible] Rubbing
from a Tomb Tile from Chiang-su, Anhwan, China

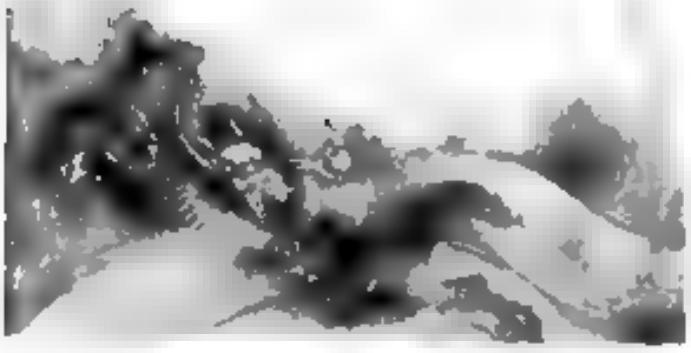
above: [illegible] *Human Scroll* (detail) 12th century
Ink on paper height [illegible] Kosan-ji, Kyoto, Japan

below: [illegible] *Dragon* Late Chou Dynasty, 6th-3rd century B.C.
Bronze height c. 35 [illegible] Collection Jacques Stoclet, Brussels



no one, we suspect, could appreciate Chinese landscapes until the mid-fourteenth century, when Europe re-established its own tradition of landscape painting. Ambrogio Lorenzetti might have been the first (see fig. 434), yet to him, as to the Greeks and Romans, a landscape was "the countryside — the scene of purposeful human action, not lonely, untamed nature." Perhaps Leonardo would have understood the Chinese attitude, and after him Altdorfer, Bruegel, and Ruisdael (see figs. 526–588, 593, 642), but they would all have been puzzled by the fact that these landscapes do not tell us where the beholder stands in relation to the view depicted (the Chinese artist assumes that the beholder is in the landscape, not looking at it from the outside).

[illegible] KITAGAWA UTAMARO
House Cleaning at the End of the Year
(one of five scenes) c. 1800. Colored woodcut.
Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, Missouri



[illegible] CHENJENG. *Nine Dragons Scroll* (detail)
c. 1244. Ink and light color on paper, height 11[illegible].
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Other aspects of Far Eastern painting would have struck a more responsive chord, had they been accessible to the medieval West. The charmingly drawn animals burlesquing human actions in a Japanese scroll of the twelfth century (fig. 842) seem to anticipate the *drôleries* of Gothic illuminated manuscripts (see fig. 438). While not directly related, both works share a common ancestry in the animal fables of ancient Mesopotamia (see fig. 74) which proliferated in India and the Far East as well as in the West. One collection of Indian animal stories, translated from Sanskrit into Arabic and thence into Latin and the modern languages, was very popular in the later Middle Ages and furnished motifs for *drôleries*. Heaven and Hell, too, are to be found in both East and West. The Buddhist Hell, dramatically visualized in a Japanese scroll of c. 1200 A.D. (colorplate [illegible]), would seem to be part of a Christian Last Judgment, with its anguished naked souls and grotesque demons. Although the Western artist then knew how to depict flame [illegible] century. This graphic formula, invented by the Chinese many centuries before, traveled west as far as Persia. We encounter it in the *Ascension of Mohammed* (see fig. [illegible]), a composition that both [illegible] some aspects of the Buddhist Paradise. But [illegible] illustrations represent a [illegible] Asiatic tradition, expressive realism, that had its first flowering more than five hundred years after the Japanese [illegible] woodcut, for example, fig. 834, by Kitagawa Utamaro [illegible]. Both belongings of a set, *House Cleaning at the End of the Year*, the women are about to discard a drowsy young man left [illegible] on the threshold, although before whom they have [illegible] in the course of their cleaning. Such Japanese woodcuts, but finally aroused a serious interest in Far Eastern art among Western painters. They began to be imported in [illegible] when trade between Japan and the West had been opened in 1854, and they remained in vogue for more than half a century. Manet was impressed with the bright flat colors which corresponded to his own style (see colorplate 64). Whistler liked the decorative effect. Van Gogh, Toulouse-Lautrec, and the Symbolists admired the expressiveness of the simple, smoothly curved outlines. Less important than these points were to the development of Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, and Art Nouveau, which it set made but their influence is clear in many cases. Ironically, it was their abstractness, not their realism, that made them interesting to Western eyes; nevertheless, ironically, they helped pave the way for the modern artist's rediscovery of medieval stained glass and primitive art.

What of Western influence on the East? Historians agree that urban civilization had begun in Mesopotamia about 3500 B.C. (see pages 34, 35, 40–51). The earliest urban settlements in India, those at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa on the Indus River, appeared somewhat later, and the few artistic remains uncovered there indicate early Mesopotamian influences. It may well be that urban civilization spread from the Tigris and Euphrates westward to the Nile and eastward to the Indus and thence to the

816. *Lion Capital* from a column erected by King Aśoka [illegible] Height [illegible] Archaeological Museum, Sarnath, India

[illegible] *Buddha* [illegible] Schist, height [illegible] Staatliche Museen [illegible]

[illegible] *Standing Buddha* from Mathurā, 5th century [illegible] Height [illegible] Indian Museum, Calcutta

Yet now R[illegible] where Chinese u[illegible] had welcomed a [illegible] approach toward [illegible] between the Near East and [illegible] India continues to be maintained by migrating tribes, although it is sometimes [illegible] way which was these influences went. Some early Chinese bronzes, such as the magnificent *Dragon* [illegible] King [illegible] mind, be [illegible] animal style [illegible] ranged [illegible] other from Siberia [illegible] Western Europe and from [illegible] Scandinavia (see figs. 38, [illegible]). [illegible] The creature already looks as unmistakably Chinese as its descendants fifteen hundred years later. The [illegible] India's link with the West is far more definite. Persian influence prevailed under King Aśoka [illegible] first Buddhist ruler of Northern India [illegible] clearly to be seen in the capitals of the commemorative columns he erected (fig. 816), apparently the earliest Indian sculpture in a monumental scale (compare fig. [illegible]). There was also, however, a native sculptural tradition of soft, sensuous forms, which can be traced back to the Indus valley settlements. This absorbed the Persian elements and within two centuries produced its finest monument: the carved gateways of the Great Stūpa at Sānchī (fig. 849; note the winged lion, a Mesopotamian-Persian motif, in the upper left-hand corner). Meanwhile, the extreme northwest region of India—called Bactria in antiquity, later known as Gandhāra, corresponding to modern Afghani-

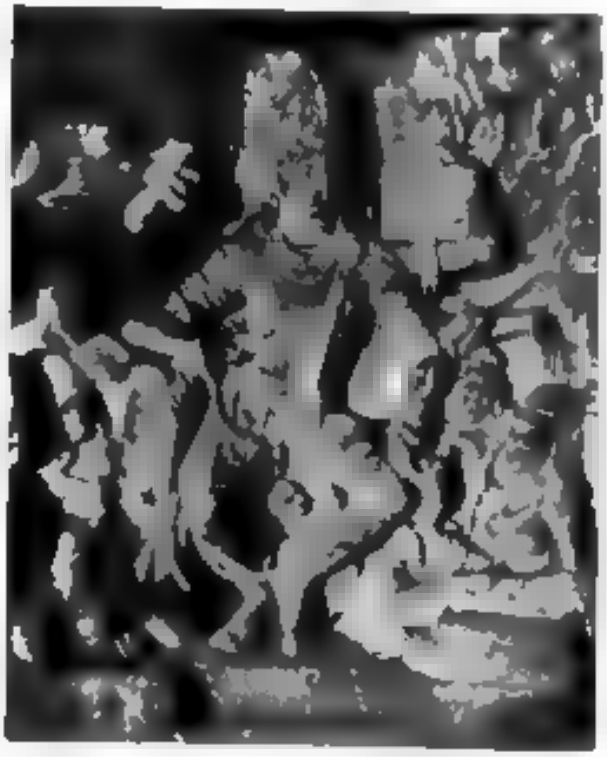
[illegible] Great Stūpa [illegible] Sānchī, India

left 840 *The Fasting Buddha* from Gandhāra, 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Central Museum, Lahore, Pakistan

below 841 *Portrait of Ganjin* 763 84 A.D. Dry lacquer height 31 Kanzandō Tōshōdai-ji Nara, Japan

842 *The Bodhisattva* [illegible] wall painting [illegible] Ajanta, India

843 [illegible]



844. [illegible] Height [illegible] Private collection, Mexico City

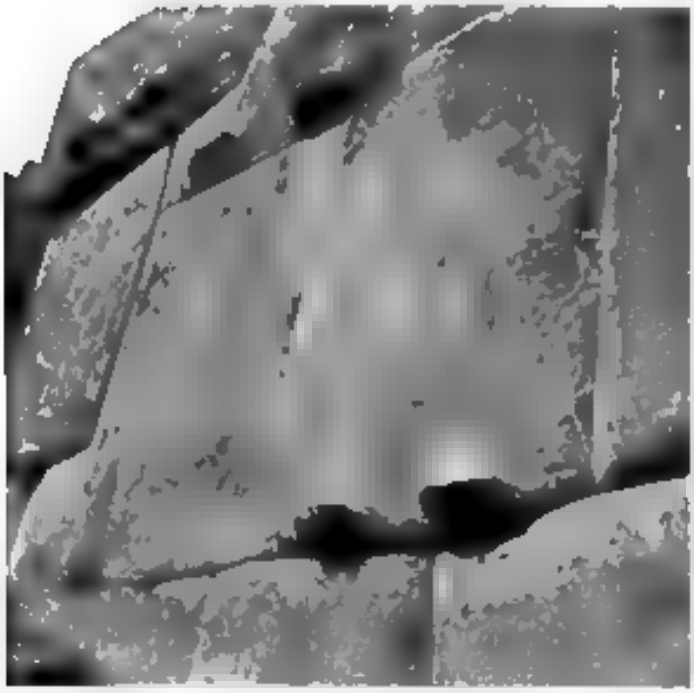
845. Temple of the Warriors, detail. Chichén Itzá, Yucatán. 10th century

846. Coatlicue, Goddess of Earth and Death. Aztec, 15th century. Height 8ft. National Museum, Mexico City

stan and a corner of Pakistan, had come under Greek rule as one of the conquests of Alexander the Great (see fig. 837). It remained a focus of Graeco-Roman artistic influence for several centuries. The role of this influence in creating the earliest images of the Buddha, who in the second century A.D. had been represented only through symbols, remains a matter of dispute, but it had an undeniable share in the process. Two distinct types seem to have made their appearance about the same time, both of them meditative and monastic: that from Gandhāra combines the Indian sculptural tradition with Western Classical elements (fig. 843); the other (fig. 844), arising at Mathurā in north central India, represents a purely native style. For two or three centuries they existed side by side, and the Gandhāra style produced such variants as the *Fasting Buddha* (fig. 845), strangely evocative of the emotionalism of Gothic sculpture (see figs. 404–416). Eventually the two types coalesced (fig. 846) and migrated east as Buddhism expanded into China and Japan. The fine Japanese portrait statue of *Gonjin* (fig. 847), dated 763–84 A.D., still betrays echoes of the Gandhāra style. In India, however, Buddhism had meanwhile been engulfed by the older native religion, Hinduism. *The Beautiful Bodhisattva* (fig. 848), from the great cycle of

847 Portrait [illegible] Machu Picchu [illegible]
height [illegible] Collection Norbert Wolfsch, Santiago [illegible]

848 [illegible] Figure, Quimbaya
[illegible] Colombia
[illegible] 14th centuries [illegible] gold, height [illegible]
Museo Arqueológico de América, Madrid



849 Inca Masonry, Ollantaytambo, Peru, 15th century

was paintings in Cave No. [illegible] at Ajanta about 600 A.D. It has the swelling, sensuous softness we recall from the sculpture at Sānchī, as the ancient heritage of Indian art. We find it again later on in the carvings of the Hindu cave temples at Ellorā (fig. 849).

Of the three major non-Western civilizations that of pre-Columbian America is by far the youngest. Exactly when man first arrived in the New World—presumably from Siberia by way of Alaska—remains in dispute. It may have been as recently as 10,000 B.C., but much earlier dates have been suggested. In any event, the Neolithic Revolution does not seem to have begun in Central America before c. 3000 B.C. and, in South America,

before c. 2000 B.C. The transition from prehistory to history, which took place in Mesopotamia and Egypt between 3500 and 3000 B.C., probably occurred between 1000 B.C. and 1 A.D., but much of the evidence concerning the beginnings of theocratic rule, of literacy, and of monumental architecture is conjectural, and the earliest monuments of historic American civilization brought to light so far belong near the end of the pre-Christian era. Compared to what we know about India and the Far East, our knowledge of pre-Columbian America is limited indeed. Its very isolation from the rest of the world, however, makes its study peculiarly fascinating. Was this isolation, we wonder, really complete, especially during the historic period (c. 1–1500 A.D.)? If so, then the resemblances and analogies between pre-Columbian America and the civilizations of the Old World must result from a parallel evolution of human culture that made the American Indian "re-invent" on his own, many things already invented elsewhere. The problem will probably be debated for a long time, for both the similarities and the differences are tantalizing. What, for instance, are we to make of the impressive *Wrestler* (fig. 844), produced by the Olmec civilization of southeastern Mexico? Is he really a wrestler? The present name of the figure merely records its striking resemblance to Japanese wrestlers. And why did the Olmecs, alone among pre-Columbian groups, develop so vigorous a three-dimensional and realistic style of sculpture in the round? Elsewhere in Central or South America, monumental stone sculpture is closely bound up with architecture, as in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán (fig. 845), where the artistic traditions of the Maya and Toltec peoples are combined. Such temples rise from platforms on top of pyramid-like, stepped mounds that are oddly analogous to the ziggurats of Mesopotamia (see pages 51–52). The highly formalized style of Maya sculpture, its angularity and ornamental symmetry, reappears later in the art of the Aztecs, who rose to power near what today is Mexico City, less than two centuries before the Spanish Conquest. The statue of Coatlicue, the goddess of earth and death (fig. 846), resembles a human figure less than it does a huge architectural block that has been turned into a compound creature of terrifying "otherness." (How restrained the Gorgon from the Artemis Temple on Corfu looks by comparison—see fig. 130.)

The Andean civilization of South America, centered on Peru, had a development roughly parallel to that of Central America. While it produced no stone sculpture comparable to the Olmec *Wrestler*, the anthropomorphic pottery of the Mochica is often even more intensely realistic. The portrait jar in figure 847 has great individuality and expressive power. Andean art also includes masterpieces of jewelry and sculpture in gold. The seated female figure, from a hoard found at Cauca, Colombia (fig. 848), must surely have been a cult object—probably a goddess of fertility. Despite its modest size, the image has extraordinary dignity. It is one of the very few surviving pieces of those legendary treasures of "Inca gold" that were melted down for their material value by the Spanish conquistadors. The Incas themselves had conquered the Peruvian highlands only in the fourteenth century; like the Aztecs, they were warriors rather than artists. Only their architectural achievements were important, and their palaces, fortifications, and temples still dominate the cities they founded, such as Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and Ollantaytambo. These monuments are most memorable for their "sculptured" masonry, shaped and fitted with incredible precision (fig. 849). Sometimes each block has a pair of protuberances, which suggest an organic life within the stone somewhat like that of Henry Moore's *Two Forms* (see fig. 800).

The rapid disappearance of pre-Columbian artistic traditions in the sixteenth century is even more astonishing than the ease with which the Spaniards defeated the Aztec and Inca empires. European artists and collectors admired the technical perfection of the objects brought back by the conquistadors, but were not impressed with their beauty. Only the present has taught us to see them as works of art.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

This list includes the most recent and comprehensive studies that are available in English. Books with material relevant to several chapters are cited under the first heading only. The bibliographies contained in many of these works may be consulted for information on more specialized topics. An excellent general bibliography is Guide to Art Reference Books *by Mary W. Chamberlin (American Library Association, 1959).*

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